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SKETCHES

OF THE

CHARACTER, INSTITUTIONS,
AND CUSTOMS

OF THE

HIGHLANDERS OF SCOTLAND

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL DAVID STEWART
OF GARTH.

“ 'Tis wonderful
That an invisible instinct should frame them
To loyalty unlearned ; honour untaught ;
Civility not seen from others ; valour
That wildly grows in them, but yields a crop
As if it had been sowed.”

SHAKESPEARE.

NEW EDITION.

*

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P R E F A C E.

IN 1822, Major-General David Stewart of Garth, then a Colonel in the army, first published his invaluable "Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlands of Scotland, with Details of the Military Service of the Highland Regiments." It had a very extensive sale, two large editions having been exhausted and a third called for in the same year, though it was a high-priced work. In recent years it became so scarce that a copy realises now from a guinea to twenty-five shillings. It is admitted by all whose opinion is worth listening to on the subject, to be by far the best book in every respect ever written on the Highlands; and it has in fact become the foundation of nearly all that has since been written on the character and annals of the Highland people. The author has shown a remarkable insight into the future, and has so accurately predicted the ultimate results of the cold-blooded exterminating policy of his time, that these could not be more truly described even at the present day, when all that he so correctly foretold has been realised to the full in the existing social and political state of the Highlands, as well as in



the altered relations of proprietors and people. For this and other reasons the portion of the work which the author himself designated "A Sketch of the Moral and Physical Character, and of the Institutions and Customs of the Inhabitants of the Highlands of Scotland" will prove a valuable addition to the literature of the present day, and we have decided to republish that portion of the work at a price which shall place it within the reach of the extended circle who now take a keen and sympathetic interest in the social position of the Highland peasantry. It is intended, by and bye, to follow this up with the publication of the portions of the work which deal specially with "The Military Services of the Highland Regiments," bringing down the account of these to date.

In the Preface to the first edition, General Stewart informs us that his statements are grounded on authentic documents ; on communications from people in whose intelligence and correctness he places implicit confidence ; on his own personal knowledge and observation ; and on the mass of general information, of great credibility and consistency, preserved among the Highlanders of the last century ; and he assures us of his "honest and perfect conviction of the truth of all he has advanced, and of the vital importance attached to the several points touched upon." Having explained how he was induced to commence the work, and how he succeeded in obtaining so much valuable and authentic information, first, concerning the Forty-Second,

and afterwards respecting the other Highland Regiments, he says—"In the course of this second investigation into the history of the Highland Regiments I met, in all of them, with much of the same character and principles. The coincidence was indeed striking, and proved that this similarity of conduct and character must have had some common origin, to discover the nature of which appeared an object worthy of inquiry. The closest investigation only confirmed the opinion I had before entertained, that the strongly marked difference between the manners and conduct of the mountain clans, and those of the Lowlanders, and of every other known country, originated in the patriarchal form of government which differed so widely from the feudal system of other countries. I therefore attempted to give a sketch of those manners and institutions by which this distinct character was formed; and having delineated a hasty outline of the past state of the manners and character, the transition to the changes that had been produced and the present condition of the same people was obvious and natural. Hence I have been led on, step by step, from one attempt to another, till the whole attained its present form." A large edition was cleared off at once, and another was issued within two months of the first. In the Preface to the second edition the author declares how gratified he was "by receiving numerous communications confirming the general correctness of the great multiplicity of facts and circumstances" which he had occasion to detail in

the first. The second edition, numbering 1300 copies, was cleared off immediately. The demand for the work still "continued in a great measure unabated," and the author made preparations for a third edition, the printing of which was forthwith commenced.

In the Preface to the third edition, hitherto the last, issued in 1825, and of which this volume is, so far, a *verbatim* reprint, he informs us that, "owing to the distance of Garth from the press, and having no daily post, with other causes of interruption, this [the printing] proceeded so slowly that the publication of the present edition has, in consequence, been delayed for more than a year beyond the time at which, in justice to the work, it ought to have appeared. The delay thus occasioned has, however, been attended with one important advantage ; it has afforded me time and ample opportunities of re-examining my statements, and of applying corrections, where such appeared necessary. If I have seen cause to make but few alterations, with hardly a qualification, even in those economical views which are, of course, most liable to be disputed, it is solely because the result of the most minute inquiries, and of personal observation, has strikingly confirmed the general accuracy of my statements and reasonings, and affords me additional confidence in the truth and justness of the opinions which I was previously led to maintain. I employed three months of 1823 in this personal investigation, and travelled upwards of one thousand

miles through the Highlands, always communicating with the most intelligent, and those best qualified by their judgment, general intelligence, and local knowledge to give the most correct information, and unprejudiced opinions on the subject of my inquiries. Receiving the fullest confirmation from such men, I have now the more satisfaction in adding, that, while I thus exerted myself to render the present edition as correct as possible, the alterations are so few and unimportant as not to diminish in any degree, the value and general accuracy of the former editions." Indeed, almost the entire change consists of material and very valuable additions to the text, notes, and appendices.

In "Notes Explanatory of the Map of the Clans," issued with the original work, the author thinks it proper to state that the divisions in which the clans were arranged were "not intended to indicate that the chiefs, or heads of the principal branches of all the clans, were the sole proprietors of the lands classed under their respective names. In several instances, they were only occupiers and tenants at will of the lands on which their forefathers had lived for ages. But while the clansmen obeyed and followed the chiefs of their family and kindred, the superiors and proprietors of their lands seldom held any authority or feudal control, except in cases where the superior and his people entertained similar political views and sentiments." In a foot-note to this, our author adds that, "nothing can be more erroneous than an opinion, often repeated, and

therefore sometimes believed, that whatever side the feudal superior took in any great political question or contest, he was invariably followed by his subservient adherents. Many instances to the contrary have been stated, and I could produce many more, highly creditable to the spirit of independence which long distinguished the clansmen." The lands "occupied by different clans and tribes, either as proprietors or tenants are generally called their 'country' or territory; Brae Lochaber, for example, which was occupied for nearly five hundred years by the Macdonalds of Keppoch, and their numerous descendants, is called 'Keppoch's country,' although the fee-simple of the property had been vested for the greater part of the period in the families of Gordon and Mackintosh. The Dukes of Gordon and Argyll were feudal superiors of the whole of the Camerons' country, the former nobleman being also proprietor of part of the lands, as also of a considerable portion of Badenoch, the 'country of the Macphersons,' many of whom are his Grace's tenants. Indeed, this clan is so numerous in that extensive district that, except in the case of an accidental emigration from the Duke's Lowland estates, there is not a tenant of the name of Gordon throughout its whole extent. The Duke of Atholl possesses a very extensive property in Athole; but the district has, for centuries, been called the country of the Stewarts, Robertsons, Fergusons, etc. With the exception of the Duke, there is not in the whole district a proprietor or occupier of land of

the name of Murray; but many descendants, whose forefathers sprung from the Atholl family prior to the change of their name from Stewart to Murray, are still resident in the glens of Athole. Part of two large parishes on the estate of Sutherland, including Strathnaver, from which the Earldom of Sutherland derives its secondary title, is situated in Lord Reay's country, or, as it is called in Gaelic, the territory of the Mackays. The ranks of the Sutherland Regiment of 1793 bore evidence to the propriety of this appellation, as *one hundred and four William Mackays*, almost all of them from Strathnaver, were in the corps, and seventeen in one company, Captain Sackville Sutherland's. The small clans or tribes of Maclarens of Balquhidder in Perthshire, Macintyres of Argyle, Macraes of Ross, Gunns of Sutherland, and several others, were not proprietors; but from the earliest history of the clans, till a very recent period, occupied their lands in undisturbed succession." Where are they now?

Professor Blackie has repeatedly described General Stewart's book as the best existing work—whose "excellence shines forth on every page"—on the Scottish Highlands and Highlanders; and that true and patriotic Sutherland Highlander, Mr John Mackay, C.E., Hereford, writing to a northern newspaper a few years ago, refers to the work in the following terms:—"Without any doubt, Stewart's Sketches is one of the best, if not the very best book, published on the subject. It has formed the groundwork for all the subsequent pub-

lications on the Highlands and Highland Clans. It ought to be in the hands of every Highland lad ; on the bookshelf of every Highland home, next to the Bible. It is invaluable to every one who desires to know all about the heroic past of the Highland people. The author, born amongst the hills of Perthshire, was reared amidst the people he loved so well, respected so much, before they became contaminated with Saxon ideas and manners, before chiefs divorced themselves from their retainers, before sheep became the golden image to be worshipped, before the lust for gold took the place of love for the people, and respect and affection for the gallant defenders of their country in danger ; when willing hands and brave hearts, like himself, were pouring out, year after year, from every hill and vale to sustain the honour of the country, to preserve its freedom, to conquer or die for it in every battlefield from Fontenoy to Waterloo. This was the heroic era of the Highlands and Highlanders. Well did they deserve of their country and chiefs. General Stewart sets all this forth in his Sketches, in his own kindly language. Fortunate it was for the Highlanders to find in their midst such a historian of their prowess and heroic conduct as the gallant General, whose pen was as ready to do them justice, and to record their valour, as his sword was keen to lead them into battle. Fortunate, too, it was to find such a matchless defender of their character as Sir Walter Scott. It was the incomparable heroism of the

Highland soldier, and the majestic scenery of his country, that awakened the genius of Scott Sir Walter Scott and General Stewart have done to the Highlanders the justice denied them by others. The magic wand of the one, and the facile pen and intimate knowledge of the other, painted their character and heroism in letters of gold, ineffaceable, imperishable. 'Waverley,' 'The Lady of the Lake,' 'The Lord of the Isles,' are well known productions of Sir Walter Scott. Stewart's Sketches of the Highlands and Highland Regiments are worthy to rank beside them: even more worthy of being read; for facts are stronger than fiction. Stewart Sketches ought to be found in every library, in the hall or in the cottage. Every Highland lad should have the book in his hands as soon as he is able to read." It is, in fact, impossible for any one to read it without being and feeling a better man or woman after the performance. The Appendix deserves special attention from the reader who desires to be fully informed on the subject of the book, as it is a perfect mine of invaluable facts and sound reasoning—such as cannot be found together anywhere else that we know of.

A. M.

INVERNESS, 20th April 1885.



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SKETCHES OF THE HIGHLANDERS.

PART I.

SECTION I.

*Geographical Situation and Extent of the Highlands of
Scotland—Inhabitants—Character—Antiquities.*

THE tract of country known by the name of the Highlands of Scotland, constitutes the northern portion of Great Britain. Its maritime outline is bold, rocky, and in many places deeply indented by bays and arms of the sea. The northern and western coasts are fringed with groups or clusters of islands, while the eastern and southern boundaries are distinguished from that of Scotland denominated the Lowlands, by the strong and peculiar features impressed on them by the hand of Nature. A range of mountains known in Roman history by the name of Mons Grampius, at a later period called Gransbane,* and now the Grampians, constitutes the line of demarcation between these two distinct parts of the kingdom.

* Both derived from the Gaelic *garu-bein*, the rugged mountains.

Within this range, as every classical reader knows, is the scene of that noble stand for liberty and independence, made by the Caledonians against the invasion of the Romans. The physical structure of the Grampian boundary is as remarkable as the general direction is striking, regular, and continuous. It forms, as it were, a lofty and shattered rampart, commencing north of the river Don, in the county of Aberdeen—extending across the kingdom in a diagonal direction, till it terminates in the south-west, at Ardmore, in the county of Dumbarton—and presenting to the Lowlands throughout, a front, bold, rocky, and precipitous. The Grampian range consists of rocks of primitive formation. The front towards the south and east presents, in many places, a species of breccia. In the centre, and following the line of the range, is a remarkable bed of valuable limestone,* with many strata of marble† and slate. In the districts of Fortingall, Glenlyon, and Strathfillan, are found quantities of lead and silver ore; and over the whole extent are numerous

* This great bed of limestone is first seen in Aberdeenshire. It sometimes rises to the surface for many miles, then sinks and disappears, following, as it were, the undulated and irregular direction of the surface of the mountainous country through which it passes. It runs from Brae-Mar to Athole, through the great forest, crossing the river Garry at Blair Castle, and the Tummel near the foot of Shichallain; and, taking a south-westerly direction, by Garth, Fortingall, and Breadalbane, passes through the centre of Loch-Tay, and the west end of Loch-Earn, and thence stretches through Monteith and Dumbartonshire, till it is lost in the Atlantic, north of the Clyde.

† This marble takes a fine polish. The prevailing colours are blue, green, and brown, intermixed with streaks of pure white. In Glentilt, within the forest of Athole, a quarry of green marble has lately been opened, and wrought to advantage.

detached masses of red and blue granite, garnets, amethysts, rock crystals, and pebbles of great variety and brilliancy.

The continuation of this great chain is broken by straths and glens, formed originally by the rivers and torrents to which they now afford a passage. The principal straths are on the rivers Leven, Earn, Dee, and Don. But besides these great straths, there are many other glens and valleys, the lower entrances of which are so rugged and contracted, as to have been almost impassable till opened by art. These are known by the name of Passes, and are situated both on the verge of the outward line, and in the interior of the range. The most remarkable are Bealmacha upon Loch-Lomond, Aberfoyle and Leny in Monteith, the Pass of Glenalmond above Crieff, the entrance into Athole near Dunkeld, and those formed by the rivers Ardle, Islay, and South and North Esk. By the excellent roads now constructed along their sides, these passes, formerly so difficult to penetrate, furnish the easiest entrance for horses, and the only one for carriages. Immediately within the external boundary, are also many strong and defensible passes, such as Killicrankie, and the entrance into Glenlyon, Glenloch, Glenogle, etc.*

* An apology may be necessary for stating facts so generally known. But these boundaries formed one of the principal causes which preserved the Highlanders a distinct race from the inhabitants of the plains. For seven centuries, Birnam Hill, and the rocks westward of Dungarth Hill, at the entrance into Athole, formed the boundary between the Lowlands and Highlands, and between the Saxon and Gaelic languages. On the south and east of these boundaries, breeches are worn, and the Scotch Lowland dialect spoken, with as broad an accent as in Mid-Lothian. On the north and west are found the Gaelic, the kilt, and the plaid, with all the peculiarities of the Highland character. The Gaelic is the dialect

On the line of the Grampians, are many insulated mountains of considerable altitude, such as Benlomond, Benlawers, Shichallain, etc. The views of the Highlands obtained on a clear day from the summits of these mountains, are peculiarly imposing and magnificent.† But when covered with clouds, or skirted with mists, their summits are often scarcely distinguishable from the vapours which envelope them; while their bleak and barren aspect, and the deep rocky channels with which they are furrowed, testify to the violence of the tempests which have swept over them. Towards their pointed summits there is little vegetative mould; but lower down we meet with a thin covering of stunted heath, inhabited only by birds of prey, and by the white hare and ptarmigan. Still farther down is the region of the mountain deer and muirfowl, producing more luxuriant heath, intermixed with nourishing pasture, and supporting numerous flocks of sheep. Towards the base are many romantic glens, watered by mountain streams, or diversified by winding lakes, and in some places beautifully wooded, and capable of producing various kinds of grain. Many of these glens contain a crowded population, and an unexpected number of flocks and herds, the principal source of the riches of the country.

The space which the Gaelic population occupied within the mountains, includes the counties of Sutherland,

in common use among the people on the Highland side of the boundary. This applies to the whole range of the Grampians: for example, at General Campbell's gate, at Monzie, nothing but Scotch is spoken, while at less than a mile distant, on the hill to the northward, we meet with the Gaelic.

† With a good glass Arthur's Seat and the higher grounds in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh are clearly distinguishable.

Caithness, Ross, Inverness, Cromarty, Nairn, Argyle, Bute, the Hebrides, and part of the counties of Moray, Banff, Stirling, Perth, Dumbarton, Aberdeen, and Angus. It may be defined by a line drawn from the western opening of the Pentland Frith, sweeping round St Kilda, so as to include the whole cluster of islands to the east and south, as far as Arran; then stretching to the Mull of Kintyre, re-entering the main land at Ardmore in Dumbartonshire, following the southern verge of the Grampians to Aberdeenshire, cutting off the Lowland districts in that country, and in Banff and Elgin, and ending on the north-east point of Caithness.* Throughout its whole extent this country displays nearly the same features.

*The names of places in this county denote a considerable mixture of Gothic and Danish. The same observation applies to the Isle of Skye, although in that island the language and manners of the people are as purely Celtic as any now in existence. In Caithness, however, two-thirds of the inhabitants speak the dialect of the Lowland Scots. Part of that country bordering on the sea coast is an uninterrupted flat of great extent. In that portion the Lowland garb is worn, and Scotch spoken; but at the commencement of the high and mountainous country, we meet with the Gaelic; and formerly the Highland dress was worn. It would therefore appear, that this low and accessible district must at an early period have been invaded and occupied by strangers, whose progress into the interior was arrested when the natural conformation of the country enabled the original inhabitants to defend themselves, and prevent farther intrusion; otherwise it is not easy to account for the singular circumstances of an insulated district, situated 150 miles within the boundary of the Gaelic language, being inhabited by people differing in dress, habits, and dialect, from all around them.

A small district in the county of Cromarty, of five miles in length, and less than half a mile in breadth, presents the same singularity, the inhabitants having for ages spoken a language of which few or none of those around them understand a sentence. It is the same

The means of subsistence are necessarily limited to the produce of mountain pasture, and to the grain that can be raised in a precarious climate ; and that, too, only on detached patches of land along the banks of rivers, in the glens and plains, or on the sea coast. Though the lakes and rivers in the interior, and the arms of the sea, with which the coast is indented, abound with fish, the distribution of this benefit among the general population is necessarily limited by the difficulties peculiar to so mountainous a region. The same cause precludes much intercourse with the Lowlands, and the importation of commodities so bulky as provisions. The inland parts of the country must therefore, in a great degree, depend on their own resources ; and hence the number of inhabitants must be small in proportion to the area of territory.

From these circumstances, as well as from the sequestered situation in which the inhabitants were placed, a peculiar character and distinctive manners naturally originated. The ideas and employment, which their seclusion from the world rendered habitual,—the familiar contemplation of the most sublime physical objects,—the habit of concentrating their affections within the precincts of their own glens, or the limited circle of their own kinsmen,—and the necessity of union and self-dependence in all difficulties and dangers, combined to form a peculiar and original character. A certain romantic sentiment, the offspring of deep and cherished feeling,—strong attachment to their country and kindred,—and a consequent disdain of submission to strangers, formed

to this day, so remarkably has the distinction of languages been preserved, by people who, from close neighbourhood, must hold frequent intercourse.

the character of independence ; while an habitual contempt of dangers was nourished by their solitary musings, of which the honour of their clan, and a long descent from brave and warlike ancestors, formed the frequent theme. Thus, their exercises, their amusements, their modes of subsistence, their motives of action, their prejudices, and their superstitions, became characteristic, permanent, and peculiar.

Promptitude in decision, fertility in resource, ardour in friendship, and a generous enthusiasm, were qualities which naturally resulted from such a situation, such modes of life, and such habits of thought. Feeling themselves, in a manner, separated by Nature from the rest of mankind, and distinguished by their language, manners, and dress, they considered themselves the original possessors of the country, and regarded the Saxons of the Lowlands as strangers and intruders.

Whether the progenitors of this singular race of people were the aborigines of the Highlands of Scotland, is a question which is now impossible to decide. But the earliest authentic records which history affords of the transactions of different tribes and nations, contain descriptions of the character, and accounts of the migrations of the Celts. Among this widely diffused race, though there were considerable varieties, arising from climate and situation, still in the case of all to whom the denomination was extended, there might be traced indelible marks of affinity, as well as a striking difference from other tribes. Cæsar, in his Commentaries, informs us, that, in his time, they formed the most considerable portion of the population of Gaul. Indeed, many circumstances render it probable, that the Celtic tribes emigrated originally from the eastern provinces of Europe, retaining,

in their progress westward, their religion, manners, and language. Traces of this migration may be discovered in the names of Albania, Iberia, Dalmatia, Caramania,* etc., as well as in many appellations which we still recognise in the western parts of Europe, all of which were once, and some still are, in part, inhabited by Celts.

The most luminous and distinct account of the government, manners, and institutions of this remarkable people, as they existed in Gaul, as well as the most authentic history of some of their enterprises and transactions, is to be found in Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic War. The separation of a distinct class of men called the Druids, whom he describes † as the ministers of their religion, and the depositaries of their sciences and laws—the retired and contemplative modes of life to which this order devoted themselves,—the mystery which they affected,—the reverence in which they were held,—the direction of their studies to the natural sciences, particularly to astronomy,—their opinions concerning a Providence,—and, above all, their doctrine of transmigration, with their pretensions to prophetic knowledge,—all strongly remind us of the character and institutions of the Magi.

The worship of Bel, or Baal, ‡ some traces of which

* Albani, Dalmat, Corrimoni, etc., are names quite common in the Highlands.

† See Book vi. Chapters 13, 14, and 16, of his *Comm. de Bello Gallico*.

‡ The anniversary of Bel (in Gaelic Bealdin) was celebrated by shepherds and children with a feast of milk, eggs, butter, cheese, &c. These remains of ancient superstitions were accompanied with many ceremonies and offerings for the protection of their flocks from the storms, eagles and foxes. This festival was held on May-day. When all was ready, a boy stood up, holding in his left hand a piece of bread, covered with a kind of hasty pudding, or custard

still remain in the Highlands, is unquestionably of Eastern origin.* The Highland superstitions concerning the enchantments of the Daoni-Si, or fairies, cannot fail to bring to the recollection of the classical reader the incantations of Medea, Queen of Colchis.†

The language of the Scotch Highlanders affords strong evidence of Oriental origin. It is well known, that, in the languages of Asia, the Hebrew for example, the

of eggs, milk, and butter ; and turning his face towards the East, he threw a piece over his left shoulder, and cried, “ This to you, O Mists and Storms, that ye be favourable to our corns and pasture : This to thee, O Eagle, that thou mayest spare our lambs and kids : This to thee, O Raven,” etc. These superstitious rites were common thirty years ago, but they have now disappeared even among children. Similar to this festival was the Samhuin, or fire of peace, the origin of which tradition ascribes to the Druids, who assembled the people in the open air for the purpose of administering justice. In many parts of the country are still seen the small conical hills on which these courts are said to have been held, and which are called Tomvoid, *i.e.* the Court Hill. Three of these conical court hills are near the Point of Lyon, where that river enters the Tay, three miles above Castle Menzies. The anniversary of these meetings was celebrated on the 1st of November, the Halloween of the Lowlands. Immediately after dusk, large fires were kindled in conspicuous places in every hamlet. The inhabitants at the same time assembled, and the night was passed in dancing, and the observance of numberless ceremonies and superstitions, the principal object of which was, to discover occult events, and to pry into futurity. These superstitious rites are admirably described by Burns in his “ Halloween,” and are in every respect the same as those practised in the Highlands.

* See Dr Graham’s (of Aberfoyle) able and learned Essay on the Authenticity of Ossian.

† See Ovid’s *Met.* Lib. vii. fab. 2, and compare the description of Medea’s cauldron, and its effects, with the fairy tale related by Dr Graham in his elegant and entertaining work, entitled, “ Pictur-
esque Sketches of Perthshire.”

present tense of the verb is wanting, and is supplied by the inference or circumlocution. This is also the case in the Irish, the Welsh, and the Gaelic, which, indeed, are kindred dialects. The Gaelic presents in its construction the most prominent features of a primitive language, being for the most part monosyllabic, and, with few exceptions, having no word to express abstract ideas, or such terms of art as were unknown to a primitive people.

But to whatever conclusion we may arrive concerning the origin and early migration of the Celtic race, it is certain that tribes described as Celtic, and exhibiting every indication of their having sprung from a common stock ; preserving themselves unmixed in blood and unconnected in institutions with strangers, and retaining their own manners and language, were extensively diffused over the west of Europe. From the Straits of Gibraltar to the northern extremity of Scotland, not merely on the sea-coast, but to a considerable distance into the interior, we find traces of their existence, and memorials of their history, deducible not only from the testimony of ancient writers, but from the names of mountains and rivers, the most permanent vestiges of the original language of a country. Thus, we have, in France, the Garonne, in Gaelic Garu-avon, rough or rapid river ; the Seine, the Sequana of Cæsar, the Seuv-avon, or silent running river ; in Lombardy, the Eridanus, the Ard-an-er-avon, or east running river ; and in Scotland, Iar-avon, or Irvine, the west running river.* But it would be endless to follow the derivations in Scotland, where a great majority of ancient names of places, rivers, and mountains, is unques-

* In Gaelic, Er is east ; Iar west. Thus we have Iaragael or Argyle, that is Western Gael ; Iar, ar, Ayr, the West country ; the Err, Earn, &c. streams running eastward.

tionably Celtic. Thus, even in the Lothians and Berwickshire, we have Edinburgh, Dalkeith, the river Esk, Inveresk, Inverleith, Balgone, Dunbar, Dunse, Dunglass, Drumore, Mordun, Drumseugh, Dundas, * Dalmeny, Abercorn, Garvald, Innerwick, Cramond, Corstorphine, and Dunian, in Roxburgh, with many others as purely Celtic as any names within the Grampians. In Galloway, and the western districts, Celtic names are almost the only ancient appellations of places, and of the common people, the descendants of the earliest inhabitants of whom we have authentic accounts.

Some may smile at derivations like these : but others, again, will trace, in such affinities of language, if not the only, at least the surest vestiges that still remain of the vicissitudes and affiliations of nations whose annals extend beyond the reach of authentic history. Unluckily for the inquirer into Celtic antiquities, such vestiges form almost the only basis on which his conclusions or conjectures can rest. Amongst ancient authors, such subjects of research excited little attention ; and long before the period at which modern history commences, they had been almost annihilated by the fierce and more numerous tribes, who occupied great part of the country possessed by the ancient Celts. When the Celts migrated to the westward, tribes of a very different language and character advanced upon their settlements, and spread farther to the northward. These tribes, denominated Teutones † and Goths, had

* Dundas, Dun-dos, a hill with a tuft of wood. This etymon bears an analogy to the heraldic bearings of Dundas, (a tuft of wood with a lion attempting to push through it), a family as ancient as the period when the Gaelic was the language of Mid-Lothian. The old Castle of Dundas has stood eight hundred years.

† Mr Grant, of Corrimonie, in his learned work, entitled,

probably their original seats in Scythia. They gradually occupied Hungary, Germany, and Scandinavia, encroaching everywhere upon the territories of the Celts, overturning the Roman empire itself, and at length establishing themselves in Italy, Spain, Gaul, and the eastern districts of Britain. By these invasions, the Celts were either driven westward, or intermixed with their invaders. Their name and national distinctions were lost, excepting in a few inaccessible regions on the shores of the Atlantic, from which they could not be dislodged. There they still remain detached portions of an original race, preserving their physical conformation, and their peculiar institutions, nearly unchanged, until within the last fifty years; and are as easily distinguishable from the general mass of the population with which they are combined in political union, as they were from the Scythian and German tribes in the days of Cæsar.

In the provinces of Galicia and Biscay in the west, and in the valleys of the Pyrenees in the south of France, and north of Spain, the inhabitants, differing, as they evidently do, in manners and appearance, from the other subjects of the respective kingdoms to which they belong, exhibit a striking confirmation of this hypothesis. But it is in Lower Bretagne, in Wales, in the Isle of Man, in Ireland, and in the Highlands of Scotland, that the most distinct traces of the Celtic manners and language are to be found. In manners, indeed, the inhabitants of

“Thoughts on the Gael,” gives an etymology of the appellation Teutones, which he conjectures to have been the name given by the Gaelic emigrants from the east to the hordes which advanced in the same direction, upon their northern borders, peopling Russia and Scandinavia. These were called Tuadaoine, that is, *Men of the North*, or Teutones.

Bretagne bear but a faint resemblance to their Celtic brethren of other countries ; but the similarity of their language proves, that originally it was the same with that now spoken in Ireland, the Highlands of Scotland, &c. In language, however, the Gallicians differ less from their fellow subjects of the Spanish monarchy, than they do in physical formation, and peculiar customs. The Biscayans are remarkable for their difference in both respects ; and the Basques, or inhabitants of the western Pyrenees, are distinguishable from the subjects of the two kingdoms to which they belong, by their bodily appearance and habits, as well as by a high spirit of independence, and pride of ancestry,—and, in many respects, they exhibit striking remarks of an original and unmixed race.*

Many points of resemblance between the Basques and Scottish Highlanders may, no doubt, be attributed as much to similarity of situation, as to a common origin. Similarity of situation, however, will not account for the remarkable traits of resemblance between the inhabitants of La Vendée and those of the north of Scotland. Widely as they differ in their external features, the manners and customs of the people of both countries are so nearly similar, that a Highlander, in reading the Memoirs† of the Wars in La Vendée during the French Revolution, would almost think he was perusing the history of the events of the years 1745 and 1746 in Scotland. In the

* The Basques wear a blue bonnet of the same form, texture and colour, as that worn by the Scottish Highlanders ; and in their erect air, elastic step, and general appearance, bear a remarkable resemblance to the ancient race of Highlanders, whose manners and habits remained unchanged till towards the commencement of the late reign, but of which scarcely a trace now remains.

† Memoirs of Madame Larochejaquelin. Edinburgh, 1816.

picture which has been drawn of the zeal with which the followers and adherents of the Seigneurs crowded round the castles of their Lords ; in the cordial affection and respectful similarity subsisting between them ; in their pastoral modes of life, and love of the chase ; in the courage with which they took the field, and the perseverance with which they maintained their ground against disciplined armies ; in their invincible fidelity to the cause they had espoused ; in their remarkable forbearance from pillage or wanton destruction, in which they exhibited a noble contrast to the ferocious rapacity of the republican troops ; and in their kindness to their prisoners—we are strikingly reminded of the chiefs, the clanships, and the warfare of the Scotch mountaineers.

In tracing the remains of the Celtic race, we find that in a great proportion of Wales, in the Isle of Man, and in Ireland, the language is still preserved,* but, owing to a greater admixture with strangers, at an earlier period, ancient manners are much changed, whereas, in the Highlands of Scotland, which successfully resisted their intrusion, and were never subdued by either Roman or Goth, and where the repeated attacks of Danes and Norwegians were uniformly repulsed, the remains of the language, manners, superstitions, and mythology of the Celts, are found in greater purity and originality, than in any other country.

The earliest historical records bear testimony to the

* It is observed by Mr Grant of Corrimonie, that, in Connaught, and the west of Ireland, to which strangers had least access, the language still spoken differs very little from that of the Scotch Highlanders. The correctness of this observation I have had an opportunity of noticing in my intercourse with Irish soldiers, to whom I have often acted as interpreter.

warlike spirit of the people ; while the facts disclosed by the Roman historians, prove that their commanders in Britain found the Caledonians very formidable enemies ; and it is not to be supposed that they would record defeats and disappointments which did not befall them. According to Tacitus, the celebrated Caledonian general, Galgacus, brought against Agricola an army of upwards of 30,000 men, of whom 10,000 were left dead on the field of battle ; which sufficiently demonstrates their numbers, their firmness, and their spirit of independence. Though defeated, they were not subdued, and, after three years of persevering warfare, the Roman general was forced to relinquish the object of his expedition. Exasperated by this obstinate resistance, the Emperor Severus determined to extirpate a people who had thus prevented his countrymen from becoming the conquerors of Europe. Having collected a large body of troops, he took the command in person, and entered the mountains of the Caledonians. Notwithstanding his immense preparations, however, he was completely defeated, and driven back to the plains with the loss of 50,000 men ; and subsequently, while one legion was found sufficient to keep the southern parts of the country in subjection, two were required to repel the incursions of the Gael.

Some centuries posterior to this, we find the people forming a separate kingdom, confined within the Grampian boundaries.* This has been always known as the kingdom of the Scots ; but to the Highlanders, only as

* This, according to the traditions of the Highlanders, is the era of Ossian, when they had a kingly government within the mountains, with all the consequent chivalry, heroism, and rivalry of young men of family. See Appendix, A.

that of the Gael, or Albanich.* The whole country immediately beyond the Grampian range, (that is, the Lowlands of Perth, Angus, and Mearns), was in possession of the Picts. Abernethy, said to have been their capital,† is only twenty miles distant from Birnam hill, the outward boundary at that entrance to the Highlands; and Brechin, supposed to have been another of their towns, is nearly the same distance from the eastern boundary.

These two nations of Picts and Scots, the one inhabiting the lowland territory, and the other the mountainous region, differing considerably in manners, but speaking the same language,‡ were sometimes in alliance, but

* The epithets England and Scotland, or Scots and English, are totally unknown in Gaelic. The English are Sassanachs, the Lowland Scots are Gauls, the low country is Gauldach (the Country of Strangers), the Highlanders are Gael and Albanich, and the Highlands Gaeldach.

† There are remarkable subterranean ruins in Abernethy. These have only been partially examined; but they seem of great extent. The stones consist of the same red freestone which abounds in the neighbourhood, and have been prepared and squared for building, but not cut into an ornamental form; at least as far as they have been examined. The mortar, as in all old buildings, is so hardened by time, that the stones give way to a blow, while the cement resists. As a striking instance of the revolutions of time, even in a country not subjected to violent convulsions of the earth, all these buildings are completely covered, in some parts to a considerable depth, with the soil, which consists of a dry loam, occasionally intermixed with gravel. The surface is quite smooth, producing crops of corn and hay, and showing no vestige of what is underneath, except where holes have been dug when the proprietor, Mr Paterson of Carpow, a few years ago, made use of some of the stones for building a new house. The whole deserves the notice of the antiquary.

‡ That the Picts, inhabiting the low and fertile districts on the east of Scotland, and to the north of the Roman province, were

more frequently in a state of hostility, till the succession of Kenneth MacAlpin, in right of his mother, to the throne of the Picts, A.D. 843, when the Scots and Picts were finally united under one sovereign. Gaelic continued to be the language of the Court and of the people till the reign of Malcolm III., surnamed Ceanmor, who had married the sister of Edgar Etheling, A.D. 1066. From that period the Gaelic language was gradually superseded by the Saxon, until it entirely disappeared in the Lowlands.

Towards the close of the eighth century, ambassadors, it is said, were sent by Charlemagne to Achaius, King of the Scots, or, according to the Highlanders, Rìgh nan Gael, or Albanich, *i.e.*, King of the Gael, or of Albany. The result of this friendly communication is stated to have been an alliance between France and Scotland.† This is indeed involved in all the uncertainty of early tradition: yet it is recorded by ancient chronicles; and, as far as it goes, confirms the belief of the number and comparative civilization of the Caledonians; for at whatever period the friendly connection between the two countries commenced, it continued uninterrupted till James VI. of Scotland succeeded to the throne of England. The tradition that Charlemagne appointed two Caledonian professors to preside over his academical establishments at Padua and Paris, may, in like manner, be regarded as a testimony in favour of the learning of

Gael, or Celts, and that they spoke the Gaelic language, seems to be clearly proved by Mr Grant, in his "Thoughts on the Gael." If the Picts spoke a language different from the Celtic, every trace of it has disappeared; the names of towns, rivers, mountains, valleys etc., being either Celtic or Saxon.

† See Appendix, B.

the Celts at that period. Before the age of Charlemagne, indeed, the college of Icolmkill had reached the height of its celebrity.*

When the succession of the Alpine Kings to the throne of the Picts caused the seat of royalty to be transferred from the mountains to the more fertile regions of the Lowlands, and when the marble chair, the emblem of sovereignty, was removed from Dunstaffnage to Scone, the stores of learning and history, preserved in the College of Iona, were also carried to the South, and afterwards destroyed by the barbarous policy of Edward I. Deficient and mutilated as the records in consequence are, it is impossible to ascertain the degree of civilization which this kingdom of glens and mountains had attained; but, judging from the establishment of the College of Icolmkill, at a period when darkness prevailed in other parts of Europe, a considerable portion of learning must be ad-

* Martin, in his *Description of the Western Islands*, printed in 1703, says of Icolmkill, "This monastery furnished bishops to several dioceses of England and Scotland. One of these was Bishop of Lindisfern, now Holy Island." Bede states, in his third Book, that Oswald, King of Northumberland, took refuge from domestic treason in the island of Iona, where he was instructed in the doctrines of Christianity, and learned the Gaelic language. He returned home in 634, and founded the monastery of Lindisfern; and, on applying to Iona, obtained a bishop, named Aidan, to whom, as he knew Gaelic only, the Saxon King acted as interpreter, when preaching to his subjects. Caxton, who wrote in 1482, says, "King Oswald axed the Scottes, and had it granted, that Bishop Aidanus schold come and teche his people: Thence the Kinge gave him a place of a Bishope's See in the island of Lyndesfern; then men mighte see wonders; for the Bishop preached in Scottishe (i.e. in Gaelic, as the word was then understood by the English), and the Kinge told forth in Englishe, to the people, what it was he said or meent." Fol. 226.

mitted to have been diffused. Hence the feelings of even Dr Johnson were powerfully awakened by the associations naturally arising from the sight of this celebrated spot. "We were now," says he, "treading that illustrious island, which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefit of knowledge, and the blessings of religion. To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible, if it were endeavoured, and would be foolish, if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses, whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me, and from my friends, be such frigid philosophy, as would conduct us, indifferent and unmoved, over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force on the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warm among the ruins of Iona."

Such a seat of learning and piety could not fail to influence the manners of the people. Inverlochy, their capital, maintained a considerable intercourse with France and Spain.* Yet, of the progress made in the arts by the Scots of that remote period, no specimens have descended to our times except the remains of their edifices. The Castle of Inverlochy, although it has been in ruins for nearly five hundred years, is still so entire as to have furnished a model for the present Castles of Inveraray and Taymouth; so far had our ancestors, at a very early period, advanced in the knowledge and practice of architecture, or rather so small has the advancement yet been,

* Hollingshed Chronicles.

that models are still taken from the works of "savage clans and roving barbarians."* The underground foundations round that part of Inverlochy which is still standing, show that it was originally of great extent. Dunstaffnage Castle, which has been also in ruins for many centuries, exhibits equal strength of walls, but not the same regularity of plan. This may have been owing to its situation, as it is built on a rock, to the edges and incurvations of which the walls have been adapted. Urquhart Castle, which has likewise stood in ruins for many centuries, is one of the finest specimens of castle building in the country. But it must be confessed that Scotland in general, and particularly the Highlands, possesses no castles that can bear comparison with the splendid baronial residences of the more wealthy nobility of England and Wales.

In many parts of the Highlands, however, ruins and foundations of places of strength, and of castles, are so frequent, as to exhibit proofs of the existence of a popu-

* Modern architects of the first celebrity have not disdained to imitate the ornamental and magnificent designs of the "dark ages," when required to produce plans for public and private buildings of more than usual elegance; but seeing that the specimens they exhibit in different parts of the country, are so inferior to the originals they attempt to copy, perhaps the harsh epithets of ignorance and barbarity, so often applied to those ages, might be somewhat softened. The men who designed and erected the cathedrals of Elgin and Dunkeld, could not be so savagely ignorant as they have been represented. They certainly were not ignorant of one elegant branch of the fine arts, as is proved by the superb and magnificent edifices they built and consecrated to Divine Worship; an example which might be imitated with advantage by their Presbyterian descendants, of whom it has been said, that the "Scotch build castles and fine houses for themselves, and barns for the worship of God!"

lation more numerous than that of latter ages. The marks and traces of the plough also evidently demonstrate that cultivation was, at one period, more extended than at present. Fields on the mountains, now bleak and desolate, and covered only with heath and fern, exhibit as distinct ridges of the plough as are to be seen on the plains of Moray.* Woods and cultivation gave a genial warmth to the climate, which planting and other improvements would probably yet restore. As an instance of these marks of the ancient population, I shall confine my observations to one district. In a small peninsula, situated between the rivers Tummel and Garry, extending from Strowan, four miles west from Blair-Athole, to the Port of Loch-Tummel, about ten miles in length, and four miles in breadth, ending at the point of Invergarry, below the Pass of Killiecrankie, there are so many foundations

* It has been said, in accounting for the existence of these marks of more extended cultivation, that, in ancient times, the valleys were thickly wooded, and much infested with wolves and other wild animals; and that the inhabitants were, in some measure, compelled to cultivate the high grounds, which were more clear of woods and wild beasts. But as wolves could not be such objects of terror to an armed population, and as it is not probable men were so void of common sense, however savage they might be, as to cultivate the more barren and exposed parts of a country, and leave the warm and sheltered untouched; it may, with some confidence, be supposed, that a stronger necessity than the dread of savage animals compelled the inhabitants to cultivate, as high as the soil and climate would produce any return for their labour. Being shut up in their mountains by the hostility of their neighbours on the plains, from whom no supply could be obtained except by force of arms, the number of inhabitants required that every spot capable of cultivation should be rendered as productive as possible: hence the higher parts were necessarily cleared and cultivated, when the low grounds were found insufficient.

of ancient habitations (and these of apparent note), as to indicate a remarkably numerous population. They are nineteen in number. One circular building, near the house of Fincastle, is sixty-two feet in diameter ; the walls are seven and a half feet thick, and a height of five feet is still remaining. In the district of Foss there are four. On the estate of Garth there are eight, some with walls nine feet thick ; the stones in two of which are so weighty, that they could scarcely have been raised to the walls without the aid of machinery. In Glenlyon* there are seven ; and, in a word, they are scattered all over the country. Respecting these buildings, various opinions are entertained ; but one thing is certain, that they must have been erected at a great expense of labour, and that a numerous people only would have required so many buildings, either for shelter or defence. Tradition assigns them to the age of Ossian, and they are accordingly denominated Chaistail na Fiann, "the Castles of the Fingallians." The adjacent smaller buildings are pointed out by names expressive of the purposes to which they were appropriated. In Glenlyon, for instance, is shown the kennel for Fingal's dogs, and the house for the principal hunters. All this, to be sure, is tradition, and will be received as such ; but the traces of a numerous population in former times, are nevertheless clear and incontrovertible.

But, whatever might have been the population and state of civilization of ancient Albion, the country was destined to experience one of those revolutions which are so frequent in human affairs. The extension of their

* In ancient poetry, it is stated that the Fingallians had twelve castles in Glenlyon, but the ruins of seven only are visible at this day.

dominions occasioned the frequent absence of the kings from the ancient seat of their government. At length when, about the year 1066, the Court was removed by Malcolm Ceanmor, never to return to the mountains, the sepulchres, as well as the residence of the future kings of Scotland, were henceforth destined to be in the south; and Dunfermline became the royal cemetery instead of Icolmkill, where so many kings, chiefs, bishops, eminent ecclesiastics, and men of learning lie entombed. That university, which had for ages been the fountain whence religion and learning were diffused among the people, was now deserted. The removal of the seat of authority was speedily followed by the usual consequences. The Highlanders were impoverished. Nor was this the only evil that resulted from the transference of the seat of government. The people, now beyond the reach of the laws, became fierce and turbulent, revenging in person those wrongs for which the administrators of the laws were too distant and too feeble to afford redress. Thence arose the institution of chiefs, who naturally became the judges and arbiters in the quarrels of their clansmen and followers, and who, surrounded by men devoted to the defence of their rights, their property, and their power, established within their own territories a jurisdiction almost wholly independent of their liege lord.*

* In 1057 Malcolm Ceanmor formed several thaneships throughout the kingdom into lordships and earldoms; those in the Highlands were said to be Monteith, Lennox, Athole, Mar, Moray, Ross, Caithness, Badenoch, and Sutherland. Many descendants of these noble families still exist in the country; but there is no representative of any in a direct line, except the present Countess of Sutherland, whose title, the most ancient in the kingdom, will soon merge in the superior title to which the son will succeed. It is a curious circumstance, that, although there exists only one direct descendant

of the thanes who were promoted on the occasion above mentioned, the families of many of those who remained as thanes, such as Mackintosh, Campbell, Macdougall, Maclean, Cameron, Menzies, Grant, etc., are to be traced in direct and unbroken male lineage, down to the present day. The direct succession of the Lords of the Isles ended in the fifteenth century ; yet there are many thousands of their descendants, besides numerous descendants of several other families of that early period, cadets and branches of which have come down in lineal descent, although that of the chiefs has been interrupted.



SECTION II.

System of Clanship—Consequences of this system—Effects of the want of Laws on the Manners and Character of the People.

THE division of the people into clans and tribes, under separate chiefs, whose influence remained undiminished till after the year 1748, constitutes the most remarkable circumstance in their political condition, and leads directly to the origin of many of their peculiar sentiments, customs, and institutions. The nature of the country, and the motives which induced the Celts to make it their refuge, almost necessarily prescribed the form of their institutions. Unequal to contend with overwhelming numbers, who drove them from the plains, and anxious to preserve their independence, and their blood uncontaminated by intermixture with strangers, they defended themselves in those strongholds, which are, in every country, the sanctuaries of national liberty, and the refuge of those who resist the oppression and domination of a more powerful neighbour. Thus, in the absence of their monarchs, and defended by their barrier of rocks, they did not always submit to the authority of a distant government, which could neither enforce obedience, nor afford protection. The division of the country into so many straths, valleys, and islands, separated from one another by mountains or arms of the sea, gave rise, as a matter of necessity, to various little societies; and individuals of superior property, courage, or talent, under whose banners they had fought, or under whose protection they had settled,

naturally became their chiefs. Their secluded situation rendered general intercourse difficult, while the impregnable ramparts with which they were surrounded made defence easy.

Every small society had arms sufficient for its own protection, artisans skilful enough to furnish the rude manufactures required within their own territory, pasture for their cattle, wood for every purpose, moss and turf for fuel, and space for their hunting excursions. As there was nothing to tempt them to change their residence, to court the visits of strangers, or to solicit the means of general communication, every society became insulated. The whole race was thus broken into many individual masses, possessing a community of customs and character, but placed under different jurisdictions. Thus every district became a petty independent state. The government of each community, or clan, was patriarchal,* a sort of hereditary monarchy, founded on custom, and allowed by general consent, rather than regulated by laws. Many

* The feudal system, which had obtained such general influence over all the east and south of Europe, did not extend to the inaccessible districts, where the remains of the Celts had taken shelter. In Wales, in Ireland, in the western and middle borders of Scotland, and in the Highlands, the patriarchal government was universal. Opposed to this was the feudal system of their Saxon invaders, who established it as far as their power extended. It was long the policy of the Scottish legislature to oppose the feudal government, and support the power exercised by the chief, *jure sanguinis*, over the obedience and service of his clan, while the power assumed by the feudal superior of his freehold was disregarded. In this manner the Duke of Gordon, feudal superior of the lands and estates held by the Camerons, Macphersons, Macdonells of Keppoch, and others, had no vassalage or command over these clans, who always followed the orders of their patriarchal chiefs, Lochiel, Clunie, Keppoch, etc.

members of each clan considered themselves, and actually were, branches and descendants of the same family. The central stem of this family was the chief. But the more these connections of blood and friendship tended to preserve internal harmony, the more readily the clans broke out into violence on occasions of any external injury or affront. The laws of the state affording no protection, clans and individuals, when oppressed or insulted, were obliged to revenge, or seek for redress in their own persons, and thence turbulence, aggressions, and reprisals necessarily resulted. In this state of agitation, all knowledge of letters was lost, except among a few; but a kind of traditionary lore, scarcely less efficient, was preserved by means of the Bards and Senachies, or the Elders of Clans and Tribes. With very few laws, and no controlling power to enforce the execution of the few they had, they presented the rare spectacle of a people so beneficially influenced by the simple institutions and habits which they had formed for themselves, that, with all the defects consequent on such a state, they were prepared, with a little cultivation, to become valuable members of society.

In this insulated state, with a very limited admission of strangers, intermarriages and consanguinity were the natural consequence; and many members of the clan bore the same name with the chief.* In this manner a

* A supposition has been entertained, that many changed their names, and assumed names different from that of the clan or family. This was not frequent, and proceeded from a custom, (very necessary where so many were of the same name), of adding a distinguishing denomination to the Christian name; and sometimes when a man, from respect or gratitude, named his child after a friend, it was continued to the descendants. But instances abound of the

kind and cordial intimacy, and a disposition towards mutual support, were preserved, in a manner totally un-
wide extension of the same name and clan by lineal descent. Of these the following is one : James Stewart, son of Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan and Badenoch, commonly called the Wolf of Badenoch, second son of King Robert II., first of the Stewarts, is said to have built the Castle of Garth, and settled there some time after the year 1390. † There are now living in the district of Athole, within its ancient boundary, 1937 persons of the name of Stewart, descendants of this man, in the male line, besides numbers in other parts of the kingdom. The descendants through the female line being considerably more numerous, as few women leave the country, in proportion to the number of men who enter the army, and resort to different parts of the world, we have thus upwards of 4000 persons now living in one district, descended of this individual. Facts of this nature are easily ascertained in the Highlands, where descent from honourable ancestors is not forgotten or neglected by the poorest individual. It may therefore be believed, that, in former times, the bond of friendship was close and strong, in societies where so much importance was attached to consanguinity. It has likewise been alleged, that the more ancient names and people must have been removed by violence, or extirpated to make room for the more recent clans. This opinion seems founded on conjecture rather than fact. Such changes often occur from natural causes. The name of Cunnison or Macconich was prevalent in Athole in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries ; yet not an individual of that name now remains. All died out without violence or expulsion. In the same period there were twenty-four small landed proprietors, (or wadsetters, as they were called), of the name of MacCairbre in Breadalbane ; but not a man of that name

† In the Cathedral of Dunkeld, there is a statue in armour of this "Wolf of Badenoch," or Alaster Mor Mac-in-Righ, "Alexander the King's son," as he is called in the Highlands. The statue seems to have been designed as part of a tomb, but is now greatly mutilated. The Earl of Buchan died in 1394. His descendants, now resident in Athole, are so numerous, that if each subscribed one shilling, this tomb and statue of their common ancestor might be completely repaired and restored to its original state, and would form an elegant and interesting ornament to the magnificent ruin, in which it has lain upwards of four hundred years.

known in modern times. To all, the chief* stood in the several relations of landlord, leader, and judge. He could

is now to be found, nor is there even a tradition of one of them having ever been extirpated, or their lands taken from them by force. All became extinct by natural causes. One of these MacCairbres, probably their chief, possessed Finlairg Castle, afterwards one of the principal seats of the family of Glenorchy. The following communication, from Archibald Fletcher, Esq., advocate, exhibits a more recent instance of the extinction of clans and names without violence. 'About fifty years ago I visited my cousin, Donald Fletcher of Bernice, who then lived at Baravourich in Glenorchy, the original country of the Fletchers, and who, in the figurative language of the country, are said to be the first "that raised smoke or boiled water" in that district. On the two farms of Baravourich and Achalader, there were at that time eighty persons of my own name and descent, but when I went there two years ago, there was not a human being of my name remaining.'

In the former editions MacCairbre was by mistake spelt MacRabie. Great antiquity is given by tradition to the MacCairbres; they are said to be descended from Cairbre Rua, frequently mentioned by Ossian. Archibald Fletcher, Esq., advocate, is descended from the MacCairbres in the female line, and in failure of the male line, may be considered as their representative.

* It may be proper to mention, that many families of the same descent had two names, one common to the whole clan, as Macdonald, Macleod, etc., the other to distinguish a branch, which last was called the *bun sloine*, or genealogical surname, taken from the Christian name, or whatever designation marked the first man who branched off from the original family. In this manner, Campbell of Strachur is always called Macarstair or Macarthur, Campbell of Asknish, Macivor, and a tribe of the Robertsons in Perthshire, descendants from Strowan, are also called Clanivor; a tribe descended from Stewart of Garth are Clan Duilach, from their immediate ancestor, who was so denominated from his black eyes. Another tribe of the same family are called Camachas, or Crookshanks, from a bend or deformity in his leg, by which their ancestor was distinguished from others of his name. A class of the Stewarts of Appin are called Combich; and in this manner, through nearly all

call out the young men to attend him at the chase, or to fight under his banners—a mandate which generally met with ready obedience.

The zeal and courage which the Highlanders displayed in the cause of the Stuart princes, particularly in 1745, excited such alarm, and produced such extraordinary effects, as to give an exaggerated idea of their numbers. The peculiarity of their situation, and the sources of their power, which could no longer be despised, were minutely examined, and a Memorial, * said to have been drawn up by the Lord President Forbes of Culloden, was transmitted to Government, detailing the force of every clan, the tenures of every chieftain, and the amount of retainers which he could bring into the field. This enumeration proceeds on the supposition that the chieftain calculated

the clans, tribes, and families in the Highlands; never, at the same time, forgetting the proper surname of their chief, or stem of their family. Thus, all the Macarthurs of Strachur † are Campbells, as are all the Macivors of Argyleshire; while the Macivors of Athole and Breadalbane are Robertsons, and the Duilach, Camachas, and Combich, are Stewarts, and so sign their names, and are designated in all writings, while in common conversation the *bun sloinc*, or genealogical surname, is their usual appellation. To a stranger, the accuracy with which these genealogical connections were preserved may appear ridiculous, but the people filled up many idle hours very innocently with matters of this kind, never failing to bring forward the best traits in the character of their relations. Few men disclaim a relationship to persons of honour, worth, or high station. No claims of this nature were allowed by the Highlanders to sleep; and it is to be wished their conduct would continue, as formerly, to be influenced by the dread of disgracing the honourable race whose blood they believed filled their veins.

† There is a very ancient clan of this name, quite distinct from the branch of the Campbells. The Chief's estate lay on the side of Loch-owe in Argyleshire.

* See Appendix, C.

upon the military services of the youthful, the most hardy, and the bravest of his followers, omitting those who were infirm from age, those who, from tender years, or natural inability, were unable to carry arms, and those whom it was found necessary to leave at home, for conducting the business of the country. Besides the clans enumerated in this curious document, there were a number of independent gentlemen, who had many followers, as also several small clans, or "tribes" as they are commonly called, which have been omitted in the Lord President's report.

After treating of the general character of the Highlanders, the Memorial particularizes each clan, and sub-joins statements of their respective forces, as under.*

* Duke of Argyll	..	...	...	...	...	3000
Breadalbane	...	...	...	...	...	1000
Lochnell and other cheftains of the Campbells	...	...	...	...	...	1000
Macleans	...	...	...	...	...	500
Maclachlans	...	...	...	...	...	200
Stewart of Appin	..	...	...	...	...	300
Macdougals	...	...	...	...	...	200
Stewart of Grandtully	...	...	...	...	...	300
Clan Gregor	...	...	...	...	...	700
Duke of Athole	...	...	...	...	...	3000
Farquharsons	..	...	...	...	...	500
Grant of Gordon	..	...	...	...	...	300
Grant of Grant	...	...	...	...	...	850
Mackintosh	...	...	...	...	...	800
Macphersons	...	..	..	...	...	400
Frasers	...	...	...	...	...	900
Grant of Glenmorrison	...	...	...	...	...	150
Chisholms	...	...	...	...	...	200
Duke of Perth	...	...	...	...	...	300
Seaforth	...	...	..	...	...	1000

In the enumeration below, the reader will find exhibited in one view the power by which this mixture of patriarchal and feudal government was supported. When the kindred and followers of the chief saw him thus surrounded by a body so numerous, faithful, and brave, they

Cromarty, Scatwell, Gairloch, and other chieftains of the Mackenzies	...	...	...	...	...	1500
Menzies	...	..	...	...	...	300
Munros	...	...	...	...	...	300
Rosses	...	...	...	...	...	500
Sutherlands	...	...	...	...	...	2000
Mackays	...	...	...	...	...	800
Sinclairs	...	...	...	...	...	1100
Macdonald of Sleat	...	...	...	...	...	700
————— Clanranald	...	...	...	...	...	700
————— Glengarry	...	...	...	...	...	500
————— Keppoch	...	...	...	...	...	300
————— Glencoe	...	...	...	...	...	130
Robertsons	...	...	...	...	...	200
Camerons	...	...	...	...	...	800
Mackinnons	...	...	...	...	...	200
Macleods	...	...	...	...	...	700
The Duke of Montrose, Earls of Bute and Moray, Macfarlanes, Colquhouns, Macneils of Barra, Macnabs, Macnaughtans, Lamonts, etc., etc.						5600
						<hr/> 31,930

In this statement the President has not included his own family of Culloden, and his immediate neighbours Rose of Kilravock, and Campbell of Calder; nor has he noticed Bannatyne of Kaimes, the Macallasters, Macquarries, and many other families and names. As an instance of uninterrupted lineal descent, through a series of turbulent ages, that of the family of Kilravock is remarkable. Colonel Hugh Rose is the twenty-sixth Laird, and the nineteenth of the name of Hugh in regular succession, since the estate came into the possession of his family.

could conceive no power superior to his ; * and how far soever they looked back into the history of their tribe, they found his progenitors at their head. Their tales, traditions, and songs continually referred to the exploits or transactions of the same line of kindred and friends, living under the same line of chiefs; and the transmission of command and obedience, from one generation to another, thus became, in the eye of a Highlander, as natural as the transmission of blood, or the regular laws of descent. The long unbroken line of chiefs † is as great a proof of

* When the first Marquis of Huntly waited upon King James VI. in Edinburgh, on being created Marquis, in the year 1590, he stood in the presence chamber with his head covered ; and on being reminded of his seeming want of respect, he humbly asked pardon, assigning as an excuse, that as he had just come from a country where all took off their bonnets to him, he had quite forgotten what he owed to his present situation.

† Twenty-one Highland chiefs fought under Robert Bruce at Bannockburn. The number of their direct descendants now in existence, and in possession of their paternal estates, is remarkable. The chiefs at Bannockburn were, Stewart, Macdonald, Mackay, Mackintosh, Macpherson, Cameron, Sinclair, Drummond, Campbell, Menzies, Maclean, Sutherland, Robertson, Grant, Fraser, Macfarlane, Ross, Macgregor, Munro, Mackenzie, and Macquarrie. Cumming, Macdougall of Lorn, Macnab, and a few others, were also present, but unfortunately in opposition to Bruce. In consequence of the distinguished conduct of the chief of the Drummonds in this battle, the King added the calthrops to his armorial bearings, and gave him an extensive grant of lands in Perthshire. It is said to have been by Sir Malcolm Drummond's recommendation that the calthrops, which proved so destructive to the English cavalry, were made use of on that day.

When we consider the state of turbulence and misrule which prevailed in the Highlands, an unbroken succession, for five hundred years, of so great a proportion of the chief agitators and leaders, is the more remarkable, as there has been a greater change of property

the general mildness of their sway, as of the fidelity of their followers; for the independent spirit displayed on various occasions by the people, proves that they would not have brooked oppression, where they looked for kindness and protection. "This power of the chiefs is not supported by interest, as they are landlords, but by consanguinity, as lineally descended from the old patriarchs or fathers of their families; for they hold the same authority when they have lost their estates, as may appear from several instances, and particularly that of one who commands his clan, though at the same time they maintain him, having nothing left of his own."*

This was the late Lord Lovat, who, with all his good and bad qualities, possessed, in a singular degree, the art of securing the love and obedience of his clan. Though attainted and outlawed, and though his estate was forfeited, and given to Mackenzie of Fraserdale, as next heir in the female line, his mother being eldest daughter of a former Lord Lovat; yet such was the fidelity of the clan to their real chief, that they flocked to his standard at the first summons, quitting his rich rival, who, being possessed of the estate, had the power of rewarding his friends and supporters. The individuals might change, but the ties that bound together one, were drawn more closely, though by insensible degrees, around the succeeding; and thus each family, in all its various successions, retained something like the same sort of relation to the parent stem, which the renewed leaves of a tree

within the last forty years of tranquillity, abundance, and wealth, than in the preceding two hundred years of feuds, rapine, and comparative poverty.

* Letters from an Officer of Engineers to his friend in London.

in spring preserve, in point of relative position, to those which dropped off in the preceding autumn.*

Many important consequences, regarding the character of the Highlanders, resulted from this division of the people into small tribes, and from this establishment of patriarchal government. The authority of the king was rendered feeble and inefficient. His mandates could

* The attachment and friendship of kindred, families, and clans, were confirmed by many ties. It has been a uniform practice in the families of the Campbells of Melford, Duntroon, and Dunstaffnage, that, when the head of either family died, the chief mourners should be the two other lairds, one of whom supporting the head to the grave, while the other walked before the corpse. In this manner friendship took the place of the nearest consanguinity; for even the eldest sons of the deceased were not permitted to interfere with this arrangement. The first progenitors of these families were three sons of the family of Argyll, who took this method of preserving the friendship, and securing the support of their posterity to one another.

In a manner something similar the family of Breadalbane had their bonds of union and friendship, simple in themselves, but sufficient to secure the support of those whom they were intended to unite. The motto of the armorial bearings of the family is "Follow me." This significant call was assumed by Sir Colin Campbell, Laird of Glenorchy, who was a Knight Templar of Rhodes, and is still known in the Highlands by the designation of Cailean Dubh na Roidh, "Black Colin of Rhodes." Several cadets of the family assumed mottos analogous to that of this chivalrous knight, and when the chief called "Follow me," he found a ready compliance from Campbell of Glenfalloch, a son of Glenorchy, who says, "Thus far," that is, to his heart's blood, the crest being a dagger piercing a heart;—from Achlyne, who says, "With heart and hand;"—from Achallader, who says, "With courage;"—and from Barcaldine, who says, *Paratus sum*: Glenlyon, more cautious, says, *Quæ recta sequor*. A knight and baron, neighbours but not followers, Menzies of Menzies, and Flemyng of Moness, in token of friendship say, "Will God I shall," and "The deed will show." An ancestor of mine, also a neighbour, says, "Beware."

neither arrest the depredations of one clan against another, nor allay their mutual hostilities. Delinquents could not, with impunity, be pursued into the bosom of a clan which protected them, nor could his judges administer the laws, in opposition to their interests or their will. Sometimes he strengthened his arm, by fomenting animosities among them, and by entering occasionally into the interest of one, in order to weaken another.* Many instances of this species of policy occur in Scottish history, which, for a long period, was unhappily a mere record of internal violence. The consequence of this absence of general laws was an almost perpetual system of aggression, warfare, depredation, and contention. These little sovereignties touched at so many points, yet were so independent of one another; they approached so nearly, in many respects, yet were, in others, so distant; there were so many opportunities of encroachment on the one hand, and so little of a disposition to submit to it on the other; and the quarrel of one individual of the tribe so naturally involved the rest, that there was scarcely ever a profound peace, or perfect cordiality between them. Among their chiefs the most deadly feuds frequently arose from opposing interests, or from wounded pride. These feuds were warmly espoused by the whole clan, and were often transmitted, with aggravated animosity, from generation to generation.

It would be curious to trace all the negotiations, treaties, and bonds of amity (or *Manrent*, as they are called), with which opposing clans strengthened themselves, and their coalitions with friendly neighbours, against the attacks and encroachments of their enemies or rivals,

* This was acting on the old maxim, "*Divide et impera.*"

or to preserve the balance of power.* By these bonds,† they pledged themselves to assist each other ; but, however general their internal insurrections and disputes might be, however extended their cause of quarrel with rivals or neighbours, they invariably bound themselves to be loyal and true to the king : “always, excepting my duty to our Lord the King, and to our kindred and friends,” was a special

* It is rather a humiliating consideration for the votaries of ambition, who have made war and politics their sole study, to find, from the history of past ages, that no less art, sagacity, address, and courage, have been displayed in the petty contest of illiterate mountaineers, than in their most refined schemes of policy and their most brilliant feats of arms. That they should be able, by intrigue and dexterity, to attach new allies, and detach hostile tribes from their confederates, is a still more mortifying proof how nearly the unassisted powers of natural talent approach to the practices of the most profound politicians.

† As a curious document of this nature, I may mention a bond of amity and mutual defence entered into by a number of gentlemen of the name of Stewart in Athole, Monteith, and Appin, to which each affixed his seal and signature, binding himself to support the others against all attacks and encroachments, especially from the Marquis of Argyll, who had sided with the Covenanters. This bond is dated at Burn of Keltney, 24th June 1654. The long continued feuds between the Argyle and Atholemen, which were latterly much embittered by political differences, were the cause of many skirmishes and battles. The last of these was a kind of drawn battle, in the reign of Charles II., each party retiring different ways. When the Atholemen heard that the Argylemen were on their march to attack them, they immediately flew to arms, and, moving forward, encountered their foes in Breadalbane, near the east end of Loch-Tay. The conflict was most desperate. The dead were carried to a considerable distance and buried in a small knoll, now included in the parks of Taymouth, where their bones were found in great numbers in 1816, when Lord Breadalbane cut down a corner of this knoll in the formation of a road.

clause.* In these treaties of mutual support and protection were included smaller clans, unable to defend themselves, and such families or clans as had lost their chiefs. Those of the name of Stewart, for instance, whose estates lay in the district of Athole, and whose chiefs by birth, being at one period Kings of Scotland, and afterwards of Great Britain, where latterly in exile, ranged themselves under the family of Athole, though they were themselves sufficiently numerous to raise 1000 fighting men. When such unions took place, the smaller clans followed the fortunes, engaged in the quarrels, and fought under the chiefs of the greater,† but their ranks were separately marshalled, and led by their own subordinate chieftains and lairds, who owned submission only when necessary, for the success of combined operations. From these, and other causes, the Highlands were, for ages, as constant a theatre of petty warfare, as Europe has been of im-

* Of these bonds of Manrent, the instances are too many to be enumerated. One in possession of Lord Bannatyne, is a bond between his ancestor the Laird of Kames, chief of the Bannatynes or MacCamelyne, as they are called in Gaelic, and Sir John Stewart, ancestor to the Marquis of Bute, dated 20th May 1547, in which they engage to stand by and support each other, against all persons except the King and the Earl of Argyll; this latter reservation being to enable the chief of the Bannatynes to fulfil a bond of Manrent, he had previously come under to Argyll. This latter bond is dated 14th April 1538.

Nor were these engagements confined to chiefs and heads of families: humbler individuals thus bound themselves; but a particular exception never to be forgotten or infringed, was their fidelity to the chief of their own blood and family.

† In this manner the Macraes followed the Earl of Seaforth, the Gunns and Mathesons the Earls of Sutherland, the MacColls, the Stewarts of Appin, and the Macgillivrays and Macbeans, the Laird of Mackintosh, etc., etc.

portant struggles. The smaller the society, and the more closely connected together, the more keenly did it feel an injury, or resent an insult offered by a rival tribe. A haughty or contemptuous expression uttered against a chief, was considered by all his followers, in the light of a personal affront;* and the driving away the cattle of one clansman, was looked upon as an act of aggression against the whole. The rage for vengeance, and the desire of reprisals, spread throughout the little community, like the violence of an insult offered to an individual, heightened by the sympathy of numbers. Submission to insult would have been present disgrace, and would have invited future aggression. Immediate hostility was therefore the result, and the gathering word of the clan found an echo in every breast.†

If no immediate opportunity of obtaining complete satisfaction occurred; if the injured party was too weak to repel attack, and to vindicate their honour in the field, or to demand compensation for their property, still the hostile act was not forgotten, nor the resolution of avenging it abandoned. Every artifice by which cunning could compensate the want of strength was practised; alliances were courted, and favourable opportunities watched.

* “When a quarrel begins in words between two Highlanders of different clans, it is esteemed the very height of malice and rancour, and the greatest of all provocations, to reproach one another with the vices or personal defects of their chiefs, or that of the particular branch whence they sprung; and, in a third degree, to reproach the whole clan or name, whom they will assist, right or wrong, against those of any other tribe with which they are at variance, to whom their enmity, like that of exasperated brothers, is most outrageous.”—*Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland.*

† See Appendix, D.

Even an appearance of conciliation was assumed, to cover the darkest purposes of hatred ; and as revenge is embittered in all countries where the laws are ill executed, and where the hand of the individual must vindicate those rights which public justice does not protect, so this feeling was cherished and honoured when directed against rival tribes.*

To such a pitch were those feelings carried, that there are instances, both in tradition and on record, in which these feuds led to the most sanguinary conflicts, and ended in the extermination of one of the adverse parties.†

The spirit of opposition and rivalry between the clans perpetuated a system of hostility, encouraged the cultivation of the military at the expense of the social virtues, and perverted their ideas both of law and morality. Revenge was accounted a duty, the destruction of a neighbour a meritorious exploit, and rapine an honourable occupation. Their love of distinction, and a conscious reliance on their own courage, when under the direction of these perverted notions, only tended to make their feuds more implacable, their condition more agitated, and their depredations more rapacious and desolating. Superstition

* In the present enlightened times, were the laws unable to afford protection, and were individuals, or collective bodies, forced to arm in order to redress their own wrongs,—would murder, turbulence, and spoliation of property, be less prevalent than they were in the Highlands when unprotected by the general laws of the realm? Were the return of such scenes of license and rapine a probable occurrence, I fear much the warmest advocate of modern civilization would hardly venture to anticipate, that they would be blended with those frequent and softening traits of honourable feeling which distinguished the inroads of the wild mountaineers.

† See Appendix, E.

added its influence in exasperating animosities, by teaching the clansmen, that, to revenge the death of a relation or friend, was a sacrifice agreeable to his manes; thus engaging on the side of implacable hatred, and vengeance, the most amiable and domestic of all our feelings,—reverence for the memory of the dead, and affection for the virtues of the living.*

As the general riches of the country consisted in flocks and herds, the usual mode of commencing attacks, or of making reprisals, was by an incursion to carry off the cattle of the hostile clan. A predatory expedition was the general declaration of enmity; and a command given by the chief to clear the pastures of the enemy, constituted the usual letters of marque. Such inroads were frequently directed to the Lowlands, where the booty was richest,

* Another custom contributed to perpetuate this spirit of lawless revenge. Martin, who studied, and understood the character and manners of the Highlanders, says, “Every heir or young chieftain of a tribe was obliged in honour to give a specimen of his valour before he was owned or declared governor or leader of his people, who obeyed and followed him on all occasions. This chieftain was usually attended with a retinue of young men, who had not before given any proof of their valour, and were ambitious of such an opportunity to signalize themselves. It was usual for the chief to make a desperate incursion upon some neighbour or other, that they were in feud with, and they were obliged to bring, by open force, the cattle they found in the land they attacked, or to die in the attempt. After the performance of this achievement, the young chieftain was ever after reputed valiant, and worthy of government, and such as were of his retinue acquired the like reputation. This custom being reciprocally used among them, was not reputed robbery; for the damage which one tribe sustained by the inauguration of the chieftain of another was repaired when their chieftain came in his turn to make his specimen; but I have not heard of an instance of this practice for these sixty years since.”—*Martin's Description of the Western Islands*. London, printed 1703.

and where less vigilance was exercised in protecting it. Regarding every Lowlander as an alien, and his cattle as fair spoil of war, they considered no law for his protection as binding. The Lowlanders, on the other hand, regarded their neighbours of the mountains as a lawless banditti, whom it was dangerous to pursue to their fastnesses, in order to recover their property, or to punish aggressions. Yet, except against the Lowlanders, or a hostile clan, these freebooters maintained, in general, the strictest honesty towards one another, and inspired confidence in their integrity. In proof of this, it may be mentioned, that instances of theft from dwelling-houses scarcely ever occurred, and highway robbery was totally unknown, except in one case so recent as the year 1770, when a man of education, and of respectable family, but of abandoned character, formed and headed a gang of robbers.* In the interior of their own society, all pro-

* His name was Mackintosh. He was a man of education, and knowledge of the world, who disgraced the respectable family from which he was descended, and the community to which he belonged. He was bred in a school such as the Highlands had rarely witnessed. His father, who, by a base stratagem, had usurped possession of an estate to which he had no right, lived, after the death of his wife, in a kind of seraglio, despised and shunned by the neighbouring gentry, though his abilities were good, and his manners prepossessing. He was the Colonel Charteris of his district, with this honourable distinction in favour of the Highlanders, that he was shunned as much as the other was countenanced. This example accounts too well for the bold profligacy of his heir, who excelled in all personal accomplishments, possessed engaging and elegant manners, and was remarkably handsome. The last exploit of this man was an attempt to rob Sir Hector Munro on his journey to the North, after his return from India in 1770. Mackintosh escaped to America, and afterwards joined Washington's army. One of his accomplices was taken and executed at Inverness in 1773.

perty was safe, without the usual security of bolts, bars, and locks.* An open barn, or shed, was the common summer receptacle of their clothes, cheese, and everything that required air; and although iron bars and gates were necessary to protect the houses and castle of the chiefs and lairds from hostile inroads, when at feud, no security

* A late scientific tourist gives an unintentional testimony to the probity and honesty of the people towards one another. Noticing the wretched dwellings of the inhabitants of St Kilda, with an interior dark and smoky, he adds, "Each house has a door with a lock and key, a luxury quite unknown in other parts of the Highlands." It were well that this luxury should long continue unknown, and that the people should remain ignorant of the necessity of securing their houses. If the progress of civilization, as the change of manners is called, compel the Highlanders to lock their doors against nightly depredators, it may create a question, whether ignorance and integrity, or knowledge and knavery, be preferable; or whether people can indeed be called ignorant, who are attentive to their religious duties,—who exercise the moral virtues of integrity and filial reverence,—who are loyal to their king, brave and honourable in the field, and equally firm in opposing an enemy and in supporting a friend. If these traits of character are exhibited by a people called ignorant and uncivilized, the terms may have perhaps been misapplied. On this subject Martin says of the Highlanders of the seventeenth century, "I am not ignorant that foreigners have been tempted, from the sight of so many wild hills, to imagine that the inhabitants, as well as the places of their residence, are equally barbarous, and to this opinion their habits as well as their language has contributed. The like is supposed by many that live in the south of Scotland; but the lion is not so fierce as he is painted, neither are the people here so barbarous as people imagine. The inhabitants have humanity, use strangers hospitably and charitably. I could bring several instances of barbarity and theft by stranger seamen in the Isles, *but there is not one instance of any injury* offered by the islanders to any seaman or stranger. For the humanity and hospitable temper of the islanders to sailors I shall only give two instances." †

† See Appendix F.

was required in time of peace, and while the castle gates were open the dwellings of the people had no safeguard.* But on the other hand, open depredations were carried on with systematic order, and they saw no greater moral turpitude in levying a *creach*,† heading a foray, or in “lifting”

* My father, still adhering to old customs, does not lock his doors to this day. I know not how long this custom may with safety be continued : recent symptoms of a deplorable change in morals will undoubtedly compel people to guard their property with more care. It will then be no longer, as I have known it, that gentlemen have been half their lives in the commission of the peace, without having occasion to act against a criminal, unless in issuing warrants to recover the fines of Excise Courts, or on account of assaults on Excise officers, and accidental frays. Clothes and linens will no longer be seen drying and bleaching in all parts of the country, and at all hours, without guard or protection ; nor open sheds hung round with all the Sunday’s apparel of the lads and lasses. The rude Highlanders are undergoing a process of civilization by new manners, new morals, and new religion, the progress of which is at once rapid and deplorable. An inquiry into the cause of this loss of principle and morals in an age when so much is done to enlighten and educate, would certainly be extremely interesting.

† *Creach* is a very appropriate term, and means, to impoverish. If there was much resistance in these forays, and if lives were lost, great destruction frequently ensued in revenge for the loss sustained ; but in common incursions, either against the Lowlanders, or rival tribes, personal hostilities were avoided except in retaliation of some previous death or insult. The creachs of the Highlanders, though sufficiently calamitous, were trifling when compared with the raids or forays on the borders of England and Scotland. The following account of the devastation committed by the English upon the Scotch, in the year 1544, will serve as a specimen of the miseries to which the border countries were exposed. The sum-total of mischief done in different forays, from the 2nd of July to the 17th of November of that year, is thus computed :—“ Towns, towers, steads, parish churches, castle houses, cast down and burnt, 192 ; Scots slain, 403 ; prisoners taken, 816 ; nolts (*i.e.*, horned cattle),

the cattle which "cropped the grass of an enemy," than we now discover in the reprisals and exploits of our men of war and privateers, or in the killing of deer and game. the latter of which subjects the offenders to punishment, if detected, while no shame or disgrace attaches to the deed, whether discovered or not.

In a country in which the ablest and most active of the people despised the labour necessary to raise their subsistence from the soil, and in which the use of arms was thought the most honourable occupation, every excuse was eagerly seized for commencing hostilities. If overtaken in their depredations, the plunderers were generally prepared for resistance, and for ennobling an act of robbery by the intrepidity of their defence. Such an event, however, was rather avoided than courted; and the rapidity of their retreat, joined to the acuteness of their vision, formed generally their best security, as well as one of their readiest means for recovering their cattle. It is said that habit had rendered their sight so acute that, where a common observer could perceive nothing, they could trace the cattle, by the yielding of the heath over which they had passed. If cattle were thus traced to a man's property, without any marks of their having proceeded beyond his boundary, he was held responsible, and

taken, 10,386; sheep, 12,498; nags and geldings, 1296; goats, 200; bolls of corn, 850; insight gear (*i.e.*, household furniture), not reckoned." In another inroad by the Earl of Hertford, in the year 1545, he burnt, rased, and destroyed in the counties of Berwick and Roxburgh, "Monasteries and friars' houses, 7; castles, towers, and piles, 16; market towns, 5; villages, 243; milns, 13; hospitals, 3. All these were cast down and burnt." As the Scots were equally ready and skilful in this irregular warfare, we have many similar instances of the damage done in their wasteful and destructive raids or inroads into England.

an immediate quarrel ensued, unless he agreed to make ample restitution, or compensation for the loss.

Besides those persons who committed occasional spoliations, which they did not regard as dishonourable, and which they exercised at times as the means of weakening or punishing their enemies, there was a peculiar class, called *Kearnachs*. This term, originally applied to the character of soldiers, was equivalent to the catherons of the Lowlands, the kernes of the English, and the catervæ of the Romans,—denominations, doubtless, of the same import.* In their best days, the kearnachs were a select

* It has been suggested by a learned author, that the Lake, celebrated in the Poem of the “Lady of the Lake,” and known by the name of Loch *Katrine*, derives its name from the word above mentioned, and is the Loch of Kearnachs, or Catherons. Some of these kearnachs died in my remembrance. They had completely abandoned their old habits, and lived a quiet domestic life, but retained much of the chivalrous spirit of their youth, and were respected in the country. One man was considered an exception to this general description, as it was supposed that he was not altogether convinced of the turpitude of cattle-lifting. However, as he had the character of being a brave soldier, these suspicions against his moral opinions were less noticed. His name was Robert Robertson, but he was called in the country *Rob Bane*. He was very old when I knew him, but he had not lost the fire and animation of earlier years. In autumn 1746, a party, consisting of a corporal and eight soldiers, marching north to Inverness, after passing Tummel Bridge, halted on the road-side, and placed their arms against a large stone some yards behind them. Robert Bane observed the soldiers, and the manner in which they disposed of their arms. This, as he said, was a good opportunity to make a dash at his old friends the *Saighdearan dearg*, or red coat soldiers, whom he had met at Gladsmuir, Falkirk, and Culloden. None of his neighbours were at home to assist him; but he sallied out by himself, armed with his gun, pistols, and broadsword, and, proceeding with great caution, got close to the party undiscovered, when he made a sudden spring, and placed himself between the

band, and were employed in all enterprises where uncommon danger was to be encountered, and more than common honour to be acquired. Latterly, however, their employments were less laudable, and consisted in levying contributions on their Lowland neighbours, or in making them pay tribute, or *Black Mail** for protection. The

soldiers and their arms. Brandishing his sword in one hand, and pointing his gun with the other, he called out to them in broken English, to surrender instantly, or he would call his party, who were in the wood behind, and would kill them all. The soldiers were so taken by surprise, that they permitted the kearnach to carry off their arms for the purpose of delivering them, as he said, to his companions in the wood. He quickly returned, however, and desiring the soldiers to follow him quietly, else those in the woods would be out, he conducted them to Tummel-Bridge inn, where he left them, and repairing to the wood, took possession of the arms as fair spoil of war. The soldiers soon discovered the truth, and hurried back to recover their arms, and get hold of the man who, by his address and courage, had thus disgraced them; but the kearnach had taken care to place himself and his prize out of danger. When the soldiers reached Inverness, they were tried and punished for the loss of their arms. In the course of the following year, Bane went to Inverness, not expecting that he would be recognised; but he was mistaken. The day he arrived he met one of the soldiers who knew him, and instantly laying hold of him, called for assistance, secured, and sent him to jail. While he lay there, three men who were confined in the same room, broke through the prison wall and made their escape. He refused to accompany them, saying that he took nothing from his prisoners but their arms, which he considered as no crime, and, therefore, had no occasion to fear or to escape from punishment. The circumstance coming to the knowledge of his Clansman, Mr Robertson of Inches, who lived in the neighbourhood, he made so favourable a representation of his case, that the kearnach was liberated without trial, and allowed to return home as a reward for his conduct in not availing himself of such an opportunity of escaping the intended punishment, which in those days was sometimes very summary.

* See Appendix, G.

sons of the tacksmen, or second order of gentry, frequently joined these parties, and considered their exploits as good training in the manly exercises proper for a soldier.

The Highlanders of the counties of Perth, Stirling, and Dunbarton, inhabiting chiefly a border country, had the most frequent encounters with their southern neighbours, and also skirmishes with the Lochaber, Badenoch, and northern kernachs, whom on their return from their expeditions to the south, they sometimes attacked, with an intention of stripping them of their booty, either on their own account, or for the purpose of restoring it to the owners.

The borderers being thus placed in the centre of agitation, and having arms always ready, were prepared to turn out whenever their services might be required. The clan Farquharson, and the Highlanders of Braemar, placed in the same circumstances with regards to the Lowlands of the counties of Banff, Aberdeen, and Kincardine, as the Athole Highlanders were in regard to those of Perth, Stirling, and Angus, acquired similar habits; and both of them being actuated by similar political principles, they generally took the field together on all important occasions. An instance of the warlike disposition thus cherished, appeared in the rebellion during the reign of Charles I., when the Marquis of Montrose always found "his brave Atholemen" his never-failing support, both in his numerous victories, and under his greatest reverses. At his call they were always ready. On one occasion, being dressed in the common Highland garb, and attended only by the Laird of Inchbreakie and one servant, he came among them so unexpectedly, that some Irish soldiers who had been sent over by the Earl of Antrim,

under Macdonnell,* (or Alister MacColla, as he was called by the Highlanders,) "could hardly be persuaded the man they saw was the Marquis of Montrose, till he was saluted by the Atholemen, who knew him perfectly, and almost paid him the honours of a guardian angel ;"† and the following day, "the Atholemen, to the number of eight hundred, put themselves in arms, and offered their services most cheerfully to Montrose." In the same manner we find (as will be afterwards noticed), that "fifteen hundred men of Athole, as reputable for arms as any in the kingdom,"‡ joined Lord Dundee to support King James. The storming of the town of Dundee, and the skilful and masterly retreat effected by Montrose and his Atholemen in the face of a greatly superior force, affords another instance in point, and is the only further example of the same kind which I shall adduce. In the year 1645, Montrose, being deceived by false information from his spies, mistook the motions of the enemy, and resolving to punish the town of Dundee, "a most seditious town, being the securest haunt and receptacle of the rebels in those parts, and a place that had contributed as much as any other towards the rebellion," marched from Dunkeld, at twelve o'clock at night, with one hundred and fifty horse, six hundred Atholemen, and a detachment of Irish, and reaching Dundee at ten o'clock

* This brave loyalist, and able partisan, was a native of the county of Antrim. The Marquis of Montrose placed the utmost confidence in his talents and intrepidity, entrusting to his command the most difficult enterprises. To this day his memory is held in the highest veneration by the Highlanders, who retain many traditional anecdotes of him.

† *Bishop Wishart's Memoirs of Montrose.*

‡ *General Mackay's Memoirs.*

next morning, instantly stormed and carried the town; but he had scarcely taken possession, when he received information that General Baillie and Colonel Hurry, two veteran and experienced officers, with eight hundred horse, and three thousand infantry, were on their march towards him, and within little more than a mile of the town. Montrose immediately recalled his men, and marched off, pursued by the enemy, who, dividing their force, sent one part to intercept, and the other to pursue him. During the retreat he occasionally halted, and opposed their successive attacks, and by a circuitous route regained the Grampians through the pass of Glen Esk, with a trifling loss.—“And this was that so much talked-of expedition to Dundee, infamous indeed for the mistakes of the scouts, but as renowned as any for the valour, constancy, and undaunted resolution of the General; and admirable for the hardiness of the soldiers in encountering all extremities with patience: for threescore miles together (Scotch miles, equal to ninety English), they had been often in fight, always upon their march, without either meat or sleep, or intermission, or the least refreshment; which, whether foreign nations or aftertimes will believe, I cannot tell; but, I am sure, I deliver nothing but what is most certain of my own knowledge: And truly, amongst expert soldiers, and those of eminent note, both of England, Germany, and France, I have not seldom heard this expedition of Montrose preferred to his greatest victory.”*

The endless feuds between the Argyle and Atholemen assisted in preserving the military spirit and the use of

* *Dr Wishart, Bishop of Edinburgh's Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose.*

arms. In the charter-chest of Stewart of Ballechin there is a commission to his ancestor, the Laird of Ballechin, from the Marquis of Atholl, then Lord-Lieutenant of Argyleshire, dated in 1685, authorising him to march with a strong body of Atholemen into that county, and to take possession of the property of the Marquis of Argyll, and of several gentlemen then attainted for rebellion. In what spirit these orders were carried into effect, will appear from the circumstance that eighteen gentlemen, of the name of Campbell, were executed at Inveraray. The commission granted to Ballechin is highly curious, and prescribes all the intended operations and proposed plans with great accuracy and precision.*

* I am informed by my friend Mr Stewart of Ballechin, that, in the preceding editions, I had misapprehended the nature of this document; and that it was a commission from the Marquis of Atholl as Lord Lieutenant of Argyleshire to his ancestor, under the authority of which he marched into that county, and, taking possession of Inveraray, held courts there. Many were tried on a charge of rebellion, and refusing to take the Test Oath; and eighteen men were executed. I find also that Ballechin got a charter from the Crown in 1685, containing a grant of a considerable portion of lands in Argyleshire. Having only had a cursory glance of these documents a number of years ago, it is probable I may not have had a proper recollection of their real import. But in whatever view this transaction is considered, whether as a feudal inroad, or a proceeding under authority, it equally proves the object for which I introduced the subject;—namely, to show, in a strong light, the fatal effects which may be expected when a weak and inefficient government is unable to execute an important measure, except by employing the inhabitants of one district to coerce and punish those of another; thus adding fresh matter of irritation and hostility to former feuds, and exciting a spirit of revenge and retaliation—a feeling which would not have existed, at least in the same degree, had a sufficient force, from a distant country, been employed. Were the weavers of Glasgow sent to quell a riot or insurrection among the weavers of

How little the Highlanders were accustomed to attach any ideas of moral turpitude to such exploits, may be learned from the conduct and sentiments of several of those freebooters, who, at no very distant period, became the victims of a more regular administration of the laws, and who were unable to comprehend in what their criminality consisted. After the troubles of 1745, many who had been engaged in them, afraid to return to their own country, over which the king's troops were dispersed, and having no settled residence or means of support, formed several associations of freebooters, which laid the borders of the Highlands under contribution.

An active leader among these banditti, Donald Cameron, or Donald Bane Leane, was tried in Perth for cattle stealing, and executed at Kinloch Rannoch in 1752, in order to strike terror into his band in that district. At his execution he dwelt with surprise and indignation on his fate. He had never committed murder, nor robbed man or house, or taken anything but cattle off the grass of those with whom he was at feud; why therefore punish him for doing that which was a common prey to all? Another freebooter, Alexander Stewart, (commonly called Alister Breac, from his being marked with the smallpox), was executed in 1753. He was despised as a pitiful thief, who deserved his fate, because he committed such acts as would have degraded a genuine Kearnach.

But they were not the actors alone who attached no criminality, or at least disgrace, to the "lifting of cattle,"

Paisley, and were they to hang a number of the rioters, the heart-burnings, jealousies, and spirit of revenge, which such rencontres would occasion, may easily be imagined.

as we find from a letter of Field Marshal Wade to Mr Forbes of Culloden, then Lord Advocate, dated October 1729, describing an entertainment given him on a visit to a party of *Kearnachs*. The Marshal says, "The Knight and I travelled in my carriage with great ease and pleasure to the feast of oxen which the highwaymen had prepared for us, opposite Lochgarry, where we found four oxen roasting at the same time, in great order and solemnity. We dined in a tent pitched for that purpose. The beef was excellent; and we had plenty of bumpers, not forgetting your Lordship's and Culloden's health; and, after three hours' stay, took leave of *our benefactors, the highwaymen*,* and arrived at the hut at Dalnachardoch before it was dark."†

The constant state of warfare, aggression, and rapine, in which the clans lived, certainly tended to improve their ingenuity, and inured them to hardships and privations, which, indeed, their abstemious mode of living, and their constant exposure to all varieties of weather in their loose and light dress, enabled them to bear without inconvenience. ‡ On the other hand, this incessant

* The Marshal had not at this period been long enough in the Highlands to distinguish a *kearnach*, or "lifter of cattle," from a highwayman. No such character as the latter then existed in the country; and it may be presumed he did not consider these men in the light which the word would indicate;—for certainly the Commander-in-Chief would neither have associated with men whom he supposed to be really highwaymen, nor partaken of their hospitality.

† *Culloden Papers*.

‡ Habituated as the people were, from the nature of the country, and their pastoral employment, to traverse extensive tracts exposed to tempests and floods, and to cross rapid torrents, and dangerous precipices, the young Highlander acquired a presence of mind which

state of warfare gave a cast of savage ferocity to their character, while their quarrels and hereditary feuds kept them in a state of alarm and disquietude, and obliged them to have recourse to stratagems and intrigues. These naturally gave rise to habits of duplicity, which had a baneful influence on their morals. Whilst a summary and arbitrary course of proceeding was sanctioned by ideas of honour, passion had no check from legal control, and retaliation must have frequently been accompanied by licentious cruelty, and a disregard of all moderation

prepared him for becoming an active and intelligent soldier, particularly in that independent species of warfare practiced in the woods of America, and lately so much in use with our light troops, in which men must depend upon their own resources and personal exertions. These habits are not so readily acquired in a level country, where there are few natural obstructions or difficulties, and these few easily surmountable by art.

In Mr Jamieson's excellent edition of Burt's Letters, the following instance is given of presence of mind in a Highland lad, who, with a Lowland farmer, was crossing a mountain stream, in a glen, at the upper end of which a waterspout had fallen. The Highlander had reached the opposite bank, but the farmer was looking about and loitering on the stones over which he was stepping, wondering at a sudden noise he heard, when the Highlander cried out, "Help, help, or I am a dead man," and fell to the ground. The farmer sprang to his assistance, and had hardly reached him when the torrent came down, sweeping over the stones, with a fury which no human force could have withstood. The lad had heard the roaring of the stream behind the rocks, which intercepted its view from the farmer, and fearing that he might be panic struck if he told him of his danger, took this expedient of saving him. A young man like this might have been trusted on an out-post in front of an enemy; and, possessing such presence of mind, would have been equally capable of executing his own duties, and of observing the movements and intentions of the enemy.

and justice.* To avoid the disorders produced by per-

* An old historian has drawn the following picture of the state of Scotland after the murder of James I., and during the minority of his son, James II., under the administration of Livingston of Callander, the Governor, and the Lord Chancellor Crichton, the imbecility of whose government was such as to leave the turbulence of the nobility without control. The strong arm of the law had never been felt in the Highlands, and hence arose the summary modes of avenging private wrongs, to which the people had recourse in the absence of judicial redress. Yet they may be said to have lived in a state of peace and repose, compared with the distractions and turbulence of the south, whenever the laws and the executive authority were for a time suspended. "Through this manner," says the author, "the whole youth of Scotland began to rage in mischief; for as long as there was no man to punish, much herships and slaughter was in the land and boroughs, great cruelty of nobles among themselves, for slaughters, theft, and murder, were there patent; and so continually, day by day, that he was esteemed the greatest man of renown and fame that was the greatest brigand, thief, or murderer. But they were the cause of this mischief that were the governors and magistrates of the realm. And this oppression and mischief reigned not only in the south-west parts, but also the men of the Isles invaded sundry parts of Scotland at that time, both by fire and sword, and especially the Lennox was wholly overthrown. Traitors became so proud and insolent, that they burned and herried the country wherever they came, and spared neither old nor young, bairn or wife, but cruelly would burn their houses and them together if they made any obstacles. Thus they raged through the country without any respect either to God or man."

Of the reign of James V. the same author writes, "the King went to the south with 12,000 men, and after this hunting he hanged Johnie Armstrong, Laird of Kilnocky, over the gate of his castle, and his accomplices, to the number of thirty-six persons, for which many Scotchmen heartily lamented, for he was the most redoubted chieftain that had been for a long time on the borders of Scotland or of England. It is said, that, from the borders to Newcastle, every man of whatsoever estate paid him tribute to be free of his trouble. This being done, the king passed to the Isles, and there

petual strife, a plan was adopted for compensating injuries by a composition in cattle. The amount of the reparation to be made was generally determined by the principal men of their tribes, according to the rank and wealth of the parties, and the nature of the injury. Thus the aggressions of the rich could not escape with impunity; and, complete redress being the object of the arbiters, the composition was considered more honourable, as well as affording greater security against future encroachments, in proportion to the largeness of its amount. These ransoms, or compensations, were called *Erig*.

held justice courts, and then punished both thief and traitor, according to their deserts; syne brought many of the great men of the Isles captive with him, such as Macdonnells, Macleod of the Lewis, Macneil, Maclean, Mackintosh, John Muidart, Mackay, Mackenzie, with many others that I cannot rehearse at this time, some of them to be put in wards, and some had in courts, and some he took in pledges for good rule in time coming; so he brought the Isles in good rule and peace both north and south, whereby he had great profit, service, and obedience of people a long time thereafter; and as long as he had the heads of the country in subjection, they lived in great peace and rest, and there was great riches and policy by the king's justice." *

* *Lindsay of Pitscottie's History of Scotland.*



SECTION III.

*Devoted obedience of the Clans—Spirit of Independence—
Fidelity.*

THE chief generally resided among his retainers. His castle was the court where rewards were distributed, and the most enviable distinctions conferred. All disputes were settled by his decision;* and the prosperity or poverty of his tenants depended on his proper or improper treatment of them. These tenants followed his standard in war, attended him in his hunting excursions, supplied his table with the produce of their farms, and assembled to reap his corn, and to prepare and bring home his fuel. They looked up to him as their adviser and their protector. The cadets of his family, respected in proportion to the proximity of the relation in which they stood to him, became a species of sub-chiefs, scattered over different parts of his domains, holding their lands and properties of him, with a sort of subordinate jurisdiction over a portion of his people; and were ever

* During fifty-five years, in which the late Mr Campbell of Achallader had the charge of Lord Breadalbane's estate, no instance occurred of tenants going to law. Their disputes were referred to the amicable decision of the noble proprietor and his deputy; and as the confidence of the people in the honour and probity of both was unlimited, no man ever dreamed of an appeal from their decision. Admitting even that their judgment might occasionally be erroneous, the advantages of these prompt and final decisions, to a very numerous tenantry, among whom many causes of difference naturally arose from their mixed and minute possessions, were incalculable.

ready to afford him their counsel and assistance in all emergencies.

Great part of the rent of land was paid in kind, and generally consumed where it was produced. One chief was distinguished from another, not by any additional splendour of dress or equipage, but by having a greater number of followers, * by entertaining a greater number of guests, and by the exercise of general hospitality, kindness, and condescension. What his retainers gave from their individual property was spent amongst them in the kindest and most liberal manner. At the castle every individual was made welcome, and was treated according to his station, with a degree of courtesy and regard to his feelings unknown in many other countries.† This condescension, whilst it raised the clansman in his own estimation, and drew closer the ties between him and his superior, seldom tempted him to use any improper familiarities.

* Macdonell of Keppoch being questioned as to the amount of his income, "I can call out and command 500 men," was the answer.

† Dr Johnson, noticing this interchange of kindness and affectionate familiarity between the people and their landlords, thus describes a meeting between the young Laird of Coll (elder brother of the present), and some of his attached and dutiful retainers:—"Wherever we moved," says the Doctor, "we were pleased to see the reverence with which his subjects regarded him. He did not endeavour to dazzle them by any magnificence of dress; his only distinction was a feather in his bonnet; but as soon as he appeared, they forsook their work and clustered round him; he took them by the hand, and they were mutually delighted. He has the proper disposition of a chieftain, and seems desirous to continue the custom of his house. The bagpiper played regularly when dinner was served, whose person and address made a good appearance, and brought no disgrace on the family of Rankin, which has long supplied the Lairds of Coll with hereditary music."--*Doctor Johnson's Tour*.

He believed himself well born,* and was taught to respect himself in the respect which he showed to his chief;

* This pride of ancestry, when directed as it was among this people, produced very beneficial effects on their character and conduct. It formed strong attachments, led to the performance of laudable and heroic actions, and enabled the poorest Highlander begging his bread to support his hardships without a murmur. Alexander Stewart claimed a descent from one of the first families in the kingdom, and through them from the Kings of Scotland; but being poor and destitute, he went about the country as a privileged beggar. He took no money, nor anything but a dinner, supper, or night's accommodation, such as a man of his descent might expect on the principles of hospitality. He never complained of bad fare, lodging, or any other privation. Seeing (he said) that one king of his family and name had been assassinated, another had died in a wretched cottage or mill, a queen and a king of the same blood had lost their heads upon the scaffold, and the descendants of these kings, exiles from the country of their fathers, had been supported by the benevolence of strangers; and seeing that eminent men of his blood had endured misfortunes and want with firmness and resignation,—ought not he to do the same? and would he discredit his honourable descent by unavailing complaints against that Providence which suffered the high as well as the low to be visited by misfortune?

These may be called prejudices, but it were well if all prejudices had a similar effect in making men contented under poverty and destitution; and when such are their effects, perhaps the term prejudice, as usually understood, does not apply.

Alexander Macleod, from the Isle of Skye, was some years ago seized with a fatal illness in Glenorchy, where he died. When he found his end approaching, he earnestly requested that he might be buried in the burying-ground of the principal family of the district, as he was descended from one as ancient, warlike, and honourable; and stated that he could not die in peace if he thought his family would be dishonoured in his person, by his being buried in a mean and improper manner. Although his request could not be complied with, he was buried in a corner of the churchyard, where his grave is preserved in its original state by Dr Macintyre, the venerable pastor of Glenorchy.

and thus, instead of complaining of the difference of station and fortune, or considering a ready obedience to his chieftain's call as a slavish oppression, he felt convinced that he was supporting his own honour in showing his gratitude and duty to the generous head of his family. "Hence, the Highlanders, whom more savage nations called savage, carried in the outward expression of their manners the politeness of courts without their vices, and in their bosoms the high point of honour without its follies."*

"Nothing," says Mrs Grant, "can be more erroneous than the prevalent idea that a Highland chief was an ignorant and unprincipled tyrant, who rewarded the abject submission of his followers with relentless cruelty and rigorous oppression. If ferocious in disposition, or weak in understanding, he was curbed and directed by the elders of his tribe, who, by inviolable custom, were his standing counsellors, without whose advice no measure of any kind was decided."†

But though the sway of the chief was thus mild in practice, it was in its nature arbitrary, and, on proper occasions, was exercised with full severity. There is still to be seen among the papers of the family of Perth, an application from the town of Perth to Lord Drummond, dated in 1707, requesting an occasional use of his Lordship's executioner, who was considered an expert operator. The request was granted, his Lordship reserving to himself the power of recalling him whenever he had occasion for his services. Some time before the year 1745, the Lord President Forbes, travelling from Edinburgh to

* *Dalrymple's Memoirs.*

† *Mrs Grant's Superstitions of the Highlanders.*

his seat at Culloden, dined on his way at the Castle of Blair Athole, with the Duke of Atholl. In the course of the evening a petition was delivered to his Grace, which having read, he turned round to the President, and said "My Lord, here is a petition from a poor man, whom Commissary Bisset, my baron bailie,* has condemned to be hanged; and as he is a clever fellow, and is strongly recommended to mercy, I am much inclined to pardon him." "But your Grace knows," said the President, "that, after condemnation, no man can pardon but his Majesty." "As to that," replied the Duke, "since I have the power of punishing, it is but right that I should have the power to pardon;" and calling upon a servant who was in waiting, "Go," said he, "send an express to Logierait, and order Donald Stewart, presently under sentence, to be instantly set at liberty."†

* A civil officer, to whom the Chief's authority was occasionally delegated.

† The family of Atholl possessed many superiorities in Perthshire; and when they held their courts of regality at Logierait, their followers, to the number of nearly a hundred gentlemen, many of them of great landed property, assembled to assist in council, or as jurymen on such trials as it was necessary to conduct on this principle; and, as these gentlemen were accompanied by many of their own followers and dependants, this great chief appeared like a sovereign, with his parliament and army. Indeed, the whole was no bad emblem of a king and parliament, only substituting a chief and his clan for a king with his peers and commoners. The hall in which the feudal parliament assembled (a noble chamber of better proportions than the British House of Commons), has lately been pulled down; and thus one of the most conspicuous vestiges of the almost regal influence of this powerful family has been destroyed, and many recollections of the power and dignity to which it owed its foundation obliterated.

Independently of that authority which the chiefs acquired by ancient usage and the weakness of the general government, the lords of regality, and great barons and chiefs, possessed the rights of jurisdiction, both in civil and criminal matters, and either sat in judgment themselves, or appointed judges of their own choice, and dependent upon their authority. Freemen could be tried by none but their peers. The vassals were bound to attend the courts of their chiefs, and, among other things, to assist as jurymen in the trials of delinquents. When they assembled on these occasions, they established among themselves such regulations as, in their opinion, tended to the welfare of the community; and, whenever it became necessary, they voluntarily granted such supplies as they thought the necessity of their superiors required. Their generosity was particularly shown on the marriage of the chief, and in the portioning of his daughters and younger sons. These last, when they settled in life, frequently found themselves supplied with the essential necessaries of a family, and particularly with a stock of cattle, which, in those patriarchal days, constituted the principal riches of the country.*

* The above information I received from several old gentlemen who remembered the practice. These were intelligent persons, much habituated to conversation, faithful in recollection, and clear in the communication of their knowledge, from having been chroniclers of what to them was of the greatest importance—the history, the policy, the biography, and the character of their ancestors and contemporaries. To a common observer, no part of their communication would have appeared more extraordinary than the control exercised by the Elders or Seniors of the clan or district, the ready obedience yielded to their judgment and remonstrance, and the firmness and independence of sagacious peasants, in setting effective limits to arbitrary power.

The laws which the chief had to administer were extremely simple. Indeed, his sway was chiefly paternal. Reverence for his authority, and gratitude for his protection, which was generally extended to shield the rights of his clansmen against the aggression of strangers, were the natural result of his patriarchal rule. This constituted an efficient control, without many examples of severity. At the same time, the mutual dependence of the clansmen on one another, and their frequent meetings for consulting on their common interests, or for repelling common danger, tended to produce and cherish the social and domestic virtues, together with that ease and familiarity which, when well regulated, prove a source of much endearment, and render it necessary for every individual to cultivate a corresponding spirit of civility and complaisance. These manners and dispositions, both of the people and their superiors, furnish a ready explanation of the zeal with which the former followed their chiefs, protected their persons, and supported the honour of their country and name. In the battle of Inverkeithing, between the Royalists and Oliver Cromwell's troops, five hundred of the followers of the Laird of Maclean were left dead on the field. In the heat of the conflict, seven brothers of the clan sacrificed their lives in defence of their leader, Sir Hector Maclean. Being hard pressed by the enemy, he was supported and covered from their attacks by these intrepid men ; and as one brother fell, another came up in succession to cover him, crying "Another for Hector." This phrase has continued ever since as a proverb or watch-word when a man encounters any sudden danger that requires instant succour.

The late James Menzies of Culdares, having engaged in the rebellion of 1715, and been taken at Preston in

Lancashire, was carried to London, where he was tried and condemned, but afterwards reprieved.* Grateful for this clemency, he remained at home in 1745, but, retaining a predilection for the old cause, he sent a handsome charger as a present to Prince Charles when advancing through England. The servant who led and delivered the horse was taken prisoner, and carried to Carlisle, where he was tried and condemned. To extort a discovery of the person who sent the horse, threats of immediate execution in case of refusal, and offers of pardon on his giving information, were held out ineffectually to the faithful messenger. He knew, he said, what the consequence of a disclosure would be to his master, and his own life was nothing in the comparison. When brought out for

* Two brothers of Culdres were taken prisoners at the same time, and sent to Carlisle Castle. After a confinement of some months they were released, in consideration of their youth and inexperience; and immediately set off to London to visit their brother, then under sentence of death. Being handsome young men, with fresh complexions, they disguised themselves in women's clothes, and pretending to be Mr Menzies' sisters, were admitted to visit him in prison. They then proposed that one of them should exchange clothes with their brother, and that he should escape in this disguise. But this he peremptorily refused, on the ground that, after the lenity shown them, it would be most ungrateful to engage in such an affair; which, besides, might be productive of unpleasant consequences to the young man who proposed to remain in prison, particularly as he was so lately under a charge of treason and rebellion. They were obliged to take, what they believed to be, their last farewell of their brother, whose firmness of mind, and sense of honour, the immediate prospect of death could not shake. However, he soon met with his reward; he received an unconditional pardon, returned to Scotland along with his brothers, and lived sixty years afterwards in his native glen,—an honourable specimen of an old Highland Patriarch, beloved by his own people, and respected by all within the range of his acquaintance. He died in 1776.

execution, he was again pressed to inform on his master. He asked if they were serious in supposing him such a villain. If he did what they desired, and forgot his master and his trust, he could not return to his native country, for Glenlyon would be no home or country for him, as he would be despised and hunted out of the Glen. Accordingly, he kept steady to his trust, and was executed. This trusty servant's name was John Macnaughton, from Glenlyon, in Perthshire; he deserves to be mentioned, *

* A picture of Prince Charles, mounted on this horse, is in my possession, being a legacy from the daughter of Mr Menzies. A brother of Macnaughton lived for many years on the estate of Garth, and died in 179c. He always went about armed, at least so far armed, that when debarred wearing a sword or dirk, he slung a large knife in his belt. He was one of the last I recollect of the ancient race, and gave a very favourable impression of their general manner and appearance. By trade he was a smith; and although of the lowest order of the people, he walked about with an air and manner that might have become a Field-Marshal. He spoke with great force and fluency of language, and, although most respectful to those to whom he thought respect due, he had an appearance of independence and ease, that strangers, ignorant of the language and character of the people, might have supposed to proceed from impudence. As he always carried arms when legally permitted, so he showed on one occasion that he knew how to handle them. When the Black Watch was quartered on the banks of the rivers Tay and Lyon in 1741, an affray arose between a few of the soldiers and some of the people at a fair at Kenmore. Some of the Breadalbane men took the part of the soldiers, and, as many were armed, swords were quickly drawn, and one of the former killed; when their opponents, with whom was Macnaughton, and a smith, (to whom he was then an apprentice), retreated and fled to the ferry-boat across the Tay. There was no bridge, and the ferryman seeing the fray, chained his boat. Macnaughton was the first at the river side, and leaping into the boat, followed by his master the smith, with a single stroke of his broadsword he cut the chain, and crossing the river, fixed the boat on the opposite side,—and thus prevented an im-

both on account of his incorruptible fidelity, and of his testimony to the honourable principles of the people, and to their detestation of a breach of trust to a kind and honourable master, however great might be the risk, or however fatal the consequences to the individual himself.

For the further exemplification of this attachment of Highlanders to their superiors, I may refer to the celerity with which regiments were raised by them, even in more peaceable times, when the spirit of clanship had been considerably broken, and the feudal tenures in a great measure dissolved. Of this some remarkable instances will be found in the history of the Highland regiments. We have innumerable examples, too, of the force of that disinterested fidelity which, till a very recent period,

mediate pursuit. Indeed, no further steps were taken. The Earl of Breadalbane, who was then at Taymouth, was immediately sent for. On inquiry, he found that the whole had originated from an accidental reflection thrown out by a soldier of one of the Argyle companies against the Atholemen, then supposed to be Jacobites, and that it was difficult to ascertain who gave the fatal blow. The man who was killed was an old warrior of nearly eighty years of age. He had been with Lord Breadalbane's men, under Campbell of Glenlyon, at the battle of Sheriffmuir; and, as his side lost their cause, he swore never to shave again. He kept his word, and as his beard grew till it reached his girdle, he got the name of Padric na Feusaig, "Peter with the Beard." Lachlan Maclean, presently living near Taybridge, in his ninety-fifth year, and in perfect possession of all his faculties, was present at this affray.

This intelligent old man died since the publication of the former editions, in his ninety-seventh year, and, as is very common with men of his strength of constitution, preserved his faculties to his last hour. I happened to call upon him a week previous to his death. He was then in perfect health, and, besides repeating the above story and some others with his usual accuracy, he recited several portions of Ossian's poems with remarkable spirit and animation, warming as he proceeded in his recitation.

spurred on the Highlanders to follow their chieftains to the cannon's mouth, and produced displays of national feeling and intrepidity, which have procured for them a name and character not to be soon forgotten. The promptitude and zeal with which they formerly adopted the quarrels of their chiefs, and obeyed the slightest signal for action, are described in the following verses with an ardour and rapidity which present as lively and graphical a picture as words can convey.

“ He whistled shrill,
 And he was answered from the hill ;
 Wild as the scream of the curlew
 From crag to crag the signal flew ;
 Instant thro' copse and heath arose
 Bonnets and spears and bended bows,
 On right, on left, above, below,
 Sprung up at once the lurking foe ;
 From shingles green the lances start,
 The bracken bush sends forth the dart,
 The rushes and the willow wand
 Are bristling into axe and brand,
 And every tuft of broom gives life
 To plaided warriors, armed for strife.
 That whistle garrisoned the glen
 With full four hundred fighting men,
 As if the yawning hill to heaven
 A subterranean host had given.
 Watching their leaders' beck and will,
 All silent then they stood, and still,
 Like the loose crags, whose threatening mass,
 Long tottering o'er the hollow pass,
 As if an infant's touch could urge
 Their headlong passage down the verge ;
 With step and weapon forward flung,
 Upon the mountains' sides they hung.” *

* *Lady of the Lake.*

It may be thought absurd to quote a poetical description to

Yet the strength of this attachment and zeal did not extinguish the proper sense of independence. In some instances they even proceeded so far as to depose such chiefs as had degraded their name and family, or were unfit for their situations, transferring their allegiance to the next in succession, if more deserving. This happened in the case of the families of Macdonald of Clanranald and Macdonell of Keppoch. Two chiefs were deposed and set aside. The rejected chief of the former clan was killed, without issue, in an attempt to preserve his estate and authority;* the descendants of the latter are still in existence. But, even when they did not resort to such severe measures, their chiefs were often successfully opposed.†

authenticate a well-known fact. That, however, being established, the poetical description is merely introduced, because the delineation is perfect, and the ardour and rapidity of the diction present a livelier picture of what actually existed, than any other words can convey. The poet displays consummate judgment in seizing, for the purpose of description, a circumstance in the highest degree picturesque and poetical.

* The rejected chief of Clanranald was supported by his friend and brother chief Lord Lovat, and the clan Fraser. As was usual in those times, the question was decided by the sword. The strength of both sides being mustered, a desperate conflict ensued, and the Macdonalds confirmed their independence by victory. The hereditary chief was killed, together with his friend Lord Lovat, and a great number of followers of each party. The next in succession considered as more deserving, was appointed to head the clan. In this battle, which took place in July 1544, the combatants threw off their jackets and vests, and fought in their shirts. From this circumstance it has been called *Blar na Lein*, the "Battle of the Shirts."

† A son of a former Laird of Grant, known in tradition by the name of Laird Humphry, presented, in his conduct and fate, a striking illustration of the power occasionally exerted by the Elders of a

About the year 1460, the head of the family of Stewart of Garth was not only deprived of his authority by his friends and kindred, but confined for life on account of his ungovernable passions and ferocious disposition. The cell in the Castle of Garth in which he was imprisoned, was till lately regarded by the people with a kind of superstitious terror. This petty tyrant was nicknamed the "*Fierce Wolf*;" perhaps from his being a character similar to that of his immediate predecessor, Alaster Mor Mac in Rhi, the "Wolf of Badenoch," noticed in page 28; and if the traditionary stories related of him have any claim to belief, the appellation was both deserved and characteristic.

The clan Mackenzie possessed such influence over their chief, the Earl of Seaforth, that they prevented him from demolishing Brahan Castle, the principal seat of the family. Some time previous to the year 1570 the Laird of Glenorchy, ancestor of the Earl of Breadalbane, re-

clan. He was, in some respects, what the Highlanders admire,—handsome, courageous, open-hearted, and open-handed. But, by the indulgence of a weak and fond father, and the influence of violent and unrestrained passions, he became licentious and depraved, lost all respect for his father, and used to go about with a number of idle young men trained up to unbounded licentiousness. These dissolute youths visited in families, remained until everything was consumed, and after every kind of riotous insult, removed to treat another in the same manner, till they became the pest and annoyance of the whole country. Laird Humphry had, in the meantime, incurred many heavy debts. The Elders of the clan bought up these debts, which gave them full power over him; they then put him in prison in Elgin, where they kept him during the remainder of his life, leaving the management of the estate in the hands of his younger brother. The debts were made a pretext for confining him, the Elders not choosing to accuse him of various crimes of which he had been guilty, and the consciousness of which made him submit more quietly to the restraint.

solved to build a castle on a small knoll, high upon the side of Loch-Tay, and accordingly laid the foundation, which is still to be seen.* This situation was not agreeable to his advisers, who interfered, and induced him to change his plan, and build the Castle of Balloch, or Taymouth. It must be confessed that the clan showed more taste than the Laird in fixing on a situation for the family mansion.†

* At a short distance from the present hermitage at Taymouth.

† This fact vindicates the taste of the chief from the reflections thrown out against it by all tourists, pretending to that faculty, who have uniformly blamed his choice of so low a situation. His memory would have escaped these reflections, had it been known that the choice was made in due respect to the will of the "Sovereign people," who said, that if he built his castle on the edge of his estate, which was the site they proposed, his successors must of necessity exert themselves to extend their property eastward among the Menzies and Stewarts of Athole. This extension, however, was slow, for it was not till one hundred and seventy years afterwards, that the late Lord Breadalbane got possession of the lands close to Taymouth. But the present Earl has fulfilled the expectations of his ancient clan, by extending his estate eight miles to the eastward. Previous to this extension, so circumscribed was Lord Breadalbane, that the pleasure grounds on the north bank of the Tay, as well as those to the eastward of the castle, were the property of gentlemen of the name of Menzies.

The son of Sir Colin Campbell, who built the Castle of Taymouth, possessed seven castles, viz., Balloch or Taymouth, Finlarig, Edinample, Lochdochart, Culchurn, Achallader, and Barcaldine. Except Lochdochart, these were handsome edifices, and gave the name of Donach na Castail, or "Duncan of the Castles," to Sir Duncan Campbell, the Laird of Glenorchy and first Baronet of the family. He was also distinguished by the name of Duncan Dhu naric, from his dark complexion, and the cap or cowl he constantly wore, instead of the bonnet, to which only the eyes of the people were in those days accustomed. His picture, now in Taymouth, painted by Jamieson, the Scottish Vandyke, represents him in this

In this manner it required much kindness and condescension on the part of the chief to maintain his influence with his clan, who all expected to be treated with the affability and courtesy due to gentlemen. "And as the meanest among them," says the author of the Letters before mentioned, "pretended to be his relations by consanguinity, they insisted on the privilege of taking him by the hand wherever they met him. Concerning this last (he adds) I once saw a number of very discontented countenances, when a certain Lord, one of the chiefs, endeavoured to evade this ceremony. It was in the presence of an English gentleman, of high station, from whom he would willingly have concealed the knowledge of such seeming familiarity with slaves of wretched appearance; and thinking it, I suppose, a kind of contradiction to what he had often boasted at other times, viz., his despotic power in his clan."

This condescension on the part of the chief gave a feeling of self-respect to the people, and contributed to produce that honourable principle of fidelity to superiors and to their trust which I have already noticed, and which was so generally and so forcibly imbibed, that the man who betrayed his trust was considered unworthy of the name which he bore, or of the kindred to which he belonged. This interesting feature in the character of the Scotch Mountaineers is well known; but it may be gratifying to notice a few more examples of the exercise of such

black cap. He was a liberal patron of this artist, the most eminent of his day in Scotland. There are several specimens of his art in Taymouth. Sir Duncan Campbell also planted and laid out several of these noble avenues at Taymouth and Finlarig, which are now so ornamental, and show to how great a size trees grow even in those elevated glens.

an honourable principle amongst a race which has often been considered as ferocious and uncivilized.

HONOUR and firmness sufficient to withstand temptation may in general be expected in the higher classes of society ; but the voluntary sacrifice of life and fortune is a species of self-devotion and heroism not often displayed even in the best societies. All who are acquainted with the events of the unhappy insurrection of 1745, must have heard of a young gentleman of the name of Mackenzie, who had so remarkable a resemblance to Prince Charles Stuart, as to give rise to the mistake to which he cheerfully sacrificed his life, continuing the heroic deception to the last, and exclaiming, with his expiring breath, "Villains, you have killed your Prince!" Such an instance of heroic devotion would perhaps appear extravagant even in poetry or romance.*

The late Macpherson of Cluny, father of Colonel Macpherson, chief of that clan, was engaged in the rebellion

* The similarity of personal appearance was said to be quite remarkable. The young gentleman was sensible of this, and at different times endeavoured to divert the attention of the troops in pursuit of the fugitive prince to an opposite quarter of the mountains to that in which he knew Charles Edward was concealed after the battle of Culloden. This he effected by showing his person in such a way as that he could be seen, and then escaping by the passes or woods, through which he could not be quickly followed. On one occasion, he unexpectedly met with a party of troops, and immediately retired, intimating by his manner as he fled, that he was the object of their search ; but his usual good fortune forsook him. The soldiers pursued with eagerness, anxious to secure the promised reward of £30,000. Mackenzie was overtaken and shot, exclaiming, as he fell, in the words noticed above ; and it was not till the head was produced at the next garrison, for the purpose of claiming the reward, that the mistake was discovered.

of 1745.* His life was, of course, forfeited to the laws, and much diligence was exerted to bring him to justice. But neither the hope of reward, nor the fear of danger, could induce any one of his people to betray him, or to remit their faithful services. He lived for nine years chiefly in a cave, at a short distance from his house, which was burnt to the ground by the king's troops. This cave was in the front of a woody precipice, the trees and shelving rocks completely concealing the entrance. It was dug out by his own people, who worked by night, and conveyed the stones and rubbish into a lake in the neighbourhood, in order that no vestige of their labour might betray the retreat of their master. In this sanctuary he lived secure, occasionally visiting his friends by night, or when time had slackened the rigour of the search. Upwards of one hundred persons knew where he was concealed, and a reward of £1000 was offered to any one who should give information against him; and, as it was known that he was concealed on his estate, eighty men were constantly stationed there, besides the parties occasionally marching into the country, to intimid-

* It is honourable to the memory of a respectable lady to record the circumstances of Cluny's defection, which exaggerated his faults in the eyes of government, and furnished a motive for pursuing him with more determined hostility. He was, in that year, appointed to a company in Lord Loudon's Highlanders, and had taken the oaths to Government. His clan were, however, impatient to join the adventurous descendant of their ancient sovereigns, when he came to claim what they supposed his right. While he hesitated between duty and inclination, his wife, a daughter of Lord Lovat, and a staunch Jacobite, earnestly dissuaded him from breaking his oath, assuring him that nothing could end well that began with perjury. His friends reproached her with interfering, and hurried on the husband to his ruin.

ate* his tenantry, and induce them to disclose the place of his concealment. But though the soldiers were animated with the hope of the reward, and though a step of promotion to the officer who should apprehend him was super-added, yet so true were his people, so strict to their promise of secrecy,† and so dexterous in conveying to him the necessaries he required in his long confinement, that not a trace of him could be discovered, nor an individual found base enough to give a hint to his detriment. At length, wearied out with this dreary and hopeless state of existence, and taught to despair of pardon, he escaped to France in 1755, and died there the following year.

* The late Sir Hector Munro, then a lieutenant in the 34th Regiment, and, from his zeal, and knowledge of the country and the people, intrusted with the command of a large party, continued two whole years in Badenoch, for the purpose of discovering the chief's retreat. The unwearied vigilance of the clan could alone have saved him from the diligence of this party. At night, Cluny came from his retreat, to vary the monotony of his existence by spending a few of the dark hours convivially with his friends. On one occasion, he had been suspected, and got out by a back window just as the military were breaking open the door. At another time, seeing the windows of a house kept close, and several persons going to visit the family after dark, the commander broke in at the window of the suspected chamber, with two loaded pistols, and thus endangered the life of a lady newly delivered of a child, on account of whose confinement these suspicious circumstances had taken place. This shows that there was no want of diligence on the part of the pursuers. Cluny himself became so cautious, while living the life of an outlaw, that, on parting with his wife, or his most attached friends, he never told them to which of his concealments he was going, or suffered any one to accompany him;—thus enabling them, when questioned, to answer, that they knew not where he was.

† In a character of the Highlanders, drawn near 300 years ago, the author says, “As to their faith and promise, they hold it with great constancie.”

It would be endless to adduce particular examples of fidelity often tried and never found to fail, in periods of the greatest civil commotion, when the interests and feelings of men were so often opposed to their duties, and when the whole frame of society was shattered by the contending factions. After the troubles of 1715 and 1745, although many thousands were forced to flee from their houses, and conceal themselves from the vengeance of Government, very few instances of treachery occurred. The only persons who, on these occasions, sacrificed their honour to their interests, were some renegade Highlanders, who, having abjured their country, had lost along with it all its characteristic principles. This general feeling of honour, and standard of public virtue in the country, formed the surest pledge of the conduct of individuals. Of the many who knew of Prince Charles's places of concealment, was one poor man, who being asked why he did not give information, and enrich himself by the reward of £30,000, answered, "Of what use would the money be to me? A gentleman might take it, and go to London or Edinburgh, where he would find plenty of people to eat the dinners, and drink the wine which it would purchase; but, as for me, if I were such a villain as to commit a crime like this, I could not remain in my own country, where nobody would speak to me, but to curse me as I passed along the road." No prohibitory law, no penal enactment, or abstract rule of morality, could have operated so powerfully on the mind, as a feeling of this sort.*

* In those times of strife and trouble, instances that would fill a volume might be given of fidelity and unbroken faith. The following will show that this honourable feeling was common amongst the lowest and most ignorant. In the years 1746 and 1747, some of the gentlemen "*who had been out*" in the rebellion, were occasionally

This sensibility to dishonour among their kindred and neighbours, guided and controlled the conduct of many, whose principles in other respects were not unimpeachable. In September 1746, Prince Charles Edward lay two days without food in the mountains of Lochaber. The inhabited parts of the country were full of troops, and Charles having moved to some distance from the place he had agreed on with his friends, they knew not where to send him supplies. In this extremity, he proposed to ask assistance from some men whom they had observed in the morning going into a hut or cave a short way from the place where he then was. He had only two attendants, Macdonell of Lochgarry, and an Irishman. The latter urged him not to trust men of their

concealed in a deep woody den near my grandfather's house. A poor half-witted creature, brought up about the house, was, along with many others, intrusted with the secret of their concealment, and employed in supplying them with necessaries. It was supposed that when the troops came round on their usual searches, they would not imagine that he could be intrusted with so important a secret, and, consequently, no questions would be asked. One day two ladies, friends of the gentlemen, wished to visit them in their cave, and asked Jamie Forbes to show them the way. Seeing that they came from the house, and judging from their manner that they were friends, he did not object to their request, and walked away before them. When they had proceeded a short way, one of the ladies offered him five shillings. The instant he saw the money, he put his hands behind his back, and seemed to lose all recollection. "He did not know what they wanted;—he never saw the gentlemen, and knew nothing of them," and turning away, walked in a quite contrary direction. When questioned afterwards why he ran away from the ladies, he answered, that when they had offered him such a sum (five shillings were of some value eighty years ago, and would have purchased two sheep in the Highlands), he suspected they had no good intention, and that their fine clothes and fair words were meant to entrap him into a disclosure of the gentlemen's retreat.

suspicious appearance; but he answered, that he had often reposed confidence in similar circumstances, and never had cause to repent it, and that he would now put these men to the proof. He then proceeded to the hut, and, on entering, found six men sitting round a stone, on which was placed a wooden plate with a piece of beef for their dinner.

The men, struck by his tall figure and appearance, with an old bonnet and a plaid flung across his shoulders, started up at his entrance, when one of them, who at once recognised him, cried out, "Oh Dougal Mahony," (pretending he knew him as one of the Prince's Irish followers), "I am happy you are come so opportunely; sit down and take a share of our beef; I wish your master Prince Charles had as good." After they had dined, the Highlander led the Prince out of sight of his companions, and, throwing himself on his knees, begged pardon in the humblest manner for the freedom he had taken in addressing him as an Irishman; which, he stated, he did, because he knew not whether the Prince might desire to trust his companions. Charles answered, that he had no desire to conceal himself from them; however, the Highlander, more cautious, went and spoke to each of the men separately, informing them who their guest was, and that he expected they would be faithful to him. The instant every man was informed, he flew with eagerness to the Prince, and assured him that no reward, not all the kingdom of Scotland could give, would induce them to betray him,—a crime which would render them infamous, banish them for ever from their native country, and cause them to be disowned by their kindred and friends.*

* He remained some time with these men, who supplied him

The implied punishment of treachery was a kind of outlawry or banishment from the beloved society, in which affection and good opinion were of such vital importance. Whilst the love of country and kindred, and dread of the infamy which inevitably followed treachery, acted thus powerfully, the superstitions of the people confirmed the one and strengthened the other. A noted freebooter, John Du Cameron,* or the Sergeant Mor, as he was called, was apprehended by a party of Lieutenant Hector Monro's detachment, which had been removed from Badenoch to Rannoch in the year 1753. It was generally believed in the country, that this man was betrayed by a false friend, to whose house he had resorted for shelter in severe weather. The truth of this allegation, however, was never fully established. But the supposed treacherous friend was heartily despised; and having lost all his property by various misfortunes, he left the country in extreme poverty, although he rented from Government a farm on advantageous terms, on the forfeited estate of Strowan. The favour shown him by Government gave a degree of confirmation to the suspicions raised against him; and the firm belief of the people to this day is, that his misfortunes were a just judgment upon him for his breach of trust towards a person who had, without suspicion, reposed confidence in him.

Such were the principles which, without the restraints of law, gave a kind of chivalrous tone to the feelings of

with all the comforts they could command, and, among other things, plundered an officer's baggage to procure him a change of linen,—a luxury to which he had for some time been a stranger. This robbery made a noise at the time, and was frequently mentioned as an instance of the thievish disposition of the Highlanders.

* See Appendix, H.

the people, and combined cordial affection and obedience to superiors, with that spirit of independence which disdained to yield submission to the unworthy. I have already noticed instances of the deposition of worthless chiefs:—the following is a remarkable one of the desertion of a chief by his people. Powerful in point of influence and property, neither the one nor the other was able to act on his followers in opposition to what they considered their loyalty and duty to an unfortunate monarch. In the reign of King William, immediately after the Revolution, Lord Tullibardine, eldest son of the Marquis of Atholl, collected a numerous body of Athole Highlanders, together with three hundred Frasers, under the command of Hugh Lord Lovat, who had married a daughter of the Marquis. These men believed that they were destined to support the abdicated king, but were, in reality, assembled to serve the Government of William. When in front of Blair Castle, their real destination was disclosed to them by Lord Tullibardine. Instantly they rushed from their ranks, ran to the adjoining stream of Banovy, and, filling their bonnets with water, drank to the health of King James; and then, with colours flying, and pipes playing, “fifteen hundred of the men of Athole, as reputable for arms as any in the kingdom,”* put themselves under the command of the Laird of Ballechin, and marched off to join Lord Dundee, whose chivalrous bravery, and heroic and daring exploits, had excited their admiration more than those of any other warrior since the days of Montrose.† They knew him not as the “Bloody Clavers” of

* *General Mackay's Memoirs.*

† In this instance, the paramount principle of loyalty triumphed over feudal influence.

the southern and western districts; on the contrary, to the Highlanders, he was always kind and condescending. Soon after this defection, the battle of Killiecrankie, or of Renrorie, (as the Highlanders call it), was fought, when one of those incidents occurred which were too frequent in turbulent times. Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, with his clan, had joined Lord Dundee in the service of the abdicated king, while his second son, a captain in the Scotch Fusiliers, was under General Mackay on the side of Government. As the General was reconnoitring the Highland army drawn up on the face of a hill, a little above the house of Urrard, and to the westward of the great Pass, he turned round to young Cameron, who stood next to him, and, pointing to the Camerons, "There," said he, "is your father with his wild savages; how would you like to be with him?" "It signifies little," replied the other, "what I would like; but I recommend it to you to be prepared, or perhaps my father and his wild savages may be nearer to you before night than you would like." And so it happened. Dundee delayed his attack "till," according to an eyewitness, "the sun's going down, when the Highlandmen advanced on us like madmen, without shoes or stockings, covering themselves from our fire with their targets. At last they cast away their muskets, drew their broadswords, and advanced furiously upon us, broke us, and obliged us to retreat; some fled to the water, some another way."* In short, the charge was like a torrent,

* The author of the *Memoirs of Lord Dundee*, speaking of this battle, says, "Then the Highlanders fired, threw down their fusils, rushed in with sword, target, and pistol, upon the enemy, who did not maintain their ground two minutes after the Highlanders were amongst them; and I dare be bold to say, there were scarce ever such strokes given in Europe, as were given that day by the High-

and the rout complete ; but Dundee fell early in the attack.* The consternation occasioned by the death of

landers. Many of General Mackay's officers and soldiers were cut down through the skull and neck to the very breast ; others had skulls cut off above their ears, like night-caps ; some soldiers had both their bodies and cross-belts cut through at one blow ; pikes and small swords were cut like willows ; and whoever doubts of this, may consult the witnesses of the tragedy."

* It has generally been believed that Lord Dundee was killed at the close of the action ; but the following extract of a letter from James VII. to Stewart of Ballechin, who commanded the Atholemen after their desertion from Lord Tullibardine, shows that he fell early.

*"From our Court at Dublin Castle, the last day of
November 1689, and the fifth year of our reign.*

"James R.

"The news we have received of the brave Viscount Dundee's death has most sincerely affected us. But we are resolved, by extraordinary marks of favour, to make his family conspicuous, when the world may see lasting honours and happiness are to be acquired by the brave and loyal. What he has so happily begun, and you so successfully maintained, by a thorough defeat of your enemies, we shall not doubt a generous prosecution of, when we consider that the Highland loyalty is inseparably annexed to the persons of their kings: Nor no ways fear the event, whilst the justice of our cause shall be seconded by so many bold and daring assertors of our loyal right. If their courage and yours, and the rest of the commanders under you, were not steady, the loss you had in a General you loved and confided in, *at your entrance into action*, with so great inequality of numbers, were enough to baffle you ; but you have showed yourselves above surprise, and given us proof that we are, in a great measure, *like to owe the re-establishment of our monarchy to your valour*. We are therefore resolved to send immediately our Right Trusty the Earl of Seaforth, to head his friends and followers ; and as soon as the season will permit the shipping of horse, our beloved natural son, the Duke of Berwick, with considerable succours, will be sent to your assistance." * * * *

Addressed "To our Trusty and well beloved
Cousin, Stewart of Ballechan."

the General prevented an immediate pursuit through the great Pass. Had they been closely followed, and had a few men been placed at the southern entrance, not a man of the king's troops would have escaped. This uninterrupted retreat caused General Mackay to conclude, that some misfortune had befallen Lord Dundee. "Certainly," said he, "Dundee has been killed, or I should not thus be permitted to retreat."

The 21st, or Scotch Fusiliers, was on the left of General Mackay's front line, Hastings' and Leslie's (now the 13th and 15th) regiments in the centre, and Lord Leven's (now the 25th) on the right; the whole consisting of two regiments of cavalry, and nine battalions or detachments of infantry, the strength of which is not particularly specified. After the right of the line had given way, the regiments on the centre and left (the left being covered by the River Garry, and the right by a woody precipice below the House of Urrard) stood their ground, and for a short time withstood the shock of the Highlanders' charge with the broadsword; but at length they gave way on all sides. Hastings' fled through the pass on the north side. The Fusiliers, dashing across the river, were followed by the Highlanders, one party of whom pressed on their rear, while the others climbed up the hills on the side of the pass, and, having expended their ammunition, rolled down stones, and killed several of the soldiers before they recrossed the river at Invergarry. This was the only attempt to pursue.*

* In this battle Lochiel was attended by the son of his foster-brother. This faithful adherent followed him like his shadow, ready to assist him with his sword, or cover him from the shot of the enemy. Soon after the battle began, the chief missed his friend from his side, and, turning round to look what had become of him, saw

him lying on his back, with his breast pierced by an arrow. He had hardly breath before he expired to tell Lochiel, that seeing an enemy, a Highlander in General Mackay's army, aiming at him with a bow and arrow from the rear, he sprung behind him, and thus sheltered him from instant death. This is a species of duty perhaps not often practised by aids-de-camp.



SECTION IV.

Arms of the Clans.

IN attempting to explain how a people living within their mountains, in an uncultivated and sequestered corner of a country, should, as warriors, prove a ready and efficient support to their friends, and formidable to their enemies, it may be proper, first of all, to describe their arms. These consisted of a broadsword girded on the left side, and a dirk, or short thick dagger, on the right, used only when the combat was so close that the sword could be of no service.* In ancient times they also carried a small short-handled hatchet, or axe, to be used when they closed upon the enemy. A gun, a pair of pistols, and a target, completed their armour.† In absence of the musket, or when short of ammunition, they used the Lochaber axe, a species of long lance, or pike, with a formidable weapon at the end of it, adapted either for cutting or stabbing. This lance had been almost laid aside since the introduction of the musket; but a ready substitute

* See Appendix, I.

† Rea, in the History of the Rebellion of 1715, describing the march of a party along the side of Lochlomond, says, "That night they arrived at Luss, where they were joined by Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss, and James Grant of Pluscarden, his son-in-law, followed by forty or fifty stately fellows in their hose and belted plaids, armed each of them with a well-fixed gun on their shoulders, a strong handsome target, with a sharp pointed steel, of about half an ell in length screwed into the navel of it, on his arm, a sturdy claymore by his side, and a pistol or two, with a dirk and knife in his belt."

was found, by fixing a scythe at the end of a pole, with which the Highlanders resisted the charge of cavalry, to them the most formidable kind of attack. In 1745 many of the rebels were armed in this manner, till they supplied themselves with muskets after the battles of Prestonpans and Falkirk. Thus, the Highlanders united the offensive arms of the moderns with the defensive arms of the ancients. Latterly, the bow and arrow* seems to have been but rarely used. This is the more remarkable, as these weapons are peculiarly adapted to that species of hunting which was their favourite amusement; I allude to the hunting of deer, or what is commonly called "deer-stalking," where the great art consists in approaching the animal unobserved, and in wounding him without disturbing the herd. It is evident that the use of the bow and arrow must have ceased long before the Disarming Act, as we find in it no mention made of them, nor do we learn that the Highlanders ever availed themselves of the omission.

In addition to the weapons already mentioned, gentlemen frequently wore suits of armour, and coats of mail. With these, however, the common men seldom encumbered themselves, both on account of the expense, and because they were ill adapted to the hills and steepes of their country, and to their frequent, long, and expeditious marches.

Thus armed, the Highlanders were arrayed for battle, in that order which was best calculated to excite a spirit of emulation. Every clan was drawn up as a regiment, and the companies in every regiment were formed of the tribes or families of the clan. The regiments, thus composed, were under the control of the head or chief of the

* See Appendix, K.

whole, while the smaller divisions were under the immediate command of the chieftains of whose families they were descended, or of those who, from their property, assumed the feudal rights of chieftainship. Thus, the Athole Brigade, which was sometimes so numerous as to form two, three, or more regiments, was always commanded by the head of the family of Atholl, in person, or by a son or friend in his stead. At the beginning of the last century, as we learn from the Lockhart Papers, "the Duke of Atholl was of great importance to the party of the Cavaliers, being able to raise 6000 of the best men in the kingdom, well armed, and ready to sacrifice their all for the king's service."

In 1707, his Grace took the field, with 7000 men of his own followers, and others whom he could influence, to oppose the Union with England.* With this force he marched to Perth, in the expectation of being joined by the Duke of Hamilton, and other noblemen and gentlemen of the South; but as they did not move, he pro-

* A friend of mine, the late Mr Stewart of Crossmount, carried arms on that occasion, of which he used to speak with great animation. He died in January 1791, at the age of 104, having been previously in perfect possession of all his faculties, and in such full habit of body, that his leg continued as well formed and compact as at forty. He had a new tooth at the age of ninety-six. Mrs Stewart, to whom he had been married nearly seventy years, died on the Tuesday preceding his death. He was then in perfect health, and sent to request that my father, who lived some miles distant, would come to him. When he arrived the old man desired that the funeral should not take place for eight days, saying, that he had now outlived his oldest earthly friend, and prayed sincerely that he might be laid in the same grave. He kept his bed the second morning after her death, and died the following day, without pain or complaint. They were buried in the same grave on the succeeding Tuesday, according to his wish.

ceeded no farther, and, disbanding his men, returned to the Highlands. In 1715, the Atholemen were commanded by the Marquis of Tullibardine, and in 1745 by his brother, Lord George Murray; but the smaller divisions and tribes were under the command of gentlemen, who had the entire direction of their own followers, yielding obedience to the superior only in general movements. In consequence of this arrangement, each individual was under the immediate eye of those he loved and feared. His clansmen and kindred were the witnesses of his conduct, and ready either to applaud his bravery, reproach his cowardice, or observe any failure of duty.

Before commencing the attack, they frequently put off their jackets and shoes, that their movements might not be impeded. Their advance to battle was a kind of trot, such as is now, in our light infantry discipline, called double-quick marching. When they had advanced within a few yards of the enemy, they poured in a volley of musketry, which, from the short distance, and their constant practice as marksmen, was generally very effective; then dropping their muskets, they dashed forward sword in hand, reserving their pistols and dirks for close action. "To make an opening in regular troops, and to conquer, they reckoned the same thing, because, in close engagements, and in broken ranks, no regular troops would withstand them."* When they closed with the enemy, they received the points of the bayonets on their targets; and thrusting them aside, resorted to their pistols and dirks, to complete the impression made by the musket and broadsword. It was in this manner that the Athole Highlanders and the Camerons, who were on the right of Prince Charles Edward's followers at Culloden, charged the left

* *Dalrymple's Memoirs.*

wing of the royal army. After breaking through Barrell's and Munro's (the 4th and 37th Regiments), which formed the left of the royal army, they pushed forward to charge the second line, composed of Bligh's and Semple's (the 20th and 25th Regiments). Here their impetuosity met an effectual check, by the fire of those corps, when they came within a few yards, and still more by Wolfe's (the 8th Foot), and Cobham's and Lord Mark Kerr's (the 10th and 11th Light Dragoons), who had formed *en potence* on their right flank, and poured in a most destructive fire along their whole line. At the same moment they were taken in rear by the Argyle, and some companies of Lord Loudon's Highlanders, who had advanced in that direction, and had broken down an old wall that covered the right of the rebels. By this combination of attacks in front, right flank, and rear, they were forced to give up the contest, and to charge back again, sword in hand, through those who had advanced and formed on the ground they had passed over in charging to their front. In this desperate conflict they left half their number dead on the field. The same kind of charge was made by the Stewarts of Appin; Frasers, and Mackintoshes upon the regiments in their front. These were the Scotch Fusiliers and Ligonier's (the 21st and 48th Regiments,) which they drove back upon the second line, but, being unable to penetrate, numbers were cut down at the mouths of the cannon, before they gave up the contest.* The Reverend

* Home in his History of the Rebellion, says that the "Athole brigade, in advancing, lost thirty-two officers, and was so shattered that it stopped short, and never closed with the king's troops." The Athole brigade had not so many officers in the field; nineteen officers were killed, and four wounded. Many gentlemen who served in the ranks were killed, which might occasion the mistake. I have conversed with several who were in the battle, and among

Dr Shaw, in his manuscript History of the Rebellion, says, "The enemy's attack on the left wing of the royal

others, with one gentleman still alive (1821) in my neighbourhood, all of whom differed from Mr Home's account.

Mr Home, during some years, spent part of every summer in the Highlands, ostensibly for the benefit of his health and for amusement, but actually in collecting materials for his history. The respectability of his character, and the sauvity of his manners, procured him everywhere a good reception. But his visits were principally made to Jacobite families, to whom the secret history of those times was familiar. They told him all they knew with the most unreserved confidence; and nothing could exceed their disappointment when the history appeared, and proved to be a dry detail of facts universally known, while the rich store of authentic and interesting anecdotes, illustrative of the history of the times, and of the peculiar features of the Highland character, with which they had furnished him, had been neglected or concealed, from an absurd dread of giving offence to the Royal Family by a disclosure of the cruelties wantonly practised, or by relating circumstances creditable to the feelings and character of the unfortunate sufferers. It is now very well known with what generous sympathy the late king viewed the sacrifice to mistaken loyalty, and the countenance and protection which he afforded to such individuals as lived to see him on the throne, and which he extended to their descendants. It is equally well known that there is not one individual in his family who would not listen with deep interest to the details of the chivalrous loyalty, the honourable sacrifices, and the sufferings sustained with patience and fortitude by those who are long since gone to their account, and who are no more objects of dislike or hostility to them than Hector or King Priam.

The only way in which the meagreness of this long meditated history can possibly be accounted for, in reference to the high name of the author, and the expectations entertained by the public, is the circumstance of an accident which befel Mr Home a few years before the publication of this work. In travelling through Ross-shire, his carriage was overturned, and he received a severe contusion on the head, which had such an effect upon his nerves, that both his memory and judgment were very considerably affected ever after.

army was made with a view to break that wing, to run it into disorder, and then to communicate the disorder to the whole army. This could not easily be effected, when a second and third line were ready to sustain the first. But it must be owned the attack was made with the greatest courage, order, and bravery, amidst the hottest fire of small arms, and continued fire of cannon with grape-shot, on their flanks, front, and rear. They ran in upon the points of the bayonets, hewed down the soldiers with their broadswords, drove them back, put them into disorder, and possessed themselves of two pieces of cannon. The rebel's left wing did not sustain them in the attack, and four fresh regiments coming up from the Duke's second line under General Huske, they could not stand under a continual fire both in front, in flank, and rear, and therefore they retired. It was in this attack that Lord Robert Kerr, having stood his ground, after Barrell's regiment was broke and drove back, was killed." And farther we learn from the Lockhart papers, that "Lord George Murray attacked, at the head of the Atholemen, who had the right of the army that day, with all the bravery imaginable, as the whole army did, and broke the Duke of Cumberland's line in several places, and made themselves masters of two pieces of cannon,—though they were both fronted and flanked by them, who kept a close firing from right to left,—and marched up to the points of their bayonets, which they could not see for smoke till they were upon them." Such were the strength and dexterity with which these people used their arms, if not always to conquer, at least to amaze and confound regular troops.

SECTION V.

The Highland Garb.

AMONG the circumstances that influenced the military character of the Highlanders, we must not omit their peculiar garb, which, by its lightness and freedom, enabled them to use their limbs, and handle their arms with ease and dexterity, and to move with great speed when employed with either cavalry or light infantry. In the wars of Gustavus Adolphus, in the civil wars of Charles I., and on various other occasions, they were often mixed with the cavalry, affording to detached squadrons the incalculable advantage of support from infantry, even in their most rapid movements. The author of "Memoirs of a Cavalier," speaking of the Scottish army in 1640, says, "I observed that these parties had always some foot with them, and yet if the horses galloped or pushed on ever so forward, the foot were as forward as they, which was an extraordinary advantage. These were those they call Highlanders; they would run on foot with all their arms and all their accoutrements, and keep very good order too, and kept pace with the horses, let them go at what rate they would." The almost incredible swiftness of these people, owing, in a great measure, no doubt, to the lightness of their dress, by which their movements were totally unencumbered, constituted the military advantage of the garb; although, in the opinion of Lord President Forbes, it possessed others, which his Lordship stated in a letter addressed to the Laird of Brodie, at that time Lord Lyon

for Scotland. "The garb is certainly very loose, and fits men enured to it to go through great marches, *to bear out against the inclemency of the weather*, to wade through rivers, to shelter in huts, woods, and rocks, *on occasions when men dressed in the Low country garb could not endure*. And it is to be considered, that, as the Highlanders are circumstanced at present, it is, at least it seems to me to be, an utter impossibility, without the advantage of this dress, for the inhabitants to tend their cattle, and go through the other parts of their business, without which they could not subsist, not to speak of paying rents to their landlords."

The following account of the dress is from an author who wrote prior to the year 1597. "They," the Highlanders, "delight in marbled cloths, especially that have long strips of sundrie colours;* they love chiefly purple and blue; their predecessors used short mantles, or plaids, of divers colours, sundrie ways divided, and among some the same custom is observed to this day; but for the most part now, they are brown, most near to the colour of the hadder, to the effect when they lye among the hadders, the bright colour of their plaids shall not bewray them, with the which rather *coloured* than clad, they suffer the most cruel tempests that blow in the open

* From *Remarks on the Chartularies of Aberdeen*, by John Graham Dalyell, Esquire, we learn that these Chartularies contain general Statutes and Canons of the Scottish Church for the years 1242 and 1249, as also private regulations and ordinances for the See of Aberdeen from 1256 downwards. In these ordinances it is enacted, that "Ecclesiastics are to be suitably apparelled, avoiding red, green, and striped clothing, and their garments shall not be shorter *than to the middle of the leg*," that is, they are not to wear tartan plaids, and kilts.

fields, in such sort, that in a night of snow they sleep sound." * The dress of the Highlanders was so peculiarly accommodated to the warrior, the hunter, and the shepherd, that, to say nothing of the cruelty and impolicy of opposing national predilections, much dissatisfaction was occasioned by its suppression, and the rigour with which the change was enforced. People in a state of imperfect civilization retain as much of their ancient habits, as to distinguish them strongly from the lower orders in more advanced society. The latter, more laborious, less high-minded, and more studious of convenience and comfort, are less solicitous about personal appearance, and less willing to bear personal privations in regard to food and accommodation. To such privations the former readily submit, that they may be enabled to procure arms and habiliments which may set off to advantage a person unbent and unsubdued by conscious inferiority, with limbs unshackled, and accustomed to move with ease and grace. The point of personal decoration once secured, it mattered not to the Highlander that his dwelling was mean, his domestic utensils scanty, and of the simplest construction, and his household furniture merely such as could be prepared by his own hands. He was his own cooper, carpenter, and shoemaker, while his wife improved the value of his dress by her care and pride in preparing the materials. To be his own tailor or weaver he thought beneath him; these occupations were left to such as, from deficiency in strength, courage, or natural ability, were disqualified for the field or the chase. Gentlemen on horseback, old men, and others, occasionally wore the

* *Certainne Mattere concerning Scotland.* London, printed
1603.

truis.* These were both breeches and stockings in one piece, made to fit perfectly close to the limbs, and were always of tartan, though the coat or jacket was sometimes of green, blue, or black cloth. The waistcoat and short coat were adorned with silver buttons, tassels, embroidery, or lace, according to the fashion of the times, or the taste of the wearer. But the arrangements of the belted plaid were of the greatest importance in the toilet of a Highlandman of fashion. This was a piece of tartan two yards in breadth, and four in length, which surrounded the waist in large plaits, or folds, adjusted with great nicety, and confined by a belt, buckled tight round the body, and while the lower part came down to the knees, the other was drawn up and adjusted to the left shoulder, leaving the right arm uncovered, and at full liberty. In wet weather, the plaid was thrown loose, and covered both shoulders and body; and when the use of both arms was required, it was fastened across the breast by a large silver bodkin, or circular brooch, often enriched with precious stones, or imitations of them, having mottoes engraved, consisting of allegorical sentences, or mottoes of armorial bearings. These were also employed to fix the plaid on the left shoulder. A large purse of goat's or badger's skin, answering the purpose of a pocket, and ornamented with a silver or brass mouthpiece, and many tassels, hung before.† A dirk, with a knife and fork stuck in the side

* See Appendix, L. My grandfather always wore the Highland garb except when in mourning; that is, the truis on horseback, and the kilt when at home.

† The ladies have recently adopted this purse, as a substitute for the female pocket, which has disappeared. The form and mouthpieces of the *Reticule* are a perfect model of the Highlanders' purses. In 1824, the ladies have farther followed the fashion of the ancient

of the sheath, and sometimes a spoon, together with a pair of steel pistols, were essential accompaniments. The bonnet, which gentlemen generally wore with one or more feathers completed the national garb. The dress of the common people differed only in the deficiency of finer or brighter colours, and of silver ornaments, being otherwise essentially the same; a tuft of heather, pine, holly, oak, etc., supplying the place of feathers in the bonnet. The garters were broad and of rich colours, wrought in a small primitive kind of loom, the use of which is now little known,—and formed a close texture, which was not liable to wrinkle, but which kept the pattern in full display.* The silver buttons† were frequently found among the better and more provident of the lower ranks,—an inheritance often of long descent.‡ The belted plaid, which

Highlanders, by adopting, as a new fashion, a belt with a square buckle, exactly of the same form and manufacture as that used in old times, only that the modern belt is of course not so broad, and the size of the buckle is less.

* These garters are still made on the estate of General Campbell of Monzie, and on the banks of Lochow in Argyleshire.

† The officers of the Highland regiments of Mackay's and Munro's, who served under Gustavus Adolphus, in the wars of 1626 and 1638, "in addition to rich buttons, wore a gold chain round the neck to secure the owner, in case of being wounded or taken prisoner, good treatment, or payment for future ransom." In the Highlands, buttons of large size, and of solid silver, were worn, that, in the event of falling in battle, or dying in a strange country, and at a distance from their friends and their home, the value of the buttons might defray the expenses of a decent funeral.

‡ "The women," says Martin, "wore sleeves of scarlet cloth, closed at the end as men's vests, with gold lace round them, having plate buttons set with fine stones. The head-dress was a fine ker-

was generally double, or in two folds, formed, when let down so as to envelop the whole person, a shelter from the storm, and a covering in which the wearer wrapt himself up in full security, when he lay down fearlessly among the heather. Thus, if benighted in his hunting excursions, or on a distant visit, he by no means considered it a hardship; nay, so little was he disturbed by the petty miseries which many feel from inclement weather, that, in storms of snow, frost, or wind, he would dip the plaid in water, and, wrapping himself up in it when moistened, lie down on the heath. The plaid thus swelled with moisture was supposed to resist the wind, so that the exhalation from the body during sleep might surround the wearer with an atmosphere of warm vapour. Thus their garb contributed to form their constitutions in early life for the duties of hardy soldiers, while their habits, their mental recollections, and the fearless spirit they nourished, rendered them equally intrepid in the attack, and firm in resisting an enemy.

In dyeing and arranging the various colours of their tartans, they displayed no small art and taste, preserving at the same time the distinctive patterns (or sets, as they were called) of the different clans, tribes, families, and

chief of linen strait about the head.* The plaid was tied before on the breast, with a buckle of silver or brass, according to the quality of the person. I have seen some of the former of one hundred merks value, with the figures of various animals curiously engraved. A lesser buckle was worn in the middle of the larger. It had in the centre a large piece of crystal, or some finer stone, and this was set round with several precious stones of a lesser size."

* This is still worn by old women in Breadalbane, Fortingal, and other districts in Perthshire; and the silver buckles or brooch, richly ornamented with stones, are still preserved in families as relics of ancient fashions.

districts. Thus a Macdonald, a Campbell, a Mackenzie, etc., was known by his plaid ; and in like manner the Athole, Glenorchy, and other colours of different districts, were easily distinguishable. Besides those general divisions, industrious housewives had patterns, distinguished by the set, superior quality, and fineness of the cloth, or brightness and variety of the colours. In those times when mutual attachment and confidence subsisted between the proprietors and occupiers of land in the Highlands, the removal of tenants, except in remarkable cases, rarely occurred, and consequently, it was easy to preserve and perpetuate any particular set, or pattern, even among the lower orders.*

I have dwelt the longer on the particulars of this costume, as much of the distinctive character of the people was connected with it. In Eustace's Classical Tour, he has some ingenious strictures on the European habit contrasted with the Asiatic costume. The former, he says, is

* At Inch Ewan, in Breadalbane, a family of the name of Macnab occupied the same farm, for nearly four centuries, till within these few years, the last occupier resigned. A race of the name of Stewart, in Glenfinglas, in Menteith, has for several centuries possessed the same farms, and, from the character and disposition of the present noble character (the Earl of Moray) it is probable that, without some extraordinary cause, this respectable and prosperous community will not be disturbed. It would be endless to give instances of the great number of years during which the same families possessed their farms, in a succession as regular and unbroken as that of the landlords. The family of Macintyre possessed the farm of Glenoe, in Nether Lorn, from about the year 1300 down till 1810. They were originally foresters of Stewart, Lord Lorn, and were continued in their possession and employments after the succession of the Glenorchy and Breadalbane families to this estate by a marriage with a co-heiress of the last Lord Lorn of the Stewart family in the year 1435.

stiff, formal, confined, full of right angles, and so unlike the drapery which invests the imperishable forms of grace and beauty left us by ancient sculptors, as to offer a revolting contrast to all that is flowing, easy, and picturesque in costume. The Asiatic dress, he observes, is only suited to the cumbrous pomp, and indolent effeminacy of Oriental customs; it impedes motion, and encumbers the form which it envelops. In one corner of Great Britain, he continues, a dress is worn by which these two extremes are avoided; it has the easy folds of a drapery, which takes away from the constrained and angular air of the ordinary habits, and is, at the same time, sufficiently light and succinct to answer all the purposes of activity and ready motion. With some obvious and easy alterations, he thinks it might, in many cases, be adopted with advantage.



SECTION VI.

Bards—Pipers—Music.

WHILE the common people amused themselves, as I will have occasion to notice afterwards, with recitals of poetry and imaginary or traditionary tales, every chief had his bard, whose office it was to celebrate the warlike deeds of the family and of individuals of the clan; to entertain the festive board with the songs of Ossian, of Ullin, and of Oran; and to raise the feelings and energies of the hearers by songs and narratives, in which the exploits of their ancestors and kinsmen were recorded. The bards were an important order of men in Highland society. In the absence of books they constituted the library, and concentrated the learning of the tribe. By retentive memories, indispensable requisites in their vocation, they became the living chronicles of past events, and the depositaries of popular poetry. They followed the clans to the field, where they eulogized the fame resulting from a glorious death, and held forth the honour of expiring in the arms of victory in defence of their beloved country, as well as the disgrace attending dastardly conduct or cowardly retreat. Before the battle they passed from tribe to tribe, and from one party to another, giving to all exhortations and encouragement; and when the commencement of the fight rendered it impossible for their voice to be heard, they were succeeded by the pipers, who, with their inspiring and warlike strains, kept alive the enthusiasm which the bard had inspired. When the contest was decided, the duties of these two public function-

aries again became important. The bard was employed to honour the memory of the brave who had fallen, to celebrate the actions of those who survived, and to excite them to future deeds of valour. The piper, in his turn, was called upon to sound mournful lamentations for the slain, and to remind the survivors how honourably their friends had died. By connecting the past with the present, by showing that the warlike hero, the honoured chief, or the respected parent, who, though no longer present to his friends, could not die in their memory ; and that, though dead, he still survived in fame, and might sympathise with those whom he had left behind, a magnanimous contempt of death was naturally produced, and sedulously cherished. It has thus become a singular and characteristic feature of Highland sentiment, to contemplate with easy familiarity the prospect of death, which is considered as merely a passage from this to another state of existence, enlivened with the assured hope of meeting their friends and kindred who had gone before them, and of being followed by those whom they should leave behind. The effect of this sentiment is perceived in the anxious care with which they provide the necessary articles for a proper and becoming funeral. Of this they speak with an ease and freedom, equally remote from affectation or presumption, and proportioned solely to the inevitable certainty of the event itself. Even the poorest and most destitute endeavour to lay up something for this last solemnity. To be consigned to the grave among strangers, without the attendance and sympathy of friends, and at a distance from their family, was considered a heavy calamity ;*

* This feeling still exists with considerable force, and may afford an idea of the despair which must actuate people when they can bring themselves to emigrate from a beloved country, hallowed by

even to this day, people make the greatest exertions to carry home the bodies of such relations as happen to die far from the ground hallowed by the ashes of their forefathers. "A man well known to the writer of these pages," says Mrs Grant, "was remarkable for his filial affection, even among the sons and daughters of the mountains, so distinguished for that branch of piety. His mother being a widow, and having a numerous family, who had married very early, he continued to live single, that he might the more sedulously attend to her comfort,

the remains of their forefathers, and where they so anxiously desired that their own bones might be laid. Lately, a woman aged ninety-one, but in perfect health, and in possession of all her faculties, went to Perth from her house in Strathbraan, a few miles above Dunkeld. A few days after her arrival in Perth, where she had gone to visit a daughter, she had a slight attack of fever. One evening a considerable quantity of snow had fallen, and she expressed great anxiety, particularly when told that a heavier fall was expected. Next morning her bed was found empty, and no trace of her could be discovered, till the second day, when she sent word that she had slipped out of the house at midnight, set off on foot through the snow, and never stopped till she reached home, a distance of twenty miles. When questioned some time afterwards why she went away so abruptly, she answered, "If my sickness had increased, and if I had died, they could not have sent my remains home through the deep snows. If I had told my daughter, perhaps she would have locked the door upon me, to prevent my going out in the storm, and God forbid that my bones should lie at such a distance from home, and be buried among *Ghill-na-machair*, 'the strangers of the plain.'"

Now, since this woman, who was born on the immediate borders of the plains had such a dread of leaving her bones among strangers, as she considered a people whom she was accustomed to meet frequently, and among whom her daughter and family resided; how much stronger must this feeling be in the central and northern Highlands, where the majority of the people never saw the plains or their inhabitants!

and watch over her declining years with the tenderest care. On her birth-day, he always collected his brothers and sisters, and all their families, to a sort of kindly feast, and in conclusion, gave a toast, not easily translated from the emphatic language, without circumlocution,—*An easy and decorous departure to my mother*, comes nearest to it.* This toast, which would shake the nerves of fashionable delicacy, was received with great applause, the old woman remarking, that God had been always good to her, and she hoped she would die as decently as she had lived; for it is thought of the utmost consequence to die decently. The ritual of decorous departure, and of behaviour to be observed by the friends of the dying on that solemn occasion, being fully established, nothing is more common than to take a solemn leave of old people, as if they were going on a journey, and pretty much in the same terms. People frequently send conditional messages to the departed. *If you are permitted, tell my dear brother, that I have merely endured the world since he left it, and that I have been very kind to every creature he used to cherish, for his sake.* I have, indeed, heard a person of a very enlightened mind, seriously give a message to an aged person, to deliver to a child he had lost not long before, which she as seriously promised to deliver, with the wonted salvo, *if she was permitted.*† Speaking in this manner of death as a common casualty, a Highlander will very gravely ask you where you mean to be buried, or whether you would prefer such a place of interment, as being near to that of your ancestors.

* “Crioich Onarach !” may you have an honourable exit or death, is a common expression to a friend, in return for a kindly word or action.

† *Mrs Grant's Superstitions of the Highlanders.*

With this freedom from the fear of death, they were, and still are, enthusiastically fond of music and dancing, and eagerly availed themselves of every opportunity of indulging this propensity.* Possessing naturally a good ear for music, they displayed great agility in dancing. Their music was in unison with their character. They delighted in the warlike high-toned notes of the bagpipes, and were particularly charmed with solemn and melancholy airs, or Laments (as they call them) for their deceased friends,—a feeling, of which their naturally sedate and contemplative turn of mind rendered them peculiarly susceptible; while their sprightly reels and strathspeys were calculated to excite the most exhilarating gaiety, and to relieve the heart from the cares and inquietudes of life.†

Such were and still are some of the most striking and peculiar traits in the character of this people. “Accustomed to traverse tracts of country, which had never been subjected to the hands of art, contemplating every day the most diversified scenery, surrounded everywhere by wild and magnificent objects, by mountains, lakes, and forests, the mind of the Highlander is expanded, and partakes in some measure of the wild sublimity of the objects with

* At harvest home, Hallowe'en, christenings, and every holiday, the people assembled in the evenings to dance. At all weddings, pipes and fiddles were indispensable. These weddings were sometimes a source of emolument to the young people, who supplied the dinner and liquors, while the guests paid for the entertainment, more agreeably to their circumstances and inclinations than in proportion to the value of the entertainment itself. Next morning the relations and most intimate friends of the parties re-assembled with offerings of a cow, calf, an article of furniture, or whatever was thought necessary for assisting the establishment of a young housekeeper. See Appendix, M.

† See Appendix, N.

which he is conversant. Pursuing the chase in regions not peopled, according to their extent, he often finds himself alone, in a gloomy desert, or by the margin of the dark frowning deep; his imagination is tinged with pleasing melancholy; he finds society in the passing breeze, and he beholds the airy forms of his fathers descending on the skirts of the clouds. When the tempest howls over the heath,* and the elements are mixed in dire uproar, he recognises the airy spirit of the storm, and he retires to his cave. Such is, at this day, the tone of mind which characterises the Highlander, who has not lost the distinctive marks of his race by commerce with strangers;

* Previous to a tempest, some mountains in the Highlands emit a loud hollow noise like the roaring of distant thunder; and the louder the noise, the more furious will be the tempest, which it generally precedes about twelve or twenty-four hours. From this warning, when "the spirit of the mountain shrieks,"† the superstitious minds of the Highlanders presage many omens. Beinndouran in Glenorchy, near the confines of Perth and Argyle, emits this noise in a most striking manner. It is remarkable that it is emitted only previous to storms of wind and rain. Before a fall of snow, however furious the tempest, the mountain, which is of a conical form, and 3500 feet in height, is silent. In the same manner several of the great waterfalls in the Highland rivers and streams give signals of approaching tempests and heavy falls of rain. Twenty-four or thirty hours previous to a storm, the great falls on the River Tummel, north of Shiehallain, emit a loud noise, which is heard at the distance of several miles. The longer the course of the preceding dry weather, the louder and the more similar to a continued roll of distant thunder is the noise; consequently, it is louder in summer than in winter. When the rain commences the noise ceases. It forms an unerring barometer to the neighbouring farmers. Why mountains and waterfalls in serene mild weather emit such remarkable sounds, and are silent in tempests and rains, might form an interesting subject of physical inquiry.

† Ossian.

and such, too, has been the picture which has been drawn by Ossian."* Such scenes as these impressed the warm imaginations of the Highlanders with sentiments of awe and sublimity; and without any moroseness or sullenness of disposition, produced that serious turn of thinking so remarkably associated with gaiety and cheerfulness.

* Dr Graham of Aberfoyle, on the Authenticity of Ossian.



SECTION VII.

General means of Subsistence—Filial Affection—Influence of Custom—Disgrace attached to Cowardice, etc.

IN former times the population, which, as already stated, appears to have been greater than at a later period, would seem at first sight to have greatly exceeded the means of subsistence, in a country possessing so small an extent of land fit for cultivation. Their small breed of cattle throve upon the poorest herbage, and was, in every respect, well calculated for the country. In summer, the people subsisted chiefly on milk, prepared in various forms; while in winter they lived, in a great measure, on animal food: the spring was with them a season of severe abstinence. Many were expert fishers and hunters. In those primitive times, the forest, heaths, and waters, abounding with game and fish, were alike free to all, and contributed greatly to the support of the inhabitants. Now, when mountains and rivers are guarded with severe restrictions, fish and game are become so scarce, as to be of little benefit to the people, and to form only a few weeks' amusement to the privileged.*

The little glens, as well as the larger straths, were, however, peopled with a race accustomed to bear privations with patience and fortitude. Cheered by the enjoyment of a sort of wild freedom, cordial attachments bound their little societies together. A great check to population was, however, found in those institutions and habits, which, except in not preventing revengeful retalia-

* See Appendix, O.

tion and spoliations of cattle, served all the purposes for which laws are commonly enforced.

While the country was portioned out amongst numerous tenants, none of their sons were allowed to marry till they had obtained a house, a farm, or some certain prospect of settlement, unless, perhaps, in the case of a son, who was expected to succeed his father. Cottagers and tradesmen were also discouraged from marrying, till they had a house, and the means of providing for a family. These customs are now changed. The system of converting whole tracts of country into one farm, and the practice of letting lands to the highest bidder, without regard to the former occupiers, and their future ruin or prosperity, occasions gloomy prospects, and the most fearful and discouraging uncertainty of tenure. Yet, as if in despite of the theory of Malthus, these discouragements, instead of checking population, have removed the restraint which the prudent foresight of a sagacious peasantry had formerly imposed on early marriages. Having now no sure prospect of a permanent settlement, by succeeding to the farms inherited by their fathers, nor a certainty of being permitted to remain in their native country *on any terms*, they marry whenever inclination prompts them. The propriety of marrying when young, they defend on this principle, that their children might rise up around them, while they are in the vigour of life, and able to provide for their maintenance, and that they may thus ensure support to their old age; for no Highlander can ever forego the hope, that, while he has children able to support him, he will never be allowed to want. On the other hand, the affection of children to their parents has led to the most zealous exertions, and the greatest sacrifices in providing for their support and comfort. Children are considered

less as a present incumbrance, than as a source of future assistance, and as the prop of declining age. Whatever their misfortunes might be, they believe that, while their offspring could work, they would not be left destitute. It is pleasing to observe, that, among many changes of character, this laudable feeling still continues in considerable force. If a poor man's family are under the necessity of going to service, they settle among themselves which of their number shall in turn remain at home, to take charge of their parents, and all consider themselves bound to share with them whatever they are able to save from their wages.

The sense of duty is not extinguished by absence from the mountains. It accompanies the Highland soldier amid the dissipations of a mode of life to which he has not been accustomed. It prompts him to save a portion of his pay, to enable him to assist his parents, and also to work when he has an opportunity, that he may increase their allowance,—at once preserving himself from idle habits, and contributing to the happiness and comfort of those who gave him birth. I have been a frequent channel through which these offerings of filial bounty were communicated, and I have generally found, that a threat of informing their parents of misconduct, has operated as a sufficient check on young soldiers, who always received the intimation with a sort of horror. They knew that the report would not only grieve their relations, but act as a sentence of banishment against themselves, as they could not return home with a bad or a blemished character. Generals Mackenzie-Fraser and Mackenzie of Suddie, who successively commanded the 78th Highlanders, seldom had occasion to resort to any other punishments than threats of this nature, for several years after the embodying of that regiment.

Honesty and fair dealing in their mutual transactions were enforced by custom* as much as by established law, and generally had a more powerful influence on their character and conduct, than the legal enactments of later periods. Insolvency was considered as disgraceful, and *prima facie* a crime. “Bankrupts were forced to surrender their all, and were clad in a party coloured clouted garment, with the hose of different sets, and had their hips dashed against a stone in presence of the people, by four men, each taking hold of an arm or a leg. This punishment was called *Ton cruaidh*.” †

Where courage is considered honourable and indispensable, cowardice is of course held infamous, and punished as criminal. Of the ignominy that attached to it, Mrs Grant relates the following anecdote: “There was a clan, *I must not say what clan it is*, ‡ who had been for ages governed by a series of chiefs singularly estimable, and highly beloved, and who, in one instance, provoked their leader to the extreme of indignation. I should observe that the transgression was partial, the culprits being the inhabitants of one single parish. These, in a hasty skirmish with a neighbouring clan, thinking discretion the best part of valour, sought safety in retreat. A cruel chief would have inflicted the worst of punishments—banishment from the bounds of his clan,—which, indeed, fell little short of the curse of Kehama. This good laird, however, set bounds to his wrath, yet made their punish-

* See Appendix, P.

* *The Reverend Dr M'Queen's Dissertation.*

‡ I may now mention, what the accomplished author suppressed, that this chief was the Laird of Grant, grandfather of the late estimable representative of that honourable family.

ment severe and exemplary. He appeared himself with all the population of the three adjacent parishes, at the parish-church of the offenders, where they were all by order convened. After divine service they were all marched three times round the church, in presence of their offended leader and his assembled clan. Each individual, on coming out of the church-door, was obliged to draw out his tongue with his fingers, and then cry audibly, '*Sud am bleidire' theich,*' i. e. 'This is the poltroon who fled,' and to repeat it at every corner of the church. After this procession of ignominy, no other punishment was inflicted, except that of being left to guard the district when the rest was called out to battle." Mrs Grant adds—"It is credibly asserted, that no enemy has seen the back of any of that name ever since. And it is certain, that, to this day, it is not safe for any person of another name to mention this circumstance in presence of one of the affronted clan."*

Under the protection of the same principle, were placed the fidelity of domestic attachment, and the sacred obligation of the marriage vow. "The guilty person, whether male or female, was made to stand in a barrel of cold water at the church door, after which the delinquent, clad in a wet canvas shirt, was made to stand before the congregation, and at close of service the minister explained the nature of the offence."†

This punishment was, however, seldom necessary. The crime was not frequent, and the separation of a married couple among the common people almost unknown. However disagreeable a wife might be to her husband, he

* *Mrs Grant on the Superstitions of the Highlanders.*

† *Dr M'Queen's Dissertation.*

rarely contemplated the possibility of getting rid of her. As his wife he bore with her failings : as the mother of his children, he supported her credit: a separation would have disgraced his family, and have entailed reproach on his posterity. For the illicit intercourse between the sexes, in an unmarried state, there was no direct punishment beyond those established by the church; but, as usual among the people, custom supplied the defect, by establishing some marks of reprehension and infamy. These were often of a nature which showed a delicacy of feeling, not to be expected among an uneducated people, were it not that these established habits so well supplied the want of education, and of what is usually term civilization. Young unmarried women never wore any close head dress, but only the hair tied with bandages or some slight ornament. This continued till marriage, or till they attained a certain age; but if a young woman lost her virtue and character, then she was obliged to wear a cap, and never afterwards to appear with her hair uncovered, in the dress of virgin innocence. Sir John Dalrymple has observed of the Highlanders, "That to be modest as well as brave, to be contented with a few things which Nature requires, to act and to suffer without complaining, to be as much ashamed of doing anything insolent or ungenerous to others, as of bearing it when done to ourselves, and to die with pleasure to revenge affronts offered to their clan or their country; these they accounted their highest accomplishments."

SECTION VIII.

Love of Country—Social Meetings—Traditional Tales and Poetry.

IT has often been remarked that the inhabitants of mountainous and romantic regions are of all men the most enthusiastically attached to their country. The Swiss, when at a distance from home, are sometimes said to die of the *maladie du pays*.* The Scotch Highlanders entertain similar feelings. The cause of this attachment to their native land is the same in all. In a rich and champaign country, with no marked or striking features, no deep impression is made on the imagination by external scenery. Its fertility is the only quality for which the soil is valued; and the only hope entertained from it is realized by an abundant crop. In such a country, the members of a community do not immediately depend for their happiness on mutual assistance or friendly intercourse; and thus an exclusive selfishness is apt to supplant the social affections. Hence, too, in the ordinary tenor of life, we seldom find amongst them any thing calculated to catch the imagination, to excite the feelings, or to give an interest to the records of memory;—no striking adventures—no daring or dangerous enterprises. Amongst them we seldom hear

* During last war a Swiss soldier, confined in the French prison at Perth, was long in a lingering sickly state, from no other cause than the surgeon could discover but a constant longing and sighing for his native country. I have frequently met with instances of the same kind among Highland recruits.

“ Of moving accidents by flood and field,
Of hair-breadth 'scapes i' th' imminent deadly breach.”

To the Highlanders such scenes and subjects were congenial and familiar. The kind of life which they led exposed them to vicissitudes and dangers, which they shared in common. They had perchance joined in the chase or in the foray together, and remembered the adventures in which they all had participated. Their traditions refer to a common ancestry; and their songs of love and valour found an echo in general sympathy. In removing from their homes, such a people do not merely change the spot of earth on which they and their ancestors have lived. Mercenary and selfish objects are forgotten in the endearing associations entwined round the objects which they have abandoned. Among a people who cannot appreciate his amusements, his associations, and his tastes, the expatriated Highlander naturally sighs for his own mountains. Even in removing from one part of the Highlands to another, the sacrifice was regarded as severe.*

The poetical propensity of the Highlanders, which in-

* A single anecdote, selected from hundreds with which every Highlander is familiar, will show the force of this local attachment. A tenant of my father's, at the foot of Shichallain, removed, a good many years ago, and followed his son to a farm which he had taken at some distance lower down the country. One morning the old man disappeared for a considerable time, and being asked on his return where he had been, he replied, “As I was sitting by the side of the river, a thought came across me, that, perhaps, some of the waters from Shichallain, and the sweet fountains that watered the farm of my forefathers, might now be passing by me, and that if I bathed they might touch my skin. I immediately stripped, and, from the pleasure I felt in being surrounded by the pure waters of Leidnabreilag (the name of the farm), I could not tear myself away sooner.”

deed was the natural result of their situation, and their peculiar institutions, is generally known. When adventures abound they naturally give fervour to the poet's song; and the verse which celebrates them is listened to with sympathetic eagerness by those who have similar adventures to record or to repeat. Accordingly, the recitation of their traditional poetry was a favourite pastime with the Highlanders when collected round their evening fire. The person who could rehearse the best poem or song, and the longest and most entertaining tale, whether stranger or friend, was the most acceptable guest.* When a stranger appeared, after the usual in-

* When a boy, I took great pleasure in hearing these recitations, and now reflect, with much surprise, on the ease and rapidity with which a person could continue them for hours, without hesitation and without stopping, except to give the argument or prelude to a new chapter or subject. One of the most remarkable of these reciters in my time was Duncan Macintyre, a native of Glenlyon, in Perthshire, who died in September 1816, in his 93rd year. His memory was most tenacious; and the poems, songs, and tales of which he retained a perfect remembrance to the last, would fill a volume. Several of the poems are in possession of the Highland Society of London, who settled a small annual pension on Macintyre a few years before his death, as being one of the last who retained any resemblance to the ancient race of bards. When any surprise was expressed at his strength of memory, and his great store of ancient poetry, he said, that in his early years, he knew numbers whose superior stores of poetry would have made his own appear as nothing. This talent was so general, that to multiply instances of it may appear superfluous.

A few years ago the Highland Society of London sent the late Mr Alexander Stewart † through the Southern Highlands to collect a few remains of Gaelic poetry. When he came to my father's house, a young woman in the immediate neighbourhood was sent for, from whose recitations he wrote down upwards of 3000 lines;

† He was grandson to the man who bathed in his native waters.

troductory compliments, the first question was, "*Bheil dad agad air na Fheinn?*" (Can you speak of the days of Fingal?) If the answer was in the affirmative, the whole hamlet was convened, and midnight was usually the hour of separation. At these meetings the women regularly attended, and were, besides, in the habit of assembling alternately in each other's houses, with their distaffs, or spinning-wheels, when the best singer, or the most amusing reciter, always bore away the palm.

The powers of memory and fancy thus acquired a strength unexampled among the peasantry of any other country, where recitation is not practised in a similar way, and where, every thing being committed to paper, the exercise of memory is less necessary. It is owing to this ancient custom that we still meet with Highlanders who can give a connected and minutely accurate detail of the history, genealogy, feuds, and battles of all the tribes and families in every district, or glen, for many miles round, and for a period of several hundred years. They illustrated these details by a reference to any remarkable stone, cairn,* tree, or stream, within the district; con-

and, had she been desired, she could have given him as many more. So correct was her memory, that, when the whole was read over to her, the corrections were trifling. When she stopped to give the transcriber time to write, she invariably took up the word immediately following that at which she stopped. This girl had peculiar advantages, as her father and mother possessed great stores of Celtic poetry and traditions. Several specimens are in possession of the Highland Society of London.

* A heap of stones was thrown over the spot where a person happened to be killed or buried. Every passenger added a stone to this heap, which was called a *Cairn*. Hence the Highlanders have a saying, when one person serves another, or shows any civility, "I will add a stone to your cairn;" in other words, I will respect your memory.

necting with each some kindred story of a fairy or ghost, or the death of some person who perished in the snow, by any sudden disaster, or by some accidental rencontre, and embellishing each with some tradition or anecdote. Such topics formed their ordinary subject of conversation. In the Lowlands, on the other hand, it is difficult to find a person, in the same station of life, who can repeat from memory more than a few verses of a psalm or ballad, and who, instead of giving an historical detail of several ages, and changes of families, is generally dumb, or perhaps answers with a vacant stare of surprise when such questions are asked. The bare description, however, of such rencontres and accidents, among a people merely warlike, how impetuous and energetic soever in character, would have proved exceedingly monotonous, or fit only to amuse or interest persons possessed of a few ideas and obtuse feelings; but in the graphic delineations of the Celtic narrator, the representation of adventures, whether romantic or domestic, was enlivened by dramatic sketches, which introduced him occasionally as speaking or conversing in an appropriate and characteristic manner. This, among people accustomed to embody the expressions of passion and deep feeling in a powerful and pathetic eloquence, gave life and vigour to the narratives, and was, in fact, the spirit by which these narratives were at once animated and preserved.*

* Martin, speaking of the Highlanders of his time, says, "Several of both sexes have a quick vein of poesy; and in their language (which is very emphatic) they compose rhymes and verse, both of which powerfully affect the fancy, and, in my judgment (which is not singular in this matter), with as great force as that of any ancient or modern poet I ever yet read. They have generally very retentive memories."

By this manner of passing their leisure time, and by habitual intercourse with their superiors, they acquired a great degree of natural good breeding, together with a fluency of nervous, elegant, and grammatical expression, not easily to be conceived or understood by persons whose dialect has been contaminated by an intermixture of Greek, Latin, and French idioms. Their conversations were carried on with a degree of ease, vivacity, and freedom from restraint, not usually to be met with in the lower orders of society. The Gaelic language is singularly adapted to this colloquial ease, frankness, and courtesy. It contains expressions better calculated to mark the various degrees of respect and deference due to age, rank, or character, than are to be found in almost any other language. These expressions are, indeed, peculiar and untranslatable. A Highlander was accustomed to stand before his superior with his bonnet in his hand, if so permitted, (which was rarely the case, as few superiors chose to be outdone in politeness by the people,) and his plaid thrown over his left shoulder, with his right arm in full action, adding strength to his expressions, while he preserved a perfect command of his mind, his words, and manners. He was accustomed, without showing the least bashful timidity, to argue and pass his joke (for which the language is also well adapted) with the greatest freedom, naming the person whom he addressed by his most familiar appellation.* Feeling thus unembarrassed

* If the individual was a man of landed property, or a tacksman of an old family, he was addressed by the name of his estate or farm; if otherwise, by his christian name or patronymic. From these patronymics many of our most ancient families, such as the Macdonalds, Macdougals, Macgregors, and others of the western and southern clans, assumed their names, as well as the more modern

before his superior, he never lost the air of conscious independence and confidence in himself, which was acquired by his habitual use of arms; "a fashion," as is observed by a celebrated writer, "which, by accustoming them to the instruments of death, removed the fear of death itself, and which, from the danger of provocation, made the common people as polite and as guarded in their behaviour as the gentry of other countries."*

clans of the southern Highlanders, the Robertsons and Farquharsons, the latter changing the Celtic *mac* to the Scottish *son*, as the Fergusons have done, although this last is supposed to be one of the most ancient names of any, as pronounced in Gaelic, in which language the modern name Ferguson is totally unknown. The last instance I knew of a person assuming the patronymic as a surname, was the late General Reid, who died Colonel of the 88th Regiment in 1806, and whom I shall have occasion to mention as an officer of the 42nd Regiment, and as one of the most scientific amateur musicians of his time. He was son of Alexander Robertson of Straloch, whose forefathers, for more than three centuries, were always called Barons Rua, Roy, or Red. The designation was originally assumed by the first of the family having red hair, and having got a royal grant of a barony. Although the representative of the family was in all companies addressed as Baron Rua, and as I have said, was known by no other name, yet his signature was always Robertson, all the younger children bearing that name. General Reid never observed this rule; and being the heir of the family, was not only called Reid, but kept the name and signature of Reid: why he added the letter *i* to Red I know not. The celebrated *Kearnach*, Robert Rua Macgregor, sometimes signed Rob Roy, or Red Robert.†

* *Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain.*

† See Appendix, Q.

SECTION IX.

Attachment to the Exiled Family—Political differences between the Lowlanders and the Highlanders—Disinterested but mistaken feeling of Loyalty—Military conduct.

UNDER the House of Stuart,* the Highlanders enjoyed a degree of freedom suited to the ideas of a high-spirited people, proud of having, for a series of ages, maintained their independence. The occasional interference of the royal authority, and the policy frequently pursued, of employing one chief to punish another, and of rewarding the successful rival with a share of the lands forfeited by the vanquished, had a greater tendency to perpetuate than to allay the endless feuds between different clans and districts. It had another effect; it turned the exasperation of the subdued clan against those who attacked them, and directing it from the person of a distant sovereign, whose power was sometimes so weak that he had no other means of establishing his authority than that of setting the clans in opposition to each other. In this state of hostility, their rage and irritation being expended against their neighbours and rivals, the part the Sovereign had taken attracted little notice; and thus loyalty and attachment to his person continued unshaken. Of this we have striking instances in the case of the Macdonalds of Cantyre and Islay, and the Macleans of Duart, whose lands were forfeited and granted to the Earl of Argyll in consequence of some acts of violence committed in the course of their mutual feuds; and yet

* See Appendix, R.

no people in the Highlands retained a stronger or more lasting attachment and loyalty than these two clans. The case was the same with the Macleods of the Lewis, whose lands were granted to the Mackenzies ; and it is not a little remarkable that the Macdonalds, Macleans, and Macleods, with all their reverses and forfeitures, preserved a kind of enthusiastic loyalty to their ancient sovereigns and their descendants,—an attachment which was early forgotten by those who were more favoured, and were enriched by the grants of their estates. The actual interference of the Sovereign or any distant authority being little felt by the Highlanders, it contributed to give them an idea of independence, and fostered a kindly feeling towards the King, whose severity was not immediately felt, as few mandates came directly from him. Thus a species of freedom and independence continued with little interruption, and always accompanied with loyalty and a high spirit, till after the reign of Charles I. and during the Commonwealth, when Oliver Cromwell planted garrisons in the heart of their country to punish them for their loyalty during the civil wars. It was then that they began to find their independence lowered, and their freedom restrained. This restraint, however, continued only during the period of the Usurpation ; for soon after the Restoration, the garrisons were withdrawn by Charles II. in consideration of the eminent services rendered to his father and himself in their adversity. The subsequent measures adopted by King William helped greatly to awaken and confirm the attachment of the Highlanders to their ancient kings, while it increased their aversion to the new monarch.

To these causes may in part be ascribed the eagerness with which the Highlanders strove for the restoration of

their ancient line of sovereigns. Another source of this attachment may be traced to the feudal system itself. When we take into account the implicit devotion of the clans to the interests and the honour of their chiefs, we may cease to wonder at their respect for a family, between which and many of their chiefs a connection by birth, marriage, and hereditary descent, was known to subsist. This connection was nearly similar to that between the chief and many members of his clan. The doctrine of hereditary succession, and indefeasible right, never, in its abstract sense, formed any part of their system. Acute and intelligent in regard to all objects within their view, they had but vague and indefinite ideas of the limits of royal power and prerogative. Their loyalty, like their religion, was a strong habitual attachment; the object of which was beyond the reach of their observation, but not beyond that of their affections. The Stuarts were the only kings their fathers had obeyed and served. Of the errors of their Government in regard to the English and Saxons of the Lowlands, they were either ignorant or unqualified to judge. Poetry was here a powerful auxiliary to prejudice. Burns has said that the "Muses are all Jacobites." "There are few Scotchmen, even of the present day," says Laing in his History of Scotland, "whose hearts are not warmed by the songs which celebrate their independence, under their ancient race of kings." The sympathy which we naturally cherish, when the mighty are laid low,—the generous indignation excited by the abuse of power, or by insulted feeling,—and the tender anguish with which the victims of mistaken principle looked back from a foreign shore, where they wandered in hopeless exile, to the land of their forefathers;—these and similar themes were more susceptible of

poetical embellishment than the support of a new and ill-understood authority; a subject not of feeling, but of that cool and abstract reasoning which was the more unpoetical for being sound and conclusive. Accordingly, we find that the whole power of national song, during that period, inclined towards the ancient dynasty; and the whole force of the ludicrous, the popular, and the pathetic, volunteered in the Jacobite service. It is beyond question, that the merit of these Jacobite songs eclipsed, and still eclipses, every attempt at poetry on the other side, which has produced little beyond a few scraps of verses, in ridicule of the bare knees, the kilts, and bad English of the Highlanders.*

The last great cause which I shall mention of the attachment of the Highlanders to the House of Stuart, was the difference of religious feelings and prejudices that distinguished them from their brethren of the South. This difference became striking at the Reformation, and continued during the whole of the subsequent century. While many Lowlanders were engaged in angry theo-

* Now, as the House of Hanover has not more loyal or devoted subjects than the descendants of the honourable old Jacobites, it may be permitted to notice a few of those popular songs which so powerfully affected many of the last generation, and which continue to afford occasional amusement and pastime to the present:—"Hey Johnnie Cope, are ye wauken yet?" "Hame, hame, it's hame I would be, For I'm wearied of my life in this foreign countrie;" "A health to them that I lo'e dear;" "Kenmure's on and awa;" "The King shall enjoy his ain;"—all of which spoke to the heart in the strong and simple language best suited to awaken its most powerful emotions. When it is considered how many feel, and how few reason, the power of popular poetry will be easily understood. Of this the Government in 1746 seemed to be fully sensible; for great numbers of the popular ballads and songs were bought up and publicly burnt.

logical controversies, or adopted a more sour and forbidding demeanour, the Highlanders retained much of their ancient superstitions, and from their cheerful and poetical spirit, were averse to long faces and wordy disputes. They were, therefore, more inclined to join the Cavaliers than the Roundheads, and were, on one occasion, employed by the ministry of Charles II. to keep down the republican spirits in the West of Scotland. The same cause, among others, had previously induced them to join the standard of Montrose.

It has been said by a celebrated author,* that the Highlands of Scotland is the only country in Europe that has never been distracted by religious controversy, or suffered from religious persecution.† This is easily

* *Dalrymple's Memoirs.*

† Although they never suffered from religious persecutions, they sometimes resisted a change in the mode of worship. The last Episcopal clergyman of the parish of Glenorchy, Mr David Lindsay, was ordered to surrender his charge to a Presbyterian minister then appointed by the Duke of Argyll. When the new clergyman reached the parish to take possession of his living, not an individual would speak to him, and every door was shut against him, except Mr Lindsay's, who received him kindly. On Sunday the new clergyman went to church, accompanied by his predecessor. The whole population of the district were assembled, but they would not enter the church. No person spoke to the new minister, nor was there the least noise or violence, till he attempted to enter the church, when he was surrounded by twelve men fully armed, who told him he must accompany them; and, disregarding all Mr Lindsay's prayers and entreaties, they ordered the piper to play the march of death, and marched away with the minister to the confines of the parish. Here they made him swear on the Bible that he would never return, or attempt to disturb Mr Lindsay. He kept his oath. The Synod of Argyle were highly incensed at this violation of their authority; but seeing that the people were determined to resist, no farther attempt

accounted for. The religion of the Highlanders was founded on the simplest principles of Christianity, and cherished by strong feeling. On this, also, was grounded a moral education, without letters, (so far as regarded the lower orders I mean; the middle* and higher classes having, for many generations, been well educated,) and transmitted to them from their forefathers, with which was mixed a degree of honourable feeling† which never forsook them in public life, whether engaged in open

was made, and Mr Lindsay lived thirty years afterwards, and died Episcopal minister of Glenorchy, loved and revered by his flock.

* See Appendix, S.

† One instance of the force of principle, founded on a sense of honour, and its consequent influence, was exhibited in the year 1745, when the rebel army lay at Kirkliston, near the seat of the Earl of Stair, whose grandfather, when Secretary of State for Scotland in 1692, had transmitted to Campbell of Glenlyon, the orders of King William for the massacre of Glencoe. Macdonald of Glencoe, the immediate descendant of the unfortunate gentleman, who, with all his family (except a child carried away by his nurse in the dark), fell a sacrifice to this horrid massacre, had joined the rebels with all his followers, and was then in West Lothian. Prince Charles, anxious to save the house and property of Lord Stair, and to remove from his followers all excitement to revenge, but at the same time not comprehending their true character, proposed that the Glencoe men should be marched to a distance from Lord Stair's house and parks, lest the remembrance of the share which his grandfather had had in the order for extirpating the whole clan should now excite a spirit of revenge. When the proposal was communicated to the Glencoe men, they declared, that, if that was the case, they must return home. If they were considered so dishonourable as to take revenge on an innocent man, they were not fit to remain with honourable men, nor to support an honourable cause; and it was not without much explanation, and great persuasion, that they were prevented from marching away the following morning. When education is founded on such principles, the happiest effects are to be expected.

rebellion, as in 1745, or as loyal subjects fighting the battles of their country, in after periods.

“The two principal distinctions in the religion of the Highlanders are the Presbyterian and the Roman Catholic. The latter, with few exceptions, is confined to the County of Inverness, particularly to the districts of Lochaber, Moidart, Arasaig, Morar, Knoidart, and Strathglass, and to the Islands of Canna, Eig, South Uist, and Barra, where the adherents to the religion of their ancestors are equal, if not superior in number, to the disciples of the Reformation. There are likewise a few Episcopalians, chiefly among the gentry.

“The religion of a Highlander is peaceable and unobtrusive. He never arms himself with quotations from Scripture to carry on offensive operations. There is no inducement for him to strut about in the garb of piety, in order to attract respect, as his own conduct insures it. Not being perplexed by doubt, he wants no one to corroborate his faith. Upon such a subject, therefore, he is silent, unless invited to conversation, and then he entertains it with solemnity and reverence. The relationship between him and his Creator is more in his heart than on his tongue. I believe his religious feelings to be as sincere as they are simple and unassuming, and that moral precepts are more congenial to his disposition than mysteries.

“Another circumstance, still more astonishing, is, that Protestants and Papists, so often pronounced to be eternally inimical, live here in charity and brotherhood. On neither side is humanity forgotten in their doctrine of divinity. In Fort-William there is the Scotch church, and the Episcopal and the Roman Catholic chapels. The inhabitants of the town, and of the neighbourhood, know no

division, except at the doors of their respective places of worship.* On a Sunday morning they may be seen in the street, and approaching by the several roads, conversing together 'in unity of spirit and in the bond of peace,' till the time arrives for their separation, when each man bends his course according to the dictates of his own conscience, without note or comment from the others; and when the assemblies are dismissed, they meet again as cordially as they parted. The advocate for intolerance will say, such a people must either be lukewarm and indifferent, or the thing is impossible. Not at all. They are truly earnest in their devotion. The same spirit of charity is diffused throughout families. A master does not require his servants to think as he thinks; he merely requires them to do as they are bid. A husband is not offended because his wife loves consubstantiation better than transubstantiation, provided she loves him. As for their children, they easily come to an agreement about them, if they agree in every thing else. I visited a family, where the master of the house and his sons are Roman Catholics, his wife and daughter Episcopalians, and the tutor a Presbyterian. What a mixture! And does it not lead to confusion and wrangling? By no means; quite the contrary. It is a daily lesson of good-will and kind-hearted forbearance, and every one in the house is benefited by it."

This was the state of religion, liberality, and Christian charity among different sects twenty years ago. In more

* Pennant, speaking of the Island of Canna, says, "The minister and the Popish priest reside in Eig; but, by reason of the turbulent seas that divide these isles, are very seldom able to attend their flocks. I admire the moderation of their congregations, who attend the preaching of either indifferently as they happen to arrive."

ancient times, the minds and principles of the Highlanders were influenced and guided by their institutions; by their notions, that honour, or disgrace, communicated to a whole family or district; by their chivalry, their poetry, and traditionary tales; in later periods the labours of the parish ministers have, by their religious and moral instructions, reared an admirable structure on this foundation. No religious order in modern times, have been more useful and exemplary, by their instructions and practice, than the Scotch parochial clergy. Adding example to precept, they have taught the pure doctrines of Christianity in a manner clear, simple, and easily comprehended by their flock. Thus, the religious tenets of the Highlanders, guided by their clergy, were blended with an impressive, captivating, and, if I may be allowed to call it so, a salutary superstition, inculcating on the minds of all, that an honourable and well-spent life entailed a blessing on descendants, while a curse would descend on the successors of the wicked, the oppressor, and ungodly.* These, with a

* The belief that the punishment of the cruelty, oppression, or misconduct of an individual descended as a curse on his children, to the third and fourth generation, was not confined to the common people. All ranks were influenced by it; and many believed, that if the curse did not fall upon the first or second generation, it would inevitably descend upon the succeeding. The late Colonel Campbell of Glenlyon retained this belief through a course of thirty years' intercourse with the world, as an officer of the 42nd Regiment, and of Marines. He was grandson of the Laird of Glenlyon, who commanded the military at the massacre of Glencoe, and who lived in the laird of Glencoe's house, where he and his men were hospitably entertained during a fortnight prior to the execution of his orders. Colonel Campbell was an additional Captain in the 42nd Regiment in 1748, and was put on half pay. He then entered the Marines, and in 1762 was Major, with the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and commanded 800 of his corps at the Havannah. In 1771, he was

belief in ghosts, dreams, and second-sighted visions,* served to tame the turbulent and soothe the afflicted, and differed widely from the gloomy inflexible Puritanism of many parts of the south. The demure solemnity and fanaticism of the plains, offered a ceaseless subject of

ordered to superintend the execution of the sentence of a court-martial on a soldier of marines, condemned to be shot. A reprieve was sent ; but the whole ceremony of the execution was ordered to proceed until the criminal should be upon his knees, with a cap over his eyes, prepared to receive the volley. It was then that he was to be informed of his pardon. No person was to be told previously, and Colonel Campbell was directed not to inform even the firing party, who were warned that the signal to fire would be the waving of a white handkerchief by the commanding officer. When all was prepared, the clergyman having left the prisoner on his knees, in momentary expectation of his fate, and the firing party looking with intense attention for the signal, Colonel Campbell put his hand into his pocket for the reprieve ; but in pulling out the packet, the white handkerchief accompanied it, and catching the eyes of the party, they fired, and the unfortunate prisoner was shot dead.

The paper dropped through Colonel Campbell's fingers, and, clapping his hand to his forehead, he exclaimed, "The curse of God and Glencoe is here ; I am an unfortunate ruined man." He desired the soldiers to be sent to the barracks, instantly quitted the parade, and soon afterwards retired from the service. This retirement was not the result of any reflection, or reprimand on account of this unfortunate affair, as it was known to be entirely accidental, but the impression on his mind was never effaced. Nor is the massacre, and the judgment which the people believe has fallen on the descendants of the principal actors in this tragedy, effaced from their recollection. They carefully note, that, while the family of the unfortunate gentleman who suffered is still entire, and his estate preserved in direct male succession to his posterity ; the case is very different with the family, posterity, and estates of the laird of Glenlyon, and of those who were the principals, promoters, and actors in this infamous affair.

* See Appendix, T.

ridicule and satire to the poetical imaginations of the mountaineers. The truth is, that no two classes of people of the same country, and in such close neighbourhood, could possibly present a greater contrast than "the wild and brilliant picture of the devoted valour, incorruptible fidelity, patriarchal brotherhood, and savage habits of the Celtic clans on the one hand; and the dark, untractable, domineering bigotry of the Covenanters, on the other."*

Differing so widely in their manners, they heartily despised and hated each other. "The Lowlander considered the Highlander as a fierce and savage depredator, speaking a barbarous language, inhabiting a gloomy and barren region, which fear and prudence forbade all strangers to explore. The attractions of his social habits, strong attachment, and courteous manners, were confined to his glens and kindred. All the pathetic and sublime records were concealed in a language difficult to acquire, and utterly despised as the jargon of barbarians by their southern neighbours. If such was the light in which the cultivators of the soil regarded the hunters, graziers, and warriors of the mountains, their contempt was amply repaid by their high-spirited neighbours. The Highlanders, again, regarded the Lowlanders as a very inferior mongrel race of intruders, sons of little men, without heroism, without ancestry, or genius; mechanical drudges, etc., etc., who could neither sleep upon the snow, compose extempore songs, recite long tales of wonder or of woe, or live without bread and without shelter for weeks together, following the chase. Whatever was mean or effeminate, whatever was dull, slow, mechanical, or torpid, was in the Highlands imputed to the Lowlanders, and exemplified by allusions to

* *Edinburgh Review.*

them; while, in the Low country, everything ferocious or unprincipled, every species of awkwardness or ignorance, of pride, or of insolence, was imputed to the Highlanders."* These mutual animosities and jealousies, long sustained, operated as a check to a more free communication, and cherished the affections of the Highlanders to the exiled family. Their frequent contentions with the peasantry of the plains adjacent to the mountains, and the comparison of their own constancy and loyalty with what they regarded as the time-serving disposition of the Lowlanders, exalted them in their own estimation, and contributed, by a feeling of personal pride, to confirm them in their political predilections.

This attachment, too, will appear the less surprising if we bear in mind that the Highlanders, far distant from the seat of government, and not immediately affected by the causes which produced the Revolution in England, were imperfectly acquainted with the circumstances which led to that event. Hence we may discover an apology for their subsequent conduct, as proceeding more from a mistaken loyalty, than from a turbulent, restless spirit. Since this adherence to the House of Stuart produced most important consequences, as affecting the Highlanders, and led to measures on the part of Government which have conduced so materially to change the character and habits of the people, we may shortly examine the cause and motives in which it originated, and the manner in which it displayed itself.

With few exceptions, the Highlanders were of high monarchical notions. Opposed to these was the family of Argyll, which took the lead in the interest of the Covenanters and Puritans, and which, during two-thirds of the

* *Mrs Grant's Superstitions of the Highlanders.*

seventeenth century, was at feud with the families of Atholl, Huntly, Montrose, and Airley. This opposition of religious feeling and political principles, the warlike habits of the Highlanders, and the natural conformation of the country, suddenly rising from the plains into mountains difficult of access, and of exterior communication, combined to keep up that difference of character already noticed, which, though so distinctly marked, was divided by so slight a line, as the small stream or burn of Inch Ewan below the bridge of Dunkeld, the inhabitants on each side of which present perfect characteristics of the Saxons and Celts.* One of the most remarkable of the latter was the celebrated Neil Gow, whose genius has added fresh spirit to the cheerful and exhilarating music of Caledonia, and who, although he was born, and, during the period of a long life, lived within half-a-mile of the Lowland border, exhibited a perfect specimen of the genuine Highlander in person, garb, principles, and character.

While both sides of this line differed so widely, the language of the northern division, together with their chivalry, their garb, their arms, and their Jacobite principles, kept them too well prepared, and made them too ready to join in the troubles that ensued. The Disarming Act of 1716 and 1725, with various irritating causes, contributed to keep alive these feelings, and to encourage the hopes of the exiled family. These hopes led to the Rebellion of 1745, when Charles Edward landed

* The author of *Waverley* has, with great spirit and humour, given an admirable delineation of this difference of character, in the account of *Waverley's* journey from Glenquaich, and his rencontre with Gilfillan, the evangelical landlord of the Seven-branched Golden Candlesticks at Crieff.

in the West Highlands without men or money, trusting to that attachment which many were supposed to cherish to his family; and committing to their charge his honour, his life, and his hopes of a crown, he threw himself among them, and called upon them to support his claims. This confidence touched the true string, and made a powerful appeal to that fidelity which had descended to them, as it were, in trust from their forefathers.* Seeing a descendant of their ancient kings among them, confiding in their loyalty, and believing him unfortunate, accomplished, and brave, "Charles soon found himself at the head of some thousands of hardy mountaineers, filled with hereditary attachment to his

* It was not without reason he relied on this loyal attachment to his person and family. The numerous anecdotes in proof of this attachment are so remarkable, as to appear almost incredible to those unacquainted with the manners and feelings of the Highlanders.

When the late Mr Stewart of Balichulish returned home, after having completed a course of general and classical education at Glasgow and Edinburgh, he was a promising young man. A friend of the family happening to visit his father, who had "*been out*" in 1715 and 1745, congratulated the old gentleman on the appearance and accomplishments of his son. To this he answered, that the youth was all he could wish for as a son; and "next to the happiness of seeing Charles restored to the throne of his forefathers, is the promise my son affords of being an honour to his family."

A song or ballad of that period, set to a melancholy and beautiful air, was exceedingly popular among the Highlanders, and sung by all classes. It is in Gaelic, and cannot be translated without injury to the spirit and effect of the composition. One verse, alluding to the conduct of the troops after the suppression of the rebellion, proceeds thus: "They ravaged and burnt my country; they murdered my father, and carried off my brothers; they ruined my kindred, and broke the heart of my mother;—but all, all could I bear without murmur, if I saw my king restored to his own."

family, and ardently devoted to his person, in consequence of his open and engaging manners, as well as having assumed the ancient military dress of their country, which added new grace to his tall and handsome figure, at the same time that it borrowed dignity from his princely air ; and who, from all these motives, were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in his cause ; and descending from the mountains with the rapidity of a torrent at the head of his intrepid Highlanders, he took possession of Dunkeld, Perth, etc., etc.” *

So universal and ardent was this feeling, that had it not been for the wisdom and influence of the Lord President Forbes,† a general rising of the Highlanders would probably have ensued. This will appear the more remarkable, if it be true, as is insinuated by that eminent person, that there was no previous plan of operations, or connected scheme of rebellion ; although, had there really been a preconcerted scheme of any kind, it will be allowed, that the Lord President of the Court of Session was not the person to whom treasonable plots would have been disclosed, how intimate soever he might be with the persons concerned. The whole, however, would seem to have been a sudden ebullition of loyalty, long cherished in secret, and cherished the more intensely, for the very reasons that it was secret and persecuted. The Lord President, in a letter to Sir Andrew Mitchell, dated September 1745, gives the following account of the spirit then displayed in the North : “ All the Jacobites, how prudent soever, became mad, all doubtful people became Jacobites, and all bankrupts became heroes, and talked of nothing but hereditary right and victory. And what was

* *Letters of a Nobleman to his Son.*

† See Appendix, U.

more grievous to men of gallantry, and, if you believe me, more mischievous to the public, all the fine ladies,* if

* Of all the fine ladies, few were more accomplished, more beautiful, or more enthusiastic, than the Lady Mackintosh, a daughter of Farquharson of Invercauld. Her husband, the Laird of Mackintosh, had this year been appointed to a company in the then 43rd, now 42nd, Highland Regiment; and, restrained by a sense of duty, he kept back his people, who were urgent to be led to the field. These restraints had no influence on his lady, who took the command of the clan, and joined the rebels, by whom her husband was taken prisoner,—when the Prince gave him in charge to his wife, saying, “that he could not be in better security, or more honourably treated.” One morning when Lord Loudon lay at Inverness with the royal army, he received information that the Pretender was to sleep that night at Moy Hall, the seat of Mackintosh, with a guard of two hundred of Mackintosh’s men. Expecting to put a speedy end to the rebellion by the capture of the person who was the prime mover of the whole, Lord Loudon assembled his troops, and marched to Moy Hall. The commandress, however, was not to be taken by surprise; and she had no want of faithful scouts to give her full information of all movements or intended attacks. Without giving notice to her guest of his danger, she with great, and, as it happened, successful temerity, sallied out with her men, and took post on the high road, at a short distance from the house, placing small parties two or three hundred yards asunder. When Lord Loudon came within hearing, a command was passed from man to man, in a loud voice, along a distance of half a mile: The Mackintoshes, Macgillivrays, and Macbeans, to form instantly on the centre,—the Macdonalds on the right,—the Frasers on the left; and in this manner were arranged all the clans in order of battle, in full hearing of the Commander-in-chief of the royal army, who, believing the whole rebel force ready to oppose him, instantly faced to the right about, and retreated with great expedition to Inverness; but not thinking himself safe there, he continued his route across three arms of the sea to Sutherland, a distance of seventy miles, where he took up his quarters.

Such was the terror inspired by the Highlanders of that day, even in military men of experience like Lord Loudon. It was not till

you except one or two, became passionately fond of the young Adventurer, and used all their arts and industry for him, in the most intemperate manner. Under these circumstances, I found myself almost alone, without troops, without arms, without money or credit, provided with no means to prevent extreme folly, except pen and ink, a tongue, and some reputation; and if you will except Macleod (the Laird of Macleod), whom I sent for from the Isle of Skye, supported by nobody of common sense or courage."

During the progress of this unfortunate rebellion, the moral character of the great mass of the Highlanders engaged in it was placed in a most favourable point of view. The noblemen and gentlemen, too, who took a lead in the cause, were generally actuated by pure, although mistaken motives of loyalty and principle. Some of them might be stung by the remembrance of real or supposed injuries, by disappointed ambition, or excited by delusive hopes; yet the greatest proportion even of these staked their lives and fortunes in the contest, from a disinterested attachment to an unfortunate prince, for whose family their fathers had suffered, and whose pretensions they themselves were taught to consider as just. Into these principles and feelings, the mass of the clansmen entered

the following morning that Lady Mackintosh informed her guest of the risk he had run. One of the ladies noticed by the President, finding she could not prevail upon her husband to join the rebels, though his men were ready; and perceiving, one morning, that he intended to set off for Culloden with the offer of his services as a loyal subject, contrived, while making tea for breakfast, to pour, as if by accident, a quantity of scalding hot water on his knees and legs, and thus effectually put an end to all active movements on his part for that season, while she dispatched his men to join the rebels under a commander more obedient to her wishes.

with a warmth and zeal unmixed with, or unsullied by, motives of self-interest or aggrandizement; for whatever their superiors might expect, they could look for nothing but that satisfaction and self-approbation which accompany the consciousness of supporting the oppressed. They were therefore misguided, rather than criminal, and to their honour it ought to be remembered, that though engaged in a formidable civil war, which roused the strongest passions of human nature, and though unaccustomed to regular discipline, or military control, though they were in a manner let loose on their countrymen, and frequently flushed with victory, and elated with hopes of ultimate success, they committed comparatively very few acts of wanton plunder, or gratuitous violence. They withstood temptations, which, to men in their situation, might have appeared irresistible; and when they marched into the heart of England through fertile and rich districts, presenting numberless objects of desire, and also when in the northern parts of the kingdom, often pinched with hunger, and exposed throughout a whole winter to all the inclemencies of the weather, without tents, or any covering save what chance afforded; in these trying circumstances, acts of personal violence and robbery were unheard of, except among a few desperate followers, who joined more for the sake of booty, than from other and better motives. Private revenge, or unprovoked massacre,* wanton depredation, the burning of private houses, or destruction of property, were entirely unknown. When the cravings of hunger, or the want of regular supplies in the north of Scotland, compelled them to go in quest of food, they limited their demands by their necessities, and indulged in no licentious excess. The requisitions and contribu-

* See Appendix, V.

tions exacted and levied by the rebel commanders, were the unavoidable consequences of their situation, and did not in any manner affect the character of the rebel army, which conducted itself throughout with a moderation, forbearance, and humanity, almost unexampled in any civil commotion. In a military point of view, they proved themselves equally praiseworthy. Neither in the advance into England, to within a hundred and fifty miles of London, nor in the retreat, when pursued by a superior army while another attempted to intercept them, did they leave a man behind by desertion, and few or none by sickness. They carried their cannon along with them, and the retreat "was conducted with a degree of intrepidity, regularity, expedition and address, unparalleled in the history of nations, by any body of men under circumstances equally adverse."*

When such were the character and conduct of the rebel army,—irreproachable in every respect, except in the act of rebellion,—it is to be lamented that their enlightened and disciplined conquerors did not condescend to take a lesson of moderation from these uncultivated savages (as they called them); and that they sullied their triumphs by devastation and cruelty inflicted on a defenceless enemy. As to the burning of the castles of Lovat, Lochiel, Glengarry, Clunie, and others, some apology may be found in the expediency of punishing men, who, from the circle in which they moved, and their general intelligence and knowledge of the world, must have known the stake which they hazarded, and the consequences of a failure. Not so with their followers, who acted from a principle of fidelity and attachment, which had withstood the lapse of so many

* *Letters from a Nobleman to his Son.*

years of absence and exile, and which, by gentle treatment, might have been turned into the proper channel. Instead of this, a line of conduct was pursued infinitely more ferocious and barbarous than the worst acts of the poor people to whom these epithets were so liberally applied.

These cruelties compelled many of the followers of the rebel army, afraid of punishment, and unwilling to return to their homes, to form themselves into bands of freebooters, who frequented the mountains of Athole, Breadalbane, and Monteith, districts which form the border country, and often laid the Lowlands under contributions ; defying the exertions of their Lowland neighbours, assisted by small garrisons, stationed in different parts of the country, to check their depredations. The harsh measures afterwards pursued were more calculated to exasperate, than to allay the discontents which they were intended to remove, and were perhaps less excusable as being more deliberate.



SECTION X.

Abolition of Hereditary Jurisdiction—Suppression of the Highland Garb.

THE alarm occasioned by this insurrection, determined Government to dissolve the patriarchal system in the Highlands, the nature, as well as the danger of which, had the power of the clans been properly directed, was now exhibited to the country. It would appear that it was considered impracticable to effect this dissolution of clanship, fidelity, and mutual attachment, between the Highlanders and their chiefs, by a different and improved modification of the system and state of society; and, unfortunately, no course was pursued short of a complete revolution. For this purpose, an Act was passed in 1747, depriving all chiefs and landholders of their jurisdictions and judicial powers; and in August of the same year, it was also enacted, that any person in the Highlands, possessing or concealing any kind of arms, should be liable in the first instance to a severe fine, and be committed to prison without bail till payment. If the delinquent was a male, and unable to pay the fine, he was to be sent to serve as a soldier in America, or, if unfit for service, to be imprisoned for six months; if a female, she was, besides the fine and imprisonment till payment, to be detained six months in prison. Seven years' transportation was the punishment for a second offence.

The Highland garb was proscribed by still severer penalties. It was enacted, that any person within Scotland, whether man or boy (excepting officers and soldiers

in his Majesty's service), who should wear the plaid, philibeg, trews, shoulder belts, or any part of the Highland garb; or should use for greatcoats, tartans, or party coloured plaid, or stuffs; should, without the alternative of a fine, be imprisoned, on the first conviction, for six months without bail, and on the second conviction be transported for seven years.*

The necessity of these measures is the best apology for their severity; but, however proper it may have been to dissolve a power which led to such results, and to deprive men of authority and their followers of arms, which they so illegally used, the same necessity does not appear to extend to the garb. "Even the loyal clans," says Dr Johnson, "murmured with an appearance of justice, that, after having defended the king, they were forbidden to defend themselves, and that the swords should be forfeited which had been legally employed. It affords a generous and manly pleasure, to conceive a little nation gathering its fruits and tending its herds, with fearless confidence, though it is open on every side to invasion; where, in contempt of walls and trenches, every man sleeps securely with his sword beside him, and where all, on the first approach of hostility, come together at the call to battle, as the summons to a festival show, committing their cattle to the care of those, whom age or

* Considering the severity of the law against this garb, nothing but the strong partiality of the people could have prevented its going entirely into disuse. The prohibitory laws were so long in force, that more than two-thirds of the generation who saw it enacted had passed away before the repeal. The youth of the latter period knew it only as an illegal garb, to be worn by stealth under the fear of imprisonment and transportation. Breeches, by force of habit, had become so common, that it is remarkable how the plaid and philibeg were resumed at all.

nature had disabled to engage the enemy; with that competition for hazard and glory, which operate in men that fight under the eye of those whose dislike or kindness they have always considered as the greatest evil, or the greatest good. This was in the beginning of the present century: in the state of the Highlanders every man was a soldier, who partook of the national confidence, and interested himself in national honour. To lose this spirit, is to lose what no small advantage will compensate, when their pride has been crushed by the heavy hand of a vindictive conqueror, whose severities have been followed by laws, which, though they cannot be called cruel, have produced much discontent, because they operate on the surface of life, and make every eye bear witness to subjection. If the policy of the Disarming Act appears somewhat problematical, what must we think of the subsequent measure of 1747, to compel the Highlanders to lay aside their national dress? It is impossible to read this latter Act, without considering it rather as an ignorant wantonness of power, than the proceeding of a wise and a beneficent legislature. To be compelled to wear a new dress has always been found painful.* So the Highlanders found; and it certainly was not consistent with the boasted freedom of our country (and in that instance, indeed, it was shown that this freedom was only a name) to inflict, on a whole people, the severest punishment short of death, for wearing a particular dress. Had the whole race been decimated, more violent grief, indignation and shame, could not have been excited among them, than by being deprived of this long inherited costume. This was an encroachment on the feelings of a people, whose ancient

* *Dr Johnson's Journey to the Highlands.*

and martial garb had been worn from a period reaching back beyond all history or even tradition.*

The obstinacy with which the law was resisted, proceeded no less from their attachment to their proscribed garb, than from the irksomeness of the dress forced upon them. Habituated to the free use of their limbs, the Highlanders could ill brook the confinement and restraint of the Lowland dress, and many were the little devices which they adopted to retain their ancient garb, without incurring the penalties of the Act, devices which were calculated rather to excite a smile, than to rouse the vengeance of prosecution. Instead of the prohibited tartan kilt, some wore pieces of a blue, green, or red thin cloth, or coarse camblet, wrapped round the waist, and hanging down to the knees like the *fealdag*.† The tight breeches

* Some opinion may be formed of the importance which Government attached to the garb by the tenor of the following oath, administered in 1747 and 1748 in Fort-William and other places where the people were assembled for the purpose; those who refused to take it being treated as rebels: "I, A. B., do swear, and as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, in my possession any gun, sword, pistol, or arm whatsoever, and never use tartan, plaid, or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do so, may I be cursed in my undertakings, family, and property, —may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, or relations, —may I be killed in battle as a coward, and lie without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forefathers and kindred; may all this come across me if I break my oath." The framers of this oath understood the character of the Highlanders. The abolition of the feudal power of the chiefs, and the Disarming Act had little influence on the character of the people in comparison of the grief, indignation, and disaffection occasioned by the loss of their garb.

† The *fealdag* was the same as the philibeg, only not plaited. The mode of sewing the kilt, into plaits or folds, in the same manner

were particularly obnoxious. Some who were fearful of offending, or wished to render obedience to the law, which had not specified on what part of the body the breeches were to be worn, satisfied themselves with having in their possession this article of legal and royal dress, which, either as the signal of their submission, or more probably to suit their own convenience when on journeys, they often suspended over their shoulders upon their sticks; others who were either more wary, or less sub-

as the plaid, is said to have been introduced by an Englishman of the name of Parkinson, early in the last century, which has given rise to an opinion entertained by many, that the kilt is modern, and was never known till that period. This opinion is founded on a memorandum left by a gentleman whose name is not mentioned, and published in the *Scots Magazine*. To a statement totally unsupported, little credit can of course be attached; and it may, surely with as much reason, be supposed, that breeches were never worn till the present cut and manner of wearing them came into fashion. As the Highlanders had sufficient ingenuity to think of plaiting the plaid, it is likely they would be equally ingenious in forming the kilt; and as it is improbable that an active light-footed people would go about on all occasions, whether in the house or in the field, encumbered with twelve yards of plaid, (to say nothing of the expense of such a quantity), I am less willing to coincide in the modern opinion, founded on such a slight unauthenticated notice, than in the universal belief of the people, that the philibeg has been part of their garb, as far back as tradition reaches.

Since the publication of the former editions, several friends have represented to me, that a more decided contradiction ought to be given to the story of Parkinson and his supposed invention of the kilt, which, they say, is totally unfounded. The truth is, the thing is not worth contradicting. If the story were true, which it is not, the whole would amount to this,—that in the reign of George II. the Highlanders began to wear four yards of tartan instead of twelve, as was their practice in former reigns. This is one of the arguments brought forward by some modern authors, to prove that the Highland garb is of recent introduction.

missive, sewed up the centre of the kilt, with a few stitches between the thighs, which gave it something of the form of the trowsers worn by Dutch skippers. At first the evasions of the Act were visited with considerable severity; but at length the officers of the law seem to have acquiesced in the interpretation put by the Highlanders upon the prohibition of the Act. This appears from the trial of a man of the name of Macalpin, or Drummond Macgregor, from Breadalbane, who was acquitted, on his proving that the kilt had been stitched up in the middle.* This trial took place in 1757, and was the first instance of relaxation in enforcing the law of 1747.†

The change produced in the Highlands, by the Disarming and Proscribing Acts, was accelerated by the measures of the Government for the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions, and the consequent overthrow of the

* This very strong attachment to a habit which they thought graceful and convenient, is not singular among an ancient race, proud of their independence, manners, customs, and long unbroken descent. It is in every one's memory, that a dangerous mutiny was produced at Vellore, in the East Indies, by insisting on an alteration in the dress of the native troops, in the adjustment of their turbans, and in the cut of their whiskers. There was, perhaps, a religious feeling mixed with this opposition; yet whiskers and turbans seem of less importance than a whole garb, such as that the use of which the Highlanders were prohibited.

† Although the severity of this "ignorant wantonness of power" began to be relaxed in 1757, it was not till the year 1782 that an Act, so ungenerous in itself, so unnecessary, and so galling, was repealed. In the session of that year, the present Duke of Montrose, then a member of the House of Commons, brought in a bill to repeal all penalties and restrictions on the Celtic garb. The motion was seconded by the Earl of Lauderdale, then Lord Maitland, and passed without a dissenting voice.

authority of the chiefs. This was the last act of Government which had any influence upon the Highland character. Subsequent changes are to be traced to causes, which owe their existence chiefly to the views and speculations of private individuals. Into the order of these causes, and their practical operations and effects, I shall now shortly inquire.



PART I.

PRESENT STATE, AND CHANGE OF CHARACTER AND
MANNERS.

SECTION I.

*Influence of Political and Economical Arrangements—
Change in the Character of the Clans—Introduction
of Fanaticism in Religion.*

It will be perceived that the preceding Sketch of the customs, manners, and character of the inhabitants of the Highlands of Scotland refers rather to past than present times. A great, and, in some respects, a lamentable change has been produced; and the original of the picture which I have attempted to draw is suffering daily obliterations, and is, in fact, rapidly disappearing. Much of the romance and chivalry of the Highland character is gone. The voice of the bard has long been silent; poetry, tradition, and song, are vanishing away. To adopt the words of Mrs Grant, "The generous and characteristic spirit, the warm affection to his family, the fond attachment to his clan, the love of story and song, the contempt of danger and luxury, the mystic super-

stition, equally awful and tender, the inviolable fidelity to every engagement, the ardent love of his native heaths and mountains," will soon be no longer found to exist among the Highlanders, unless the change of character which is now in rapid progress be checked.

Of this change there was no symptom previous to the year 1745, and scarcely a faint indication till towards the year 1770. The Union, which has had the happiest effect in contributing to the prosperity of both kingdoms, seemed at first, and indeed for many years afterwards, to paralyze the energies, and break the spirit of Scotchmen. The people in general imagined, that, by the removal of their court and parliament, they had lost their independence. The subsequent decrease of trade contributed to exasperate and to increase their aversion to the measure ; and from this period, the country seems to have remained stationary, if not to have retrograded, till about the commencement of the late reign, when a spirit of improvement, both in agriculture and commerce, and a more extensive intercourse with the world, infused new life and vigour into the general mass of the population.

While this was the effect of the Union in the southern and lowland parts of Scotland, its operation upon the north was much slower and more imperceptible. There the inhabitants retained their ancient pursuits, prejudices, language, and dress ; with all the peculiarities of their original character. But a new era was soon to commence. The primary cause, both in time and importance, which contributed to produce a remarkable change in the Highlands, was the legislative measures adopted subsequent to the year 1745. This cause, however, had so little influence, that, as I have already noticed, its operation was for many years imperceptible ; yet an impulse was given

which, in the progress of events, and through the co-operation of many collateral and subordinate causes, has effected a revolution, which could not have been fully anticipated, or indeed thought possible in so short a period of time. This change appears in the character and condition of the Highlanders, and is indicated, not only in their manners and persons, but in the very aspect of their country. It has reduced to a state of nature, lands that had long been subjected to the plough, and which had afforded the means of support to a moral, happy, and contented population; it has converted whole glens and districts, once the abode of a brave, vigorous, and independent race of men, into scenes of desolation; it has torn up families which seemed rooted, like Alpine plants, in the soil of their elevated region, and which, from their habits and principles, appeared to be its original possessors, as well as its natural occupiers,—and forced them thence, pennyless and unskilful, to seek a refuge in manufacturing towns, or, in a state of helpless despair, to betake themselves to the wilds of a far distant land. The spirit of speculation has invaded those mountains which no foreign enemy could penetrate, and expelled a brave people whom no warlike intruder could subdue.

I shall now briefly advert to the circumstances which have led to the system of managing Highland estates recently adopted by many proprietors, adding a few observations on the manner in which it has been carried into effect, and on its certain or probable consequences, as these affect the permanent prosperity of the landlord, improve or deteriorate the character and condition of the people, and influence their loyalty to the king, respect for the laws, and attachment to the higher orders.

A striking feature in the revolutionized Highland character is, the comparative indifference of the people towards chiefs and landlords. Formerly, their respect and attachment to their chiefs formed one of the most remarkable traits in their character; and such, indeed, were their reverence and affection for their patriarchal superiors, that, to swear by the hand of their chief, was a confirmation of an averment; and "May my chief have the ascendant," was a common expression of surprise.* It is remarkable how little this kindly disposition of the people was, for many years after the abolition of the hereditary jurisdictions, influenced or impaired by an Act which deprived the chiefs of their power, and released the clans from all compulsive obedience to these patriarchal rulers. Notwithstanding this, they still performed their services as before, and admitted the arbitration of their chiefs, when they had no more power or authority over them than gentlemen of landed property in England or Ireland possess over their tenants.

When a chief, his son, or friends, wished to raise a regiment, company, or smaller number of men, to entitle him to the notice of Government, the appeal was seldom made in vain. The same attachment was even displayed towards those whose estates were confiscated to Government, and who, as outlaws from their country, became the objects of that mixture of compassion and respect which

* Martin says, "The islanders have a great respect for their chiefs and heads of tribes, and they conclude grace after every meal, with a petition to God for their welfare and prosperity. Neither will they, as far as in them lies, suffer them to sink under any misfortune, but, in case of decay of estate, make a voluntary contribution in their behalf, as a common duty to support the credit of their families."

generous minds accord to the victims of principle. The rights of their chiefs and landlords, in these unhappy circumstances, they regarded as inalienable, unless forfeited by some vice or folly. The victims of law were not merely respected as chiefs, but revered as martyrs, and those to whom self-denial was at all times familiar, became more rigidly abstemious in their habits, that they might, with one hand, pay the rent of the forfeited land to the Crown,* and with the other supply the necessities of their exiled chiefs; while the young men, the sons of their faithful and generous tenantry, were ready with their personal services to forward the welfare, and procure military rank and commissions for the sons of the unfortunate individuals who had lost their estates.†

* See Appendix, W.

† It will be seen in the Appendix, that, in many cases, the tenants on the forfeited estates remitted to their attainted landlords, when in exile, the rents which they formerly paid them, Government, at the same time, receiving the full rents of the new leases. This generosity was exhibited on many other occasions, when the objects of their affection and respect required assistance. In the year 1757, Colonel Fraser, the son of Lord Lovat, without an acre of land, found himself, in a few weeks, at the head of nearly 800 men from his father's estate (then forfeited), and the estates of the gentlemen of the clan. About the same period, and previously, numerous detachments of young men were sent to the Scotch Brigade in Holland, to procure commissions for the gentlemen who had lost their fortunes. In the year 1777, Lord Macleod, eldest son of the Earl of Cromarty (attainted in 1746), found his influence as effective as when his family were in full possession of their estate and honours. By the support of the Mackenzies, and other gentlemen of his clan, 900 Highlanders were embodied under his command, although he was personally unknown to the greater part of them, having been thirty years in exile. Besides these 900, there were 870 Highlanders raised for his regiment in different parts of the North. In the year 1776, the late Lochiel

It cannot be doubted that, by condescension and kindness, this feeling might have been perpetuated, and that the Highland proprietors, without sacrificing any real advantage, would have found, in the voluntary attachment of their tenants, a grateful substitute for the loyal obedience of their clans.* Amid the gradual changes and im-

was a lieutenant in the 30th Regiment, having returned from France after his father's death, and obtained a commission. This lieutenancy was his only fortune after the forfeiture of his estate. The followers of his father's family raised 120 men to obtain for him a company in the 71st Regiment. Macpherson of Cluny, also without a shilling, raised 140 men, for which he was appointed major to the 71st, and thus secured an independency till his family estate was restored in 1783. It is unnecessary to give more instances of this disposition, which formed so distinguished a trait in the character of the Highlanders of the last generation.

* The following is one of many existing proofs of permanent respect and attachment, testified by the Highlanders to their landlords. A gentleman possessing a considerable Highland property, and descended from a warlike and honourable line of ancestors, long held in respect by the Highlanders, fell into difficulties some years ago. In this state, he was the more sensible of his misfortune as his estate was very improvable. In fact, he attempted some improvements, but employed more labourers than he could easily afford to pay. But, notwithstanding the prospect of irregular payments, such was the attachment of the people to the representative of a respectable house, that they were ready at his call, and often left the employment of others, who paid regularly, to carry on his operations. To this may be added a circumstance, which will appear the more marked, to such as understand the character of the Highlanders, and know how deeply they feel any neglect in returning civility on the part of their superiors. If a gentleman pass a countryman without returning his salute, it furnishes matter of observation to a whole district. The gentleman now in question, educated in the South, and ignorant of the language and character of the people, and of their peculiar way of thinking, paid so little regard to their feelings, that although a countryman pulled off his bonnet almost as soon as

provements of the age, might not the recollections and most approved virtues and traits of chivalrous times have been retained, along with something of the poetry of the Highland character in the country of Ossian? And if unable to vie with their Southern neighbours in luxury or splendour, might not gentlemen have possessed in their mountains a more honourable distinction,—that of commanding respect without the aid of wealth, by making a grateful people happy, and thus uniting true dignity with humanity? This many gentlemen have accomplished, and in the full enjoyment of the confidence, fidelity, and gratitude of a happy and prosperous tenantry, are now supporting a manly and honourable independence, while others have descended from their enviable eminence for an immediate or prospective addition to their rent-rolls,—an addition which the short respite or delay, so necessary in all improvements and considerable changes, would have enabled their ancient adherents to have contributed.* By

he appeared in sight, the respectful salute generally passed unnoticed: yet this was overlooked in remembrance of his family, in the same manner that generous minds extend to the children the gratitude due to the parents.

* Most of the evils which press upon the present age, and which lately desolated Europe, have arisen from the very cause, which has produced such violent changes among the mountains of Scotland; namely, an impatience to obtain too soon, and without due preparation, the advantages that were contemplated, and, from an attempt to accomplish at once, what no human power can effect without the slow but certain aid of time. As an instance of the result of the modern method of management, in hurrying on improvements, without regard to the sacrifice of the happiness of others, contrasted with the effects of improving with moderation and as time and circumstances admitted, I shall state the results of the opposite lines of conduct followed by two Highland proprietors.

One of these gentlemen obtained possession of his father's estate,

many proprietors, no more attention has been shown to the feelings of the descendants of their fathers' clans-

and employed an agent to arrange the farms on a new plan. The first principle was to consider his lands as an article of commerce, to be disposed of to the highest bidder. The old tenants were accordingly removed. New ones offered, and rents, great beyond all precedent, were promised. Two rents were paid; the third was deficient nearly one half, and the fourth failed entirely, or was paid by the sale of the tenant's stock. Fresh tenants were then to be procured. This was not so easy, as no abatement was to be given; hence, a considerable proportion of the estate remained in the proprietor's hands. After the second year, however, the whole farms were again let, but another failure succeeded. The same process was again gone through, and with similar results, to the great discredit of the farms, as few would again attempt to settle, without a great reduction of rent, where so many had failed. But, in all those difficulties, there was no diminution in the landlord's expenses. Indeed, they were greatly extended by fresh speculations and dreams of increased income. Without detailing the whole process, I shall only add, that his creditors have done with the estate what he did with the farms—offered it to the highest bidder.

The other gentleman acted differently. When he succeeded his father, he raised his rents according to the increased value of produce. This continuing to rise, he showed his people, that as a boll of grain, a cow or sheep, obtained one or two hundred per cent. higher price than formerly, it was but just that they should pay rent in proportion. In this they cheerfully acquiesced, while they followed his directions and example in improving their land. He has not removed a tenant. In cases where he thought them too crowded, he, on the decease of a tenant, made a division of his land amongst the others. This was the only alteration as far as regarded the removal of the ancient inhabitants, who are contented and prosperous, paying adequate rents so regularly to their landlord, that he has now saved money sufficient to purchase a lot of his neighbour's estate; and he has also the happiness of believing, that no emissary sowing the seeds of sedition against the King and Government, or of disaffection to the Established Church, will find countenance, or meet with hearers or converts among his tenantry, whose easy circumstances render them

men, than if the connection between the families of the superiors and the tenantry had commenced but yesterday. By others, again, the people have been preserved entire, the consequence of which has been, that they have lost nothing of their moral habits, retain much of the honourable feelings of former times, and are improving in industry and agricultural knowledge; these kind and considerate landlords, having commenced with the improvement of the people as the best and most permanent foundation for the improvement of their lands, instead of following the new system, which seems to consider the population of a glen or district in the same light as the flocks that range the hills, to be kept in their habitations so long as they are thought profitable, and when it is believed that they have ceased to be so, to be ejected to make room for strangers.* But those whose families and predecessors had remained for ages, on a particular spot, considered themselves entitled to be preferred to strangers, when they offered equally high rents for their lands. Men of supposed skill and capital were, however, invited to bid against them; and these, by flattering representations of their own ability to improve the property, and by holding out the prejudices, indolence, and poverty of the old tenantry, as rendering them incapable of carrying on improvements, or paying adequate rents, frequently obtained the preference. In many cases even secret offers have been called for, and received, the highest constituting the best claim; † and notwithstanding the examples exhibited

loyal, and proof against all the arts of the turbulent and factious, whether directed against the King, the Church, or their immediate superiors.

* See Appendix, X.

† Nothing, in the policy pursued in the management of Highland

by those true patriots, who, by giving time and encouragement, showed at once the capability of their lands and of their tenants, yet, to one of these strangers, or to one of their own richer or more speculating countrymen, were surrendered the lands of a whole valley, peopled, perhaps, by a hundred families. An indifference, if not an aversion, to the families of the landlords who acted in this manner, has too frequently been the natural result; and, in many places, the Highland proprietors, from being the objects of greater veneration with the people than those of any other part of the kingdom, perhaps of Europe, have entirely lost their affections and fidelity. But while many have thus forfeited that honourable influence (and

estates, has been more productive of evil than this custom, introduced along with the new improvements, of letting farms by secret offers. It has generated jealousy, hatred, and distrust, setting brother against brother, friend against friend; and, wherever it has prevailed on large estates, has raised such a ferment in the country as will require years to allay. Sir George Mackenzie, in his Report of the County of Ross, with reference to this manner of letting farms, thus feelingly expresses himself: "No exaggerated picture of distress can be drawn to convey to the feeling mind the horrible consequences of such conduct as has been mentioned, towards a numerous tenantry. Whatever difference of opinion may exist respecting the necessity of reducing the numbers of occupiers of land in the Highlands, there can exist but one on conduct such as has been described,—that it is cruelly unjust and dishonourable, especially if, as too often happens, *the old tenants are falsely informed of offers having been made.* Such a deception is so mean, that its having been ever practised, is enough to bring indelible disgrace on us all." Certainly such proceedings must be repugnant to every honourable and enlightened mind. But the disgrace attaches only to those who practise such infamous deceptions. There are many honourable men in the Highlands, who wish for nothing but a fair and honest value for their lands, and would as soon take the money out of their tenants' pockets as act in this manner.

what influence can be more honourable than that which springs from gratitude and a voluntary affectionate obedience?) which their predecessors enjoyed to such a degree, that to this day the most affectionate blessings are poured out on their memory, as often as their names are mentioned; the system which has so materially contributed to this change, has not been followed by advantages in any way proportionate to the loss. On the contrary, the result has, in too many cases, been bankruptcy among tenants, diminution of honourable principles, and irregularity in the payment of rents, which, instead of improving, have embarrassed the condition of the landlord.

In some cases these proceedings have been met by resistance on the part of the tenants, and occasioned serious tumults.* In some instances, however, the latter

* The leading circumstances of one of these tumults will be seen in the account of the military services of the 42nd Regiment. In the year 1792, a numerous body of tenantry, in the County of Ross, were removed on account of what was called an improved plan, in the advantages of which the people were to have no share. *Their welfare, as in too many cases in the Highlands, formed no part of this plan.* They were all ejected from their farms. It was some years before the result could be fully estimated, so far as regarded the welfare of the landlords. The ruin of the old occupiers was immediate. To the proprietor the same result, though more slowly produced, seems equally certain. In one district, improved in this merciless manner, the estates of five ancient families, who, for several centuries, had supported an honourable and respected name, are all in possession of one individual, who, early in the late war, amassed a large fortune in a public department abroad. The original tenants were first dispossessed, and the lairds soon followed. May I not hazard a supposition, that, if these gentlemen had permitted their people to remain, and if they had followed the example of their ancestors, who preserved their estates for two, three, and four hundred years, they too might have kept possession, and bequeathed them to their posterity? The new proprietor has made

have submitted with patient resignation to their lot ; and, by their manner of bearing this treatment, showed how little they deserved it. But their character has changed with their situations. The evil is extending, and the tenants of kind and patriotic landlords seem to be, in no small degree, affected by the gloom and despondency of those who complain of harsh treatment, and who, neglected and repulsed by their natural protectors, while their feelings and attachment were still strong, have, in too many instances, sought consolation in the doctrines of ignorant and fanatical spiritual guides, capable of producing no solid or beneficial impression on the ardent minds of those to whom their harangues and exhortations are generally addressed. The natural enthusiasm of the Highland charac-

great and extensive improvements. It is said, that he has laid out thirty thousand pounds on two of these estates. Some very judicious men think, that if the numerous old hardy and vigorous occupiers had been retained, and encouraged by the application of one-third of this sum, such effectual assistance, with their abstemious habits and personal labour, would have enabled them to execute the same improvements, and to pay as high rents as the present occupiers. To be sure their houses would have been small, and their establishments mean in comparison to those of the present tenants ; but, to balance the mean appearance of their houses, they would have cost the landlord little beyond a small supply of wood. We should then have seen these districts peopled by a high-spirited independent peasantry, instead of miserable day-labourers and cottars, who are now dependent on the great farmer for their employment and daily bread, and who, sensible of their dependence, must cringe to those by offending whom they would deprive themselves of the means of subsistence. When no tie of mutual attachment exists, as in former days, the modern one is easily broken. A look that may be construed into insolence is a sufficient cause of dismissal. Can we expect high-spirited chivalrous soldiers, preferring death to defeat and disgrace, from such a population, and such habits as these ?

ter has, in many instances, been converted into a gloomy and morose fanaticism. Traditional history and native poetry, which reminded them of other times, are neglected. Theological disputes, of interminable duration, now occupy much of the time formerly devoted to poetical recitals and social meetings, These circumstances have blunted their romantic feelings, and lessened their taste for the works of imagination. "Among the causes," says Dr Smith, "which make our ancient poems vanish so rapidly, poverty and the iron road should in most places have a large share. From the baneful shades of these murderers of the Muse, the light of the song must fast retire. No other reason need be asked why the present Highlanders neglect so much the songs of their fathers. Once the humble but happy vassal sat at his ease at the foot of his gray rock, or green tree. Few were his wants, and fewer still his cares, for he beheld his herds sporting round him on his then unmeasured mountains. He hummed the careless song, and tuned the harp of joy, while his soul in silence blessed his chieftain. Now, I was going to draw the comparison,—Sed Cynthia aurem vellit, et admonuit."*

In the same manner, and from the same cause, their taste for music, dancing, and all kinds of social amusement, has been chilled. Their evening meetings are now seldom held, and when they do occur, instead of being enlivened with the tale, the poem, or the song, they are too frequently exasperated with political or religious discussions, or with complaints against their superiors, and the established clergy, which have altogether exerted a baneful instead of a salutary influence on their general man-

* See Report of the County of Argyle, drawn up for the Board of Agriculture.

ners, as well as on that natural civility, which in the last age, never permitted a Highlander to pass any person of respectable appearance without a salute, or some civil observation, whereas at present, so great is the change of manners, that instead of the cordial greetings of former times, a Highlander will frequently pass his immediate superior without the slightest notice. Even the aspect of the Highlander, his air, and his carriage, have undergone a marked change.* Formerly the bonnet was worn with a gentle inclination over the left or right eye-brow, and the plaid was thrown over the left shoulder (the right arm being exposed, and at full liberty) with a careless air, giving an appearance of ease not distant from grace, while the philibeg gave a freedom to the limbs, and showed them to advantage. At present, as the Highland dress is almost exclusively confined to the lower orders, a degree

* The difference in the personal appearance of the people is remarkable, and forms an interesting subject for a philosophic inquiry. The causes of the change in character and manners are evident, but those which have affected personal appearance are not equally clear. Persons who remember the remains of the chivalrous race, whose character I have attempted to delineate, will not now discover any of those martial patriarchal figures, remarkable for an erect independent air, an ease of manners, and fluency of language and expression, rarely to be found among any peasantry. Even in my own time I remember many, such as I now describe, who, with kindly dispositions and warm attachment to my family and forefathers, never failed, when I met them, to remind me of their honourable character and name. In the districts where these persons lived, we now see only plain homespun folks. To what can this change be attributed? Not surely to the "progress of improvement"—seeing that their personal appearance is as much deteriorated as their condition. Many observe, and with great reason, that the tacksmen and second order of gentry are more changed than the lower orders, and are every way different from the gentlemen tacksmen of former times.

of vulgarity is attached to it, which makes it unfashionable in the eyes of young men, who awkwardly imitate the gentry, and their Southern neighbours, and in their slouched hats and mis-shapen pantaloons offer a most unseemly contrast to the airy garb and martial appearance of their forefathers.

Along the line of the Grampians, the Gaelic has nearly kept its ground, and is, to this day, spoken in the same districts to which it was limited, after it had ceased to be the prevailing language of Scotland seven hundred years ago. But, although it is universally spoken in common discourse, the Gaelic of the Counties of Dumbarton, Stirling, and Perth, and, in short, of all the Highlands bordering on the Lowlands, is corrupted by a considerable admixture of English words, ill chosen and ill applied. The chief causes of this corruption are the practice, universal in schools, of teaching children to read English, the more general intercourse with the South, which has lately prevailed, and the introduction of many articles of refinement and luxury, unknown when the Gaelic was in its original purity. Successful attempts have recently been made to methodize the structure of the language, to digest the rules of its composition, and, along with the collection of ancient works, to give the means of reading and understanding them by a grammar and dictionary. But if the process continues, which has for some time been going forward, the Gaelic, it is to be feared, will gradually become a dead language. In the remote glens and mountains it might have been preserved for ages, as an interesting monument of a most ancient and original language, retaining its peculiar modes and forms of expression unaffected by the progress of time, the great innovator in

other spoken languages ; but the system of modern Highland improvement, marked by an *aversion, inveterate as it seems unaccountable and causeless, to the ancient inhabitants, their customs, language, and garb*, is now extending to the most distant corry and glen, and will probably root out the language of the country, together with a great proportion of the people who speak it.*

I have already mentioned, that the Highlanders, though Presbyterians, did not in former times, rigidly adhere to the tenets of that church. For several ages after the Reformation, they evinced a strong predilection to the Episcopalian form of worship. In many parishes, the Presbyterian clergy were not established till the reigns of George I. and II.; but whether of the Church of England or of Scotland, the people retained a portion of their ancient superstitions. With these superstitions was blended a strong sentiment of piety, which made them regular attendants on divine worship and the ordinances of religion at the expense of much bodily fatigue and

* Many of the common people begin to despise their native language, as they see gentlemen endeavouring to prevent their children from acquiring the knowledge of the Gaelic, which has been spoken in their native country for a time beyond the reach of record and even tradition. In order that their children may not hear spoken the language of their forefathers, from a dread of their acquiring the accent, they employ Lowland servants, forgetting that people who know not a word of the Gaelic, invariably catch the accent, merely from the ear being accustomed to the sound. Landlords are thus deprived of the power of holding that free and confidential communication with their tenants, which is necessary to acquire a knowledge of their character, dispositions, and talents ; and being compelled to trust to interpreters, they are led into much misconception in regard to their tenants, and these again into frequent misapprehension and prejudiced notions of the character and turn of thinking of their landlord.

personal inconvenience.* Guided by the sublime and simple truths of Christianity, they were strangers to the very existence of the sects that have branched off from the National Church. In this respect, their character and habits have undergone a considerable alteration since they began to be visited by itinerant missionaries, and since the gloom spread over their minds has tended to depress their spirit. The missionaries, indeed, after having ventured within the barrier of the Grampians, found a harvest which they little expected, and amongst the ignorant and unhappy, made numerous proselytes to their opinions. These converts losing by their recent civilization—as the changes which have taken place in their opinions are called—a great portion of their belief in fairies, ghosts, and second sight, though retaining their appetite for strong impressions, have readily supplied the void with the visions and inspirations of the “new light,” † and, in this mystic

* In the parish where I passed my early years, the people travelled six, seven, and twelve miles to church, and returned the same evening every Sunday in summer, and frequently in winter. A chapel of ease and an assistant clergyman are now established, and the people have not to travel so far. I do not give this as a singular instance; the case was the same in all extensive parishes, and continues to be so where no chapel of ease is established.

† Thus have been extirpated the innocent, attractive, and often sublime superstitions of the Highlanders—superstitions which inculcated no relentless intolerance, nor impiously dealt out perdition and Divine wrath against rival sects—superstitions which taught men to believe that a dishonourable act attached disgrace to a whole kindred and district, and that murder, treachery, oppression, and all kinds of wickedness, would not only be punished in the person of the transgressor himself, but would be visited on future generations. When the Highlander imagined that he saw the ghost of his father frowning upon him from the skirts of the passing clouds, or that he

lore, have shown themselves such adepts, as even to astonish their new instructors. Indeed, the latter have, in many cases, been far outdone by the wild enthusiasm and romantic fancy of those disciples whose minds they had first agitated. The ardour of the Highland character remains ; it has only taken another and more dangerous direction, and, when driven from poetical recitals, superstitious traditions, and chivalrous adventures, has found a vent in religious ravings, and in contests with rival sects. These enthusiastic notions are observed to be most fervent amongst young women. A few years ago, an unfortunate girl in Breadalbane became so bewildered in her imagination by the picture drawn of the punishment of unbelievers, that she destroyed herself in a fit of desperation, *a rare, and, till lately,* the only instance of this crime in the Highlands.

The powerful and gloomy impressions which the doc-

heard his voice in the howlings of the midnight tempest, or when he found his imagination awed by the recital of fairy tales of ghosts, and visions of the second sight, his heart was subdued ; and when he believed that his misdeeds would be visited on his succeeding generations, who would also be rewarded and prosper in consequence of his good actions, he would either be powerfully restrained or encouraged. When so much—perhaps too much—has been done to destroy these feelings, it were well that some pains were taken to substitute good principles in their room. But I fear that many of the new teachers think more of implicit faith in their own particular doctrines, than of good works in their disciples ; and that morals are in general left to the teaching and control of the laws. I trust I shall not be thought too partial to the ancient and innocent superstitions of my countrymen, if I wish that the restraints on vice were more numerous than the laws afford ; and confess my belief, that the fear of a ghost is as honourable and legitimate a check as the fear of the gallows, and the thoughts of bringing dishonour on a man's country, name, and kindred, fully as respectable as the fear of Bride-well, Botany Bay, or the executioner's whip.

trines of some of these teachers have made, are evidently owing to an alteration in the state of their proselytes, whose strong feelings, irritated by many causes, seek refuge and consolation in powerful emotions. It is well known, that no itinerant preacher ever gained a footing among the Highlanders, till recent changes in their situation and circumstances paved the way for fanaticism. Some of these new teachers are, no doubt, zealous and conscientious men, but others again are rash, illiterate, ignorant of human nature, and vulgar; very incapable of filling the situation they have assumed, and peculiarly unqualified for the instruction of a people, sensitive and imaginative, devout in their habits of thinking, and blameless in their general conduct. The same force of language and terrors of denunciation, which are barely adequate to produce compunction in the mind of the reckless and godless reprobate, are sufficient to plunge in utter despondency, a tender conscience, and a mind accustomed to regard the doctrines of religion with deep and mysterious awe. Some of these religious reformers, as they wish to be considered, intermix their spiritual instructions with reflections on the incapacity and negligence of the clergymen of the Established Church, and on the conduct of landlords, whom they compare to the taskmasters of Egypt: and it is an important fact, that, wherever the people are rendered contented and happy in their external circumstances, by the judicious and humane treatment of their landlords, and wherever they are satisfied with the parish minister in the discharge of his pastoral duties, no itinerant preacher has ever been able to obtain a footing, and the people retain much of their original manners, devoutly and regularly attending the parish church.*

* The inhabitants of a border strath (Strathbraan is the parish of

While these seem to be the effects of religion and external circumstances combined, the differences and mutual recriminations which have taken place between the Established Church and the sects which have branched off from it, are apparently tending to the most deplorable results in the Highlands, where the Gospel, as explained by their clergy, was formerly believed with the most implicit faith ; but now, that they see new preachers come among them, and hear the doctrines and lessons of the regular clergy derided, and described as unchristian and unsound, and that, as some times happens, the parish minister retorts on the intruders, they know not what or whom to

Little Dunkeld, the property of Sir George Stewart of Grandtully, Bart.), in the Highlands of Perthshire were, about thirty years ago, considered the most degenerate and worst principled race in the country. Less regular in their attendance on church, litigious, almost the only smugglers in the country, horse-dealers (or horse-coupers, as they are called in Scotland), and, as was said, giving employment to more than one lawyer in the neighbouring town of Dunkeld ; these people have, for many years, been blessed with a humane and indulgent landlord, and a conscientious, able, and zealous clergyman (the late Dr Irvine). The consequences have been striking and instructive. While the population in many other parts of the country are deteriorated in character, these are improving in morals, industry, and prosperity. Regular in their attendance on church, they have lost their litigious disposition, the minister having ever been zealous and successful in deciding and composing their differences. They are clearing and improving their lands, paying their rents regularly, and are little addicted to smuggling. Itinerant preachers have in vain attempted to show themselves in this populous thriving district, which contains 875 inhabitants, who support themselves in this exemplary manner ; on farms, too, the smallness of which might seem incredible to those statistical economists who reason on theory, and are ignorant of the country, the capability of the natives, or their exertions when thus kindly treated by a patriotic landlord.

believe, and there are many instances of the doubt thus thrown on religious doctrines, ending in loss of all respect for, or belief in, any religion whatever.*

Yet, though many Highlanders are thus changed, and have lost much of their taste for the poetry and romantic amusements of their ancestors, though their attachment to superiors has decayed, and the kindness, urbanity, and respect with which all strangers were treated, have considerably abated,—notwithstanding all these, and several other changes for the worse, they still retain the inestimable virtues of integrity and charity; † their morality is sufficiently proved by the records of the courts of justice; ‡ their liberality to the poor, and the independent spirit of the poor themselves, are likewise sufficiently evinced by the trifling and almost nominal amount of the public funds for their relief; and their conduct in the field, and their general qualities of firmness, spirit, and courage, will appear in the subsequent annals.

* Of these lamentable consequences of ignorant zeal, and unchristian disputations, there are many instances; and many persons whom I knew to have been once of religious habits, regular and exemplary in their attendance at church, were some years ago induced to quit the established clergymen, and to follow the dissenters; but soon leaving them also, and apparently dissatisfied with both churches, they have given up all attendance on Divine Service, and renounced even the semblance of religion.

† It is a principle among the Highlanders never to allow poor and distressed persons to apply in vain, or to pass their door without affording them some charitable assistance. This disposition is so well known, that the country bordering on the Lowlands is overwhelmed with shoals of beggars; an evil which has increased since the societies for the suppression of mendicity were established in the South. This is a heavy charge on the benevolence of the people, and calls for the prompt interference of the landlords. If they would

‡ See Appendix.

establish checks in the great passes and entrances into the country, to stop those sturdy beggars and strangers, who are so numerous, while the native beggars are so few, the people would easily support their own poor without any assistance whatever.

Travelling some years ago through a high and distant glen, I saw a poor man, with a wife and four children, resting themselves by the road-side. Perceiving, by their appearance, that they were not of the country, I inquired whence they came. The man answered, from West Lothian. I expressed my surprise how he would leave so fine and fertile a country, and come to these wild glens. "In that fine country," answered the man, "they give me the cheek of the door, and hound the constables after me; in this poor country, as you, Sir, call it, they give me and my little ones the fire-side, with a share of what they have."



SECTION II.

Causes and Consequences of this Change—State when placed on small Lots of Land—Poverty followed by Demoralization.

HAVING thus hastily glanced at some of the changes which Highland manners have undergone during the last fifty years, it may be interesting to trace the causes by which those changes have been produced. When Highland proprietors, ceasing to confine themselves within the limits of the Grampians, began to mingle with the world and acquire its tastes and manners, they became weary of a constant residence on their estates, and wished for a more enlarged and varied society than a scanty and monotonous neighbourhood afforded.† Those who could afford the expense removed to London or

† To those who live in the busy world, and are hurried round by its agitations, it is difficult to form an idea of the means by which time may be filled up, and interest excited in families, who, through choice or necessity, dwell among their own people. The secret lies in the excitement of strong attachment. To be in the centre of a social circle, where one is beloved and useful,—to be able to mould the characters and direct the passions by which one is surrounded, creates, in those whom the world has not hardened, a powerful interest in the most minute circumstance which gives pleasure or pain to any individual in that circle, where so much affection and good will are concentrated. The mind is stimulated by stronger excitements, and a greater variety of enjoyments, than matters of even the highest importance can produce in those who are rendered callous, by living among the selfish and the frivolous. It is not the importance of the objects, but the value at which they are estimated, that renders their moral interest permanent and salutary.

Edinburgh, for at least the winter months; and their sons who formerly remained at home till sent to the Universities to finish their education, now accompanied their parents at so early an age, that they lost the advantages of founding their classical attainments' on the generous enthusiasm and the *amor patriæ* ascribed to mountaineers. But the Highland youth were now, in many cases alienated from their clans, and from those regions in which warm affections and cordial intimacies subsisted between the gentry and the people; and the new tastes which they acquired were little calculated to cherish those sympathies and affections which indescribably endear the home of our youth. Thus initiated into the routine of general society, when they occasionally returned to their native glens they felt the absence of the variety of town amusements, and had also lost that home-felt dignity and those social habits which formerly gave a nameless charm to the paternal seat of a Highland landlord, while he maintained an easy intercourse with the neighbouring proprietors, with the old retainers of the family, and with gentlemen farmers, or, as they are styled in the expressive language of patriarchal brotherhood, "friendly tenants."* These were no longer com-

* The extinction of the respectable race of tacksmen, or gentlemen farmers, where it has taken place on extensive estates, is a serious loss to the people. Dr Johnson, speaking of the removal of the tacksmen, as it was supposed they could not pay equally high rents with men who lived in an inferior style, and who required less education for their children, thus expresses himself: "The com-
modiousness of money is indeed great, but there are some advantages which money cannot buy, and which, therefore, no wise man will, by the love of money, be tempted to forego." The soundness of this opinion has been fully confirmed; the rank and influence which these respectable men held are now void,—there places being, in

panions suited to the newly acquired tastes and habits. The minds of landlords were directed to the means

most cases, filled up by shepherds and graziers from the South, or by such natives as had capital or credit enough to undertake their farms. This new class being generally without birth, education, or any of the qualifications requisite to secure the respect of the people on those great estates, where there are no resident proprietors, the inhabitants are left without men of talent, or of sufficient influence, from rank or education, to settle the most ordinary disputes, or capable of acting as justices of the peace, and of signing those certificates and affidavits, which the law in so many instances requires. In extensive districts, containing two, three, and four thousand persons each, not more than one, or two at the utmost, or perhaps none, of the ancient rank of gentlemen tacksmen remain, although once so numerous, that on the estates of Macdonald and Macleod, there were upwards of sixty, who, as I am informed by my friend Lord Bannatyne (and many of them were of his intimate acquaintance,) "were in general liberally educated, possessing the manners and spirit of gentlemen." It was the same in many other districts, but the few of this description of gentlemen farmers who remain, are the only individuals capable of acting as justices of the peace; and pensioners and others, who wish to make affidavits, must travel thirty or forty miles for that purpose. Fortunately for the people of many Highland districts, their original habits are still so strong and so well preserved, that magistrates have hitherto been seldom necessary for other purposes. The want of magistrates, therefore, is a trifling grievance in comparison of leaving a population so numerous and virtuous, open to an inundation of political and religious tracts, of ignorant and pretended teachers of the gospel, and of agents of the WHITE SLAVE TRADE, the last of whom induce many unfortunate creatures to emigrate to America, and to sell the reversion of their persons and labour for the passage, which they cannot otherwise obtain. Of the religious and political tracts industriously distributed among these people, they cannot discriminate the truth from what may be intended to deceive and inflame. The itinerant preachers of the "New Light" disseminate hostility to the character and doctrines of the Established clergy; while the agents of the emigrant vessels are most active in contrasting the boasted happiness, ease,

of increasing their incomes, and of acquiring the funds necessary to support their new and more expensive mode of life in a distant country, while their own was impoverished by this constant drain of its produce.

The system of agriculture which formerly prevailed in the Highlands was well adapted to the character and habits of the people, and was directed to the cultivation of grain, and the rearing of cattle and goats. The value of sheep not being then well understood, they only formed a secondary object. During the summer months the herds were driven to the shealings, or patches of pasture along the margins of the mountain streams. Temporary huts were erected to shelter those who tended the herds and flocks and managed the dairy, the produce of which, and the cattle, the goats, and the few sheep which they could dispose of, formed the only sources of their wealth, the produce of the arable land being seldom sufficient to supply the wants of a family. Latterly grazing appears to have almost superseded agriculture. When a farmer could afford to enlarge his possession, he usually did so, by adding to the number of his live stock, and neglecting cultivation, which at an early period was greatly more extensive.*

While this continued to be the prevailing practice among the farmers of the Highlands, the improvements

and freedom, to be enjoyed in America, with what they call the oppression of their landlords. To all this delusion these unfortunate people are exposed, while the new system of statistical economy, with its cold unrelenting merciless spirit, has driven away those who contributed so materially to maintain the moral and physical energies of the state, by the influence they exerted over the minds and actions of the people.

* See Appendix, Z.

in agriculture in England, which had their origin in the reign of Elizabeth and James I., were matured and reduced to system in the reign of his son Charles I. The extension of these to the northward seems, however, to have been gradual. From the reign of James I. of England, so slow was the march of improvement, that it did not extend to Scotland till 140 years thereafter. Potatoes, which were known in England in the time of Sir Walter Raleigh, were not introduced into Scotland, except as a rare garden vegetable, till after the commencement of the reign of George III.* In East Lothian, as late as the year 1740, few carts were to be seen, and none adapted for heavy and distant conveyances. Fifty years ago field turnips were in very limited use, and it is not many years since they were generally cultivated; yet field turnips, potatoes, and sown grass, were quite common in England a century before. In the year 1760, the Lothian farmers were as prejudiced in favour of old customs, and as backward in adopting modern improvements, as the most uncultivated of the Highlanders. One of the most opulent, extensive, and enlightened farmers in the county of Perth, was twenty years a cultivator before he could overcome his prejudices so far as to enter upon the new system; and it was not till after the year 1770 that Mr John White,

*In the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, it is stated that Mr Prentice, in the neighbourhood of Kilsyth, was the first person who planted potatoes in the open field in Scotland. He died in 1792.

It was not till after the year 1770, that my father planted potatoes, which were the first raised in the field in this district; and it required some time and persuasion to induce his servants to eat them. This vegetable, which is now the principal food of the Highland peasantry, was then considered as incapable of supporting a man employed in active labour.

at Kirkton of Mailler, in Strathearn, first introduced the green crop system into Perthshire.* The farmer who first commenced the system of dry fallow in East Lothian only died in the late reign. This new mode of agriculture was considered so extraordinary, that for some time it was looked upon as the result of a disordered intellect, even in the now highly cultivated district of the Lothians.†

* So backward was agriculture in the Carse of Gowrie, in the year 1756, that a gentleman who, by his abilities, had risen to the highest dignity in the law, walking with a friend through his fields, where his servants were weeding the corn, expressed great gratitude to Providence for raising such a quantity of thistles; "as otherwise," said the Lord President, "how could we, in this district, where we cannot allow our good corn land to be in pasture, find summer food for our working horses?"

† Had the Lothian gentleman of that period ejected the bulk of the ancient inhabitants, as indolent, prejudiced, ignorant, and worthless, as the Highlanders are characterized by the supporters of the depopulating system, placing those allowed to remain on barren and detached patches of land;—and had they invited strangers from England, France, or Flanders, to supply the place of the extirpated inhabitants, would there not have been the same senseless clamour (as the expression of the indignant feelings, roused by various cruel and unnecessary measures pursued in the Highlands, is called), although in the fertile soil of the Lothians, near the consumption of great cities, with the command of manure and water carriage, large establishments, and farms of one or two hundred arable acres, may be suitable to the circumstances and situation of the country? But what are the consequences even in that fertile country? People are so scarce, that, without assistance from other countries, their field labour and harvest could not be accomplished. It may indeed be a question,—if the whole kingdom were in similar circumstances, and had as few inhabitants comparatively as the Lothians, where part of the autumn labour is performed by Highlanders, (principally women, who travel southward upwards of 100, and numbers 200 miles),—whence could a supply be obtained? If then, large farms cause a deficiency of necessary labourers, even in the fertile lands of the

Whilst agriculture in Scotland was thus slowly advancing, it was suddenly accelerated by the spirit of enterprise which burst forth after the Seven Years' War. In the Lowlands, however, the people were allowed time to overcome old habits, and to acquire a gradual knowledge of the new improvements. But many Highland landlords, in their intercourse with the South, seeing the advantages of these improvements, and the consequent increase of rents, commenced operations in the North with a precipitation which has proved ruinous to their ancient tenants, and not always productive of advantage to themselves;—a consequence to be expected, when, as has been remarked by Mr Pennant, in his Tour through the Highlands, “they attempted to empty the bag before it was filled.”

The people, unwilling to change old institutions and habits, as if by word of command; unable, or perhaps averse, to pay the new rents, without being allowed time to prepare for the demand; and seeing, as it often happened, their offers of a rent equal to that of the

Lothians, how unsuitable and ruinous to the barren Highlands must a system be, which leaves not a sufficiency of hands, in a country with such narrow stripes of arable land, that a farm of 300 acres would stretch along the whole side of a district? From the uncertainty of the climate, the want of an immediate and efficient supply of hands would be ruinous. The North having no towns or villages whence assistance could be obtained, if the arable lands in the Highlands contained as few inhabitants as the Lothians, the principal parts must be kept in pasture, and one-half of what the soil would produce lost; for, even in the Highlands, where the cultivation of the valleys is well managed, and the supply of labourers sufficient, it is beyond all proportion the most profitable, notwithstanding the comparatively barren soil, and backward uncertain climate.

strangers rejected, were rendered desperate. Irritated by the preference thus given, and by the threats of expulsion, their despondency and discontent must cease to astonish. The natural consequence is a check to exertion, or on any attempt to improve. When this seeming indolence shows itself, gentlemen, and those by whom they often allow themselves to be influenced, and to whom they frequently yield their better judgment and kindlier feelings, declare, that so long as such a lazy incorrigible race remains, they cannot enjoy the value of their lands. In this opinion they are confirmed by persons who argue, that the prosperity of the State calls for such measures, at the same time that they acknowledged the harshness of these measures in themselves, and profess their sympathy with the people who are thus reduced to poverty, and its too frequent consequences, immorality and crime; forgetting that it can never be for the well-being of any state to deteriorate the character of, or to extirpate a brave, loyal, and moral people, its best supporters in war, and the most orderly, contented, and economical in peace. These reasoners found their arguments on general principles; and, without taking into consideration, or perhaps unacquainted with the peculiar circumstances of the case, with the nature of the country, its uncertain humid climate, or the hardihood and capability of the inhabitants, if properly managed,—and keeping entirely out of view, also, the reduced condition of the people, an omission not to be expected in an enlightened age;—they endeavour to prove that if one family can manage a tract of country,* it is an useless waste of labour to

* If it were probable that machinery could be invented to carry on manufactures of every description without the intervention of human labour, and that corn could be imported for the consumption

allow it, as was formerly, and is still the case in many parts of the Highlands, to be occupied by many families possessing much economy and industry, though with little capital.

But whatever be the capital of farmers, or the size of farms, rents must be according to the value of the produce. While the staple and only article of export from the Highlands was so low that the price of the best ox did not exceed thirty shillings, and a sheep half-a-crown, the rents were in proportion to, but not lower than, those in the most fertile districts of Scotland* at the same

of the inhabitants of Great Britain, the soil turned to pasture, and little manual, manufacturing, or agricultural labour left for the working population, which would thus be thrown idle; would such a sacrifice of productive labour be proper, and would the welfare of the state be promoted by the diminution of the people, which must be the necessary consequence of a want of employment? for, if the population is reduced, how is the produce of the soil and of manufactures to be consumed? The question is as applicable to the northern portion as to the whole empire; and as it would be ruinous to the lower orders to put an end to all agricultural labour in the South, so it must be to the people of the North, if the whole country be converted into pasture and large farms. In this case, the people must be sent to the colonies, as the Lowlands offer no encouragement for extensive emigration from the Highlands. If allowed to remain in their native country, without any support but daily labour, in a country where, under such management, all, except a few men of capital, must be day-labourers, and under a system which yields but little employment; when even that little fails, as from the natural course of events it must often do, poor-rates must be established, and the lower orders in the Highlands become paupers, as is the case with one-seventh of the population of England; a state of degradation unparalleled in the Christian world. And yet this is the state to the completion of which, so much has been said and written, to prevail upon the Highland proprietors to reduce the ancient occupiers of their land.

* In the year 1785, some of the best lands on Lord Kinnaird's

period. But when a great demand and increased prices led to the prosperity of the tenants, it was natural for proprietors to raise their rents, and to attempt those improvements and changes which the progress of agricultural knowledge and the wealth of the country suggested. This was the just and natural progress of events, and would of itself have been the cause of many changes in the manners and condition of the Highlanders ; and, judging from numerous examples, might have been effected without injury to the original tenants, and to the great and permanent advantage of the proprietors. Rents might have been gradually increased with the increasing value of produce, and improved modes of cultivation introduced, without subverting the characteristic dispositions of a race of men who inherited from their ancestors an attachment seldom equalled, and still more seldom exceeded, either in fidelity or disinterestedness.*

estate in the Carse of Gowrie were rented on old leases of fifty-nine years, at four pounds Scots, or six shillings and eightpence the acre. The present rent is £6 sterling per acre. The difference of the present rents and of those paid seventy years ago, on the estates of Lords Kinnoull, Gray, and others in the Lowlands, are similar. In those days they were equally low with the rents in the Highlands, which were of more value to the proprietors than they would seem, by merely looking to the money rent, as much was paid in kind, and in personal services. It is said that Stewart of Appin received as rent an ox or cow for every week, and a goat or wether for every day in the year, with fowls and smaller articles innumerable. When the money rent and personal service for warlike and domestic purposes are added, the provisions gave the laird abundance, the money independence, and the personal services, dignity and security in turbulent ages, when the laws were too weak to afford protection.

* It may be considered unnecessary to multiply examples of disinterested attachment ; but the traits they disclose are of such a nature, as must be gratifying to all who respect the best characteristics

By taking advantage of this honourable disposition, (for what can be more honourable than that disinterested fidelity to which life and fortune were sacrificed?) the tenants might have been induced to pay adequate rents for their lands, without the necessity of depopulating whole districts; the farms, too, might have been gradually enlarged—the mode of husbandry altered—sheep stock introduced—the surplus population, if such there was, employed in clearing and improving the land fit for cultivation, or induced to change their residence from one district to another, or to transfer their industry from the land to the fisheries, or to trades or handicrafts, without being driven at once from their usual means of subsistence and from their native districts. “The forcible establishment of manufactories and of fisheries,” says a learned author on the rural economy of the Highlands, “are projects only of inconsiderable benevolence; it is

of human nature. A few years ago, a gentleman of an ancient and honourable family got so much involved in debt, that he was obliged to sell his estate. One-third of the debt consisted of money borrowed in small sums from his tenants, and from the country people in the neighbourhood. The interest of these sums was paid very irregularly. Instead of complaining of this inconvenience, his creditors among his people kept at a distance, lest their demands might add to the difficulties of the man whose misfortunes they so much lamented; and many declared, that if their money could contribute to save the estate of an honourable family they would never ask for principal or interest. Speaking to several of these people on this subject, the uniform answer which I received was nearly in the following words: “God forbid that I should distress the honourable gentleman; if my money could serve him, how could I bestow it better? He and his family have ever been kind,—he will do more good with the money than ever I can,—I can live without it,—I can live on potatoes and milk, but he cannot;—to see his family obliged to quit the house of his forefathers, is cause of grief to us all.”

only by the gradual change of opinions and practices, by the presentation of new motives, and the creation of new desires, that the state of society must be changed. All that which ought to follow will proceed in its natural order, without force, without loss, and without disappointment.”* This would, no doubt, have been the case in the Highlands, where a gradual, prudent, and proper change would not have excited riots among a people distinguished by their hereditary obedience to their superiors, nor rendered it necessary to eject them from their possessions by force, or as in some instances, by burning their houses about their ears, and driving them out, homeless and unsheltered, to the naked heath. It was a cold-hearted spirit of calculation, from before which humanity, and every better feeling, shrunk, that induced men to set up for sale that loyalty, fidelity, and affection, which, as they cannot be purchased, are above all price.†

* *Dr Macculloch's Description of the Western Islands of Scotland.*

† The same disposition is seen in the sale of woods which beautified the country; and gave an appearance of antiquity and pre-eminence to gentlemen's seats. The destruction of the old timber has, for some years past, been so great, that if continued, Dr Johnson's remark, “that no tree in Scotland is older than the Union,” will have too much the air of truth. Noble trees, of the age and growth of centuries, which gave dignity to the seats they ornamented, have been levelled to the ground, and sold for a trifle, as the age that made them so venerable diminished their value as timber. It would be trifling with common sense, to dispute the propriety of cutting and selling wood as an article produced from the soil, but that cannot be applied to woods planted for ornament or shelter, more particularly in Scotland, now bare and destitute of wood, although once abounding with the noblest forests. There are few countries where the woods have a more striking effect than in the Highlands of Scotland, from the contrast they form to the bleak and barren mountains which enclose them. Whether trees are found in natural

But, though the introduction of a few men of agricultural experience and judgment into the Highlands, might be a judicious measure, as their knowledge and example would readily spread among the natives, this cannot justify the entire removal or ejection of the ancient inhabitants. In several cases, those who promoted these improvements, by the costly sacrifice of turning adrift from their lands a people who considered themselves born to love and honour their superiors, reasoned so speciously on the expected advantages of this course of policy, as to extinguish in themselves and others those feelings of remorse and compunction, which the price at

woods, covering the boldest and most precipitous rocks, or in those ancient avenues and groves around gentlemen's seats in the glens, they alike excite the surprise of the stranger, who does not expect to see such strength of vegetation, and brightness of verdure, in the centre of mountains, which, on the first approach, look so dreary and forbidding. Every man of taste must deplore the loss of woods and picturesque scenery which animated the poet, and delighted the painter. In former ages, these trees were preserved and venerated; and by the recollections of the length of time they had sheltered and thrown an air of dignity and importance over the castles and seats of ancient families, the respect of the people for their owners was increased and preserved. But such recollections now are out of fashion; the trees are valued according to the money they bring, and, *like the fidelity of the clansmen, are sold to the highest bidder.* And so is disposed of much of the respect and esteem of the lower orders for their superiors, who thus for the sake of a small acquisition of money easily spent and soon forgotten, destroy for ever the magnificent ornaments reared by their forefathers, which no wealth can purchase and which proved the antiquity and respectability of the families who possessed them. No person of taste can view without a feeling of reverence, an ancient mansion, embosomed in groups of tall trees or avenues, the growth of centuries, with noisy rooks clustering and cawing on the tops as if they were inhabitants of another and higher region.

which they were to be purchased might have been calculated to excite. Thus was identified with national advantages the system at which individual benevolence revolted, but which, it was pretended, was to support liberal and enlightened principles, and to achieve a conquest over all deep-rooted prejudices, and stubborn long-descended customs; and many have been induced, more from authority and fashion than from sordid motives, to follow the example. In this manner the system has spread with a fatal rapidity, allowing no time for the better feelings of those who have been drawn into it, perhaps unwarily, to operate; and it is certain that there is no recent instance in which so much unmerited suffering has produced so little compassion, or reprobation for the authors. The cruelty of removing the slaves on one West India estate to another, perhaps scarcely five miles distant, is frequently reprobated in the strongest terms, and attempts are made to procure Acts of Parliament to prevent the removal of a slave from his usual residence; yet the ejection or emigration of the Highlanders, their total ruin and banishment from their native land, is viewed with apathy, and their feelings of despair deemed unworthy of notice. The negroes, with little local attachment, may be as happy on their new as on their former plantations, as they are probably deprived of no former comfort, and merely subjected to a change of residence. The Highlander, with the strongest local attachment, confirmed by numberless anecdotes of former ages, cherishes with reverence the memory of his ancestors. With these attractions to his native country, he is deprived of his means of livelihood, driven from his house and his ancient home, and forced to take shelter in a foreign land, or in a situation so new to him, that all his

habits must undergo a total change ; and yet this appears so just and proper, that strangers, ignorant of the national character of this country, and witnessing the apathy with which the misery of the unfortunate Highlanders is beheld, might suppose that the inhabitants are void of all humanity ; and, while the press is often employed in exposing and reprehending political delinquencies, the oppressions, forcible ejections, and burnings out of the Highlanders, pass unnoticed, however rapidly such cruel measures lead to poverty,* immorality, and crime. Indeed, so little do such considerations affect some of our modern philanthropists, that the conduct of those who have made desolate wastes of many once happy communities in Inverness, and other counties, is applauded ; while they violently declaim against a similar line of conduct, when the inhabitants of the West Indies are in question. A very honourable and humane friend of mine, who has exerted himself powerfully in the cause of the poor negroes, told me, not long ago—and was not well pleased because I did not coincide in his opinion,—that Sutherland contained 20,000 inhabitants too many, and that they ought to be removed without delay, and sent to the colonies.*

* Mr Foster Alleyne, of Barbadoes, has a population of nearly 1200 negroes on his estate in that island, which has been in his family since the reign of Charles I. By overcropping and mismanagement during his absence, the soil, which was favourable for sugar, had become totally unfit for producing that valuable article ; he therefore turned his attention to the raising of provisions, the cultivation of which is less laborious, and requires little more than half the number of hands necessary for sugar ; consequently, he might have disposed of the surplus population, to the amount of nearly 500 persons. How did this honourable and humane gentleman act in these circumstances, while several Highland proprietors, in similar cases, found no difficulty or hesitation ? “ I cannot find in my heart,” said he,

As two-thirds of these people are unable to pay for their passage, they must bind themselves to serve for a term of years the person who pays for them, and who again disposes of them to the highest bidder; * a species of slavery not very agreeable to the dispositions of the mountaineers, and which I did not expect that my philanthropic friend, who has such an abhorrence of slavery of every kind, would have proposed for them. Slavery is already too common in America, where every sixth individual is in that degraded condition. Although the term of the emigrant's bondage is only temporary,

“to part with any of these poor faithful creatures, all of whom have been born on my property, where their fathers have served mine for generations (there has been no addition by purchase since the year 1744, when a few were added for some special purpose), and they shall remain undisturbed while I remain.” From a very extensive and intimate knowledge of many colonies, acquired in the course of military service in the West Indies, at different periods, I could cite many pleasing instances of this kind regard to the feelings of negroes. Were clansmen treated with the same fatherly kindness displayed by this gentleman, landlords would ever be exempted from witnessing such horrible excesses as have been exhibited by the Irish peasantry.

When attempts are made to establish very laudable regulations, in order to prevent the removal of negroes from their original homes, why is humanity so blind as not to see the cruelty of transporting 20,000 Highlanders from their native country to the plantations? Perhaps the defenders of depopulation may say, as the defenders of the slave trade did of that atrocious and inhuman traffic, that transportation will improve their condition, and that they will be more comfortable in the colonies than in their native country. This may be true as far as regards some Highlanders, whose condition may easily be improved (as in many cases it cannot well be worse); but does the misery of the unfortunate outcasts, during the progress of this improvement and transportation to a foreign land, deserve no consideration?

* See Parkinson's *Tour and other works on North America.*

yet slavery of any kind is not calculated to procure the means, or foster the spirit of independence ;—it must, therefore, be a matter of regret, that our countrymen are compelled to become bondsmen in a foreign country, even in a land of liberty such as America,—if that can be called a land of liberty where slavery exists to such a lamentable extent.

The late transfer of 3000 subjects between the sovereigns of Baden and Bavaria has been arraigned in the strongest language by some of our journalists. Yet these people retain, as before, possession of their property and their native homes, and have only to suffer in their feelings by being transferred from the government of one sovereign to that of another ; a matter that seems to be of little consequence amongst the contiguous principalities of Germany. The Highlanders are not only forced to transfer their allegiance to another government, but to transport themselves to distant regions ;—and yet no reprobation follows.

While the misery of a blameless and unoffending people thus excites so little pity, and while the depopulation of a glen is viewed with indifference, or hailed as an advantage, like ridding pasture ground of foxes and other vermin, it is no wonder that proprietors should be encouraged to proceed, not only without regret, but even with self-gratulation.* A late author, describing the state of

* To afford an idea of the extent of the newly established farms, and the consequent depopulation of the country, we may produce, as an instance, an advertisement in the Inverness newspapers of a Highland farm to be let, described as consisting of 1000 arable acres, near the dwelling-house (the number of arable acres at a greater distance is not stated) of the first quality, and with a full supply of drifted sea-weed on the shore, and which may, as stated in the advertise-

the agricultural population in England in the reign of Henry VIII., when the country was first arranged in large farms, says, "Millions of independent peasantry were thus at once degraded into beggars; stripped of all their proud feelings which hitherto characterized Englishmen, they were too ignorant, too dispersed, too domestic, and possessed too much reverence for their superiors, to combine as mechanics and manufacturers in towns. Parish relief was, therefore, established."* Lord Chancellor More, one of the most virtuous men in England, an eye-witness of what he describes, gives a view of the state

ment, "be laboured to the greatest advantage." "The hill pastures," it is added, "stocked with Cheviot sheep, are of the first quality in the country, and *extend 30 miles along the sea coast.*" It is impossible to read this advertisement without commiseration for the fate of those who formerly occupied this extensive tract of country, which is "capable of being laboured to the greatest advantage," and, consequently, well calculated to support its ancient population. Another farm is also advertised as capable of "maintaining 9000 Cheviot sheep, and as perhaps the safest in Britain; and its pastures, for richness and variety, inferior to none in the Highlands." This fact furnishes a striking example of the force of that delusive patriotism which benumbs the feelings of even good men, and blinds them to the sufferings of the ejected tenantry. Part of the land which gave birth to many brave men, who, as soldiers, have contributed to make the name of Scotland honoured and respected over all Europe, is now without an inhabitant, except five shepherds and their families. But then it is "*capable of maintaining 9000 sheep!*" So it would be although all the ancient race had remained. The quantity of grass required for sheep and cattle does not depend on the land being occupied by one, or by a number of tenants.

* The suppression of the monasteries, no doubt, contributed to this sudden creation of artificial misery; but it is a proper distinction, that the monasteries only fed those who were poor and idle already, whereas, the engrossing and grazing system made thousands idle whose habits were formerly industrious.

of the people at that period, which must strike home to the heart of every humane person, who has seen or heard of similar scenes in the Highlands. Speaking of engrossing farms, by which small tenants were compelled to become day-labourers,* relying for their support on accidental circumstances, a situation more dependent than that which trusts to the more certain produce of nature, the Lord Chancellor says, "These men turn all dwelling and all the glebe land into desolation and wilderness; therefore, that one covetous and unsatiatable cormorant, and very plague of his native country, may compass about and enclose many thousand acres of ground together with one pale, or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust out of their own, or else, either by force, or fraud, or by violent oppression, they be put aside, or by wrongs and injuries they be so wearied, that they be compelled to sell all; by one means, therefore, or another, either by hook or crook, they must needs depart away, poor wretched souls! men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woful mothers, with their young babes, and their whole household, small in substance, but much in numbers, as husbandry requireth many hands. Away they trudge, I say, out of their known and accustomed houses, finding no place to rest on. All their household stuff, which is very little worth, though it may well abide the sale, yet being suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought, and when they have wandered till that be spent, what can they do but steal, and then, justly perhaps, be hanged, or else go about begging. And yet then, also, they may be cast into prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not, when no man will set them to work, though

* See Appendix, AA.

they never so willingly offer themselves thereto. For one shepherd, or herdsman, is enough to eat up that with cattle which occupied numbers, whereas about husbandry many hundreds were requisite. And this is also the cause why victuals now in many places be dearer; besides this, the price of wool is so risen, that poor folks, which were wont to work it and make cloth thereof, be now able to buy none at all, and by this means very many be forced to forsake work, and give themselves to idleness."*

On the part of those who instituted similar improvements, in which so few of the people were to have a share, conciliatory measures and a degree of tenderness, beyond what would have been shown to strangers, might have been expected towards the hereditary supporters of their families. It was, however, unfortunately the natural consequences of the measures which were adopted, that few men of liberal feelings could be induced to undertake their execution. The respectable gentlemen,† who,

* This picture of misery, degradation, and vice, to which the brave, the generous, the independent peasantry of England were reduced, was written more than two centuries ago, when no intermediate station was left in the agricultural population between wealthy yeomen and day-labourers. It bears too striking a resemblance to later scenes in some Highland glens; and as it was the origin of the English poor-rates, are not similar results to be dreaded in the Highlands, by depriving the bulk of the people of all permanent property or certain means of subsistence, more especially as there is no manufacturing or regular employment for the labouring classes?

† Several years previous to the death of George Lord Littleton, he visited Scotland, and passed some weeks at Taymouth with the late Earl of Breadalbane. Being asked by a friend some time after his return, what he had seen in the Highlands, and what he thought of the people and country? After giving his opinion, at some length,

in so many cases, had formerly consented to undertake the management of Highland property, resigned their employments, when they found the execution of the new measures incompatible with their sense of humanity and duty to a higher power than their employers. They shrunk from the ungrateful task. Their places were supplied by persons cast in a coarser mould, and generally strangers to the country ; who, detesting the people, and ignorant of their character, capability, and language, quickly surmounted every obstacle, and hurried on the change, without reflecting on the distress of which it might be productive, or allowing the kindlier feelings of landlords to operate in favour of their ancient tenantry. "Men of this cast," says a reverend author, "overturn

he concluded : "But of all I saw or heard, few things excited my surprise more than the learning and talents of Mr Campbell of Achallader, factor to Lord Breadalbane. Born and resident in the Highlands, I have seldom seen a more accomplished gentleman, with more general and classical learning." The late Achallader and his father were upwards of ninety years factors to two successive Earls of Breadalbane.

Such were the gentlemen who formerly managed great Highland estates. With their superior rank in society, (an important point in the eyes of the Highlanders, whose feelings are hurt, when they see men without birth or education placed over them,) their influence, honourable principles, and intelligence; they kept the people under such judicious rules, as produced great fidelity, contentment, and independence of spirit. The gentlemen who managed the estates of Atholl, Argyll, Montrose, Perth, etc., were also of the first character and families in the country. Why has this system been changed, and why do independent men refuse acting? Formerly, and even within my own remembrance, the tenants on great estates were envied, and considered most fortunate, in the ease, happiness, and comfort they enjoyed. How does it happen, that, in this respect, there is a total change and revolution in the views and feelings of the people?

everything.” To attempt a new system, and to become acceptable tenants, was considered impossible with men so prejudiced, incurably indolent and ignorant, as the old occupiers were described; they were therefore in two many cases removed from the fertile and cultivated farms; some left the country, and others were offered limited portions of land on uncultivated moors, on which they were to form a settlement; and thus, while particular districts have been desolated, the gross numerical population, has in some manner been preserved, and has afforded a ready answer to those who have thus acted, “I have not rooted out my people, I have only changed my system; they are as numerous as ever.” Many judicious men, however, doubt the policy of these measures, and dread their consequences on the condition and habits of the people. The following account of their situation is from the respectable and intelligent clergyman of an extensive parish in the County of Ross. “When the valleys and higher grounds were let to the shepherds, the whole population was drawn down to the sea-shore, where they were crowded on small lots of land, to earn their subsistence by labour (*where all are labourers and few employers*) and by sea-fishing, the latter so little congenial to their former habits. This cutting down farms into lots* was found so profitable, that over the whole of this district, the sea-coast, where the

* It will be observed, that these one or two acre lots are forming as an improved system, in a country where many loud complaints are daily made of surplus population, and of the misery of the people on their old farms of five, ten, fifteen, twenty, and more, arable acres, with pasture in proportion; and yet in a country without regular employment, and without manufactures, a family is to be supported on one or two acres!!

shore is accessible, is thickly studded with wretched cottages, crowded with starving inhabitants. Ancient respectable tenants, who passed the greater part of life in the enjoyment of abundance, and in the exercise of hospitality and charity, possessing stocks of ten, twenty, and thirty breeding cows, with the usual proportion of other stock, are now pining on one or two acres of bad land, with one or two starved cows; and, for this accommodation, a calculation is made, that they must support their families and pay the rent of their lots, not from the produce, but from the sea; thus drawing a rent which the land cannot afford. When the herring fishery (the only fishery prosecuted on this coast) succeeds, they generally satisfy the landlords, whatever privations they may suffer; but when the fishing fails, they fall in arrears, and are sequestrated, and their stock sold to pay the rents, their lots given to others, and they and their families turned adrift on the world. The herring fishery, always precarious, has, for a succession of years, been very defective, and this class of people are reduced to extreme misery. At first, some of them possessed capital, from converting their farm stock into cash, but this has been long exhausted. It is distressing to view the general poverty of this class of people, aggravated by their having once enjoyed abundance and independence; and we cannot sufficiently admire their meek and patient spirit, supported by the powerful influence of religious and moral principle. There are still a few small tenants on the old system, occupying the same farm jointly, but they are falling fast to decay, and sinking into the new class of cottars.

“Except in Glenelg, emigration has been very limited from this side of the island, owing to their powerful

attachment to the country of their fathers : although, at the time of the violent changes, they had sufficient property to transport and settle their families comfortably in America, they could not tear themselves away; and now, although eager for a change, they have not the power.”*

This mode of giving all the good and cultivated land to a few rich individuals, and of subdividing small portions of barren moor or of inferior soil among the previous occupiers, in a country without any permanent means of subsistence beyond the scanty and precarious produce of those unreclaimed patches, is a line of policy, which could not fail to excite universal surprise, did we not yearly witness so many theoretical schemes, often inconsistent with each other, and so little regard for the happiness of the people. But leaving out of view the consideration that, from the prevalence of turning corn lands into pasture, the demand for labour is diminished while the number of labourers is increased, it can scarcely be expected that a man who had once been in the condition of a farmer, possessed of land, and of considerable property in cattle, horses, sheep, and money; often employing servants himself, conscious of his independence, and proud of his ability to assist others; should without the most poignant feelings, descend to the rank of a hired labourer, even where labour and payment can be obtained, more especially if he must serve on the farms or in the country where he formerly commanded as master. It is not easy for those who live in a country like England, where so many of the lower orders have nothing but what they acquire by the labour of the passing day, and possess no permanent property or share in the agricultural produce of the soil, to appreciate the

* Letter from Dr Downie, minister of Lochalsh.

nature of the spirit of independence, which is generated in countries where the free cultivators of the soil constitute the major part of the population. It can scarcely be imagined how proudly a man feels, however small his property may be, when he has a spot of arable and pasture land, stocked with corn, horses, and cows; a species of property which, more than any other, binds him, by ties of interest and attachment, to the spot with which he is connected. He considers himself an independent person, placed in a station in society far above the day-labourer, who has no stake in the permanency of existing circumstances, beyond the prospect of daily employment: his independence being founded on permanent property, he has an interest in the welfare of the state, by supporting which he renders his own property more secure, and, although the value of the property may not be great, it is every day in his view; his cattle and horses feed around him; his grass and corn he sees growing and ripening; his property is visible to all observers, which is calculated to raise the owner in general consideration; and when a passing friend or neighbour praises his thriving crops and his cattle, his heart swells with pleasure, and he exerts himself to support and to preserve that Government and those laws which render it secure. Such is the case in many parts of the world; such was formerly the case in Scotland, and is still in many parts of the Highlands. Those who wish to see only the two castes of capitalists and day-labourers, may smile at this union of independence and comparative poverty. But, that the opposite system is daily quenching the independent spirit of the Highlanders, and laying a foundation for the establishment of poor-rates, and the consequent degradation of the people, is

an undoubted fact, and gives additional strength to the argument of those who object to the reduction of the agricultural population, and regret their removal to the great towns, and to those seats of misery and vice, the villages in preparation in some parts of the country.

It is painful to dwell on this subject ; but as information, communicated by men of honour, judgment, and perfect veracity, descriptive of what they daily witness, affords the best means of forming a correct judgment ; and as these gentlemen, from their situations in life, have no immediate interest in the determination of the question beyond what is dictated by humanity and a love of truth, their authority may be considered as undoubted. The following extract of a letter from a friend, as well as the extract already quoted, is of this description. Speaking of the settlers on the new allotments, he says, “I scarcely need tell you that these wretched people exhibit every symptom of the most abject poverty, and the most helpless distress. Their miserable lots in the moors, notwithstanding their utmost labour and strictest economy, have not yielded them a sufficient crop for the support of their families, for three months. The little money they were able to derive from the sale of their stock has, therefore, been expended in the purchase of necessaries. and is now wholly exhausted.* Though they have now,

* When whole districts are depopulated at once, their pecuniary losses, and the distress of those ejected, are increased by the circumstance of all selling off their stock and furniture at the same time, as consequently there can be but few purchasers. Their movables will not suit the establishments of the capitalists ; and, while the ejected tenants must leave them unsold, or accept of a nominal price, they are deprived of this small and last resource for transporting themselves to a foreign country, where a virtuous, high-spirited, brave people, are not considered as a nuisance or a burthen on the soil.

therefore, overcome all their scruples about leaving their native land, and possess the most ardent desire to emigrate, in order to avoid the more intolerable evils of starvation, and have been much encouraged by the favourable accounts they have received from their countrymen already in America, they cannot possibly pay the expenses of transporting themselves and their families thither.”*

Well might the old Highlander thus warn his countrymen—“Take care of yourselves, for the law has reached Ross-shire.” He had more cause for alarm for his posterity than he was aware of. Little could he calculate, when his fears were excited by vague ideas of a change; little could he anticipate that the introduction of civil order, and the extension of legal authority, which, in an enlightened age, tend to advance the prosperity, as well as promote the security of a nation, should have been to his countrymen either the signals of banishment from their native country, or the means of lowering the condition of those who were permitted to remain. With more reason it might have been expected that the principles of an enlightened age would have gradually introduced beneficial changes among the ancient race; that they would have softened down the harsher features of their character, and prepared them for habits better suited to the cultivation of the soil, than the indolent freedom of a pastoral life. Instead of this, the new system, whatever may be its intrinsic merits or defects, has, in too many cases, been carried into execution, in a manner which has excited the strongest and most indignant sensations in the breasts of those who do not overlook the present inconvenience and distress of the many, in the

* Letter from a gentleman in the County of Ross.

eager pursuit of a prospective advantage to the few. The consequences which have resulted, and the contrast between the present and past condition of the people, and between their present and past disposition and feelings towards their superiors, show, in the most striking light, the impolicy of attempting, with such unnatural rapidity, innovations which it would require an age, instead of a few years, to accomplish in a salutary manner; and the impossibility of effecting them without inflicting great misery, endangering good morals, and undermining loyalty to the king, and respect for constituted authority.

A love of change, proceeding from the actual possession of wealth, or from the desire of acquiring it, disturbs, by an ill-directed influence, the gradual and effectual progress of those improvements which, instead of benefiting the man of capital alone, should equally distribute their advantages to all. In the prosecution of the great changes which have taken place in different parts of the North, it would appear that, in many instances, the original inhabitants were never thought of, nor included in the system which was to be productive of such wealth to the landlord, the man of capital, and the country at large. Strangers were called in to assist as agents in the execution of the plans, while others were placed, as farmers, on large establishments, to make room for which whole glens were cleared of their inhabitants, who, in some instances, resisted these mandates, (although legally executed), in the hope of preserving to their families their ancient homes, to which all were enthusiastically attached.*

* The strength of this attachment is not easily comprehended by those who are unacquainted with the people. An instance of this feeling has been already given, and I could add many more, all evincing an unconquerable attachment to the spot where they first drew

These people, blameless in every respect, save their poverty and ignorance of modern agriculture, could not believe that such harsh measures proceeded from their honoured superiors, whose conduct had hitherto been kind and paternal, and to whom they themselves had ever been attached and faithful. The whole was, therefore, attributed to the acting agents, and against them their indignation was principally directed; and, in some instances, their resistance was so obstinate, that it became necessary to enforce the orders "*vi et armis*," and to have recourse to an obsolete mode of ejection, by setting their houses on fire. This last species of *legal* proceeding was so conclusive, that even the stubborn High-

breath. I shall state two cases of men who seem to have died of what is commonly called a broken heart, originating in grief for the loss of their native homes. I knew them intimately. They were respectable and judicious men, and occupied the farms on which they were born till far advanced in life, when they were removed. They afterwards got farms at no great distance, but were afflicted with a deep despondency, gave up their usual habits, and seldom spoke with any seeming satisfaction, except when the subject turned on their former life, and the spot which they had left. They appeared to be much relieved by walking to the tops of the neighbouring hills, and gazing for hours in the direction of their late homes; but in a few months their strength totally failed, and without any pain or complaint, except mental depression, one died in a year, and the other in eighteen months. I have mentioned these men together, as there was such a perfect similarity in their cases; but they were not acquainted with each other, nor of the same district. When they suffered so much by removing from their ancient homes only to another district, how much more severe must their feelings have been had they been forced to emigrate, unless, perhaps, distance and new objects would have diverted their attention from the cause of their grief? But be that as it may, the cause is undoubted.

landers, with all their attachment to the homes of their fathers, were compelled to yield.*

Some of the ejected tenants were allowed small allotments of land ; some half an acre, others two acres of moor, which they were to cultivate into arable land ; and the improvements which have succeeded those summary ejectments have been highly eulogized, and references made to their effects, in contrast to the former uncultivated state of the country. Many people are, however, inclined to doubt the advantages of improvements which call for such frequent apologies ; for if the advantages to the people were so evident, and if more lenient measures had been pursued, vindication could not have been necessary.

It must, however, be matter of deep regret, that such a line of proceeding was pursued with regard to these brave, unfortunate, and well-principled people, as excited so strong and general a sensation in the public mind. It is no less to be deplored, that any conduct sanctioned by authority, even although productive of ultimate advantage (and how it can produce any advantage beyond what might have been obtained by pursuing a scheme of conciliation and encouragement, is a very

* The author of *Guy Mannering* has alluded to this "summary and effectual mode of ejectment still practised in the North of Scotland when a tenant proves refractory," in his admirable description of the ejectment of the colony of Dorncleugh. When this picture of fictitious distress, of which a lawless race were the supposed objects, has created a powerful sensation wherever our language is understood, what heart shall withhold its sympathy from real distress when faithful, blameless, and industrious beings are treated in the same manner, without the same provocation, and without any cause except the desire of increasing an income, and where, instead of "thirty hearts that wad ha'e wanted bread before ye wanted

questionable point),* should have, in the first instance, inflicted such general misery. This regret must be greatly increased, by the belief that these proceedings originated in mistaken notions, founded on malignant and persevering misrepresentations, calculated to give the proprietors a most unfavourable impression of the character and capability of the native inhabitants; who were described as being in a state of misery, without religion or morality, and totally unfit for any good purpose.

sunkets," more than twice thirty thousand have been turned adrift in different parts of the North?

* The following are instances of the capability of small tenants in the Highlands, and of the improvement of lands and rents effected by far other means than the burning decrees. The tenant of a friend of mine, when he first took his farm, paid a rent of £8. 10s. This rent has been gradually augmented, since the year 1781, to £85, and this without lease or encouragement from the landlord, who, by the industry and improvements of his tenant, has received an increase of more than 1000 per cent. in less than forty years. On another estate, nineteen small tenants paid, in the year 1784, a joint rent of £57. This has been raised by degrees, without a shilling given in assistance for improvements, which have been considerable, to £371. The number of acres is 145, which are situated in a high district, and with no pasture for sheep. These are not insulated facts. I could produce many to show that industry, with abstemious and contented habits, more than compensates for the increased consumption of produce by so many occupants; and that by judicious management, the peasantry of the Highlands, although they may be numerous in proportion to the quantity of fertile land, contribute to secure the permanent welfare both of the landholder and of the country. What men can pay better rents than those who live nine months in the year on potatoes and milk, on bread only when potatoes fail, and on butcher meat seldom or never? Who are better calculated to make good soldiers, than men trained up to such habits, and contented with such moderate comforts? And who are likely to make more loyal and happy subjects, contented with their lot, and true to their king, and to their immediate superiors?

These prejudiced and unfounded statements were followed up by flattering views of the prosperity and happiness to be expected from the proposed plans for their future establishment. Those who thus vilified the poor people, and who strongly advocated the adoption of these new plans, were well aware of the partiality, patriarchal kindness, and protection exercised by the proprietors; and knew that no proposal for their entire ejection and expatriation, nor even for their removal to the situations proposed to them, would be received unless the former favourable opinion had been changed and obliterated. To this point, therefore, the attention of the promoters of these violent changes was particularly directed, till at length they succeeded in procuring the removal of the native farmers, and the introduction of a new order of tenantry. This system of overlooking the original occupiers, and of giving every support to strangers, has been much practised in different Highland counties; and on one great estate, the support which has been given to farmers of capital, as well in the amount of the sums expended on improvements, as in the liberal abatement of rents, is, I believe, unparalleled in the United Kingdom, and affords additional matter of regret, that the delusions practised on a generous and public-spirited landholder, have been so perseveringly and successfully applied, that it would appear as if all feeling of former kindness towards the native tenantry had ceased to exist. To them any uncultivated barren spot of moor land, however small, was considered sufficient for the support of a family; while the most lavish encouragement was given to the new tenants, on whom, and on the erection of buildings, the improvement of lands, roads, bridges, etc., upwards of £210,000 have been expended since the year 1808.

With this proof of unprecedented liberality, it cannot be sufficiently lamented that an estimate of the character of these poor people was taken from the misrepresentations of interested persons, instead of judging from the conduct of the same men when brought out into the world, where they obtained a name and character which has secured the esteem and approbation of men high in honour and rank, and, from their talents and experience, perfectly capable of judging with correctness. With such proofs of capability, and with such materials for carrying on the improvements, and maintaining the permanent prosperity of the country, when occupied by a hardy, abstemious race, easily led on to a full exertion of their faculties by proper management, there cannot be a question but that if, instead of placing them, as has been done, in situations bearing too near a resemblance to the potato-gardens of Ireland,—the origin and still existing cause of the poverty, disaffection, and hostility towards the higher orders, so prevalent in that country,—they had been permitted to remain as cultivators of the soil, receiving a moderate share of the vast sums expended on their richer but not more deserving successors, such a humane and considerate regard to the prosperity of a whole people, instead of confining it to a favoured few, would undoubtedly have answered every good purpose. Although the wealth expected from the improvements might be delayed, it would have been no less certain, had the progress been left to the ancient attached race ; and had such a course been pursued, instead of depopulating glens, and starving peasantry, alienated from their superiors, and in their grief and despair too ready to imbibe opinions hostile to the best interests of their country, we should still have seen a high-spirited and loyal people, ready, at

the nod of their respected chiefs, to embody themselves into regiments, with the same zeal as in former times ; and when enrolled among the defenders of their country, to exhibit a conduct honourable to that country and to their professions.* Such is the acknowledged character of the men of these districts as soldiers, when called forth in the service of their country, although they have been described as irregular in their habits, and a burden on the lands which gave them birth, and on which their forefathers maintained the honour, and promoted the wealth and prosperity of their chiefs and superiors.† But is it

* See articles on the Sutherland regiments. In a memorial presented to Government by the Earl of Sutherland, claiming a compensation for expense and loss sustained in 1745, it is stated, that his Lordship had armed and ready to support the royal cause, 2337 men, from his own estate, who, it is added, received high approbation from the Earl of Loudon, and the other generals who saw their fine and warlike appearance. The power of bringing to the support of the King so large a force, when the country required their services, is worth some sacrifice of rent ; not that any sacrifice would be necessary were time allowed to the tenants, and the same encouragement and support given to them as has been received by the newly introduced tenants, who perhaps would hesitate to obey a summons to attend their landlord's call, or, if they did, their small number would render them of little use.

† The late Lord Sutherland was the twenty-first Earl ; a length of succession unparalleled in the peerage of this country. The estates which supported this ancient unbroken descent have undergone less change than almost any others. In all the numberless revolutions of property, either in troublesome or peaceable times, these have not only been preserved entire, but great additions made by the purchase of neighbouring estates, from the produce of the labour and rents of the ancient tenantry. With a boisterous, ungenial climate, and a rugged barren soil, the estate supported 15,000 persons, who maintained the independence of their superiors, and enabled them to preserve their title and property in a manner which no other family can

conceivable that the people at home should be so degraded, while their brothers and sons who have become soldiers maintain an honourable character? The people ought not to be reproached with incapacity or immorality without better evidence than that of their prejudiced and unfeeling calumniators. If it be so, however, and if this virtuous and honourable race, which has contributed to raise and uphold the character of the British peasantry in the eyes of all Europe, are thus fallen, and so suddenly fallen; how great and powerful must be the cause! and if at home they are thus low in character, how unparalleled must be the improvement which is produced by difference of profession, as, for example, when they become soldiers, and associate in barracks with troops of all characters, or in quarters, or billets, with the lowest of the people, instead of mingling with such society as they left in their native homes! Why should these Highlanders be at home so degenerate, as they are represented, and as in recent instances they should actually appear to have become?*

And why, when they mount the cockade, are boast; and, with such evidence, it might have been expected that some hesitation would have been observed in asserting that the country is totally incapable of maintaining the ancient population. When it is recollected that this population has been maintained for so many centuries, and that, by the rents they paid, they enabled the landlords to purchase all the lands for sale which lay convenient for them, these assertions will be received with caution.

* Of the fruits of the modern civilization of the Highlanders, and of the system of improving their condition, as it is practised in the North, we have an instance in a recent association for the suppression of felony, formed by those concerned in the stock and grazing farms. The object of this measure is the protection of property from the depredations of that people, amongst whom, in their uncivilized and uneducated state, crimes were so few, that, according to the

they found to be so virtuous and regular, that one thousand men have been embodied four and five years together at different and distant periods, from 1759 to 1763, from 1779 to 1783, and from 1793 to 1798, *without an instance of military punishment?* These men performed all the duties of soldiers to the perfect satisfaction of their commanders, and continued so unexceptionable in their conduct down to the latest period, when embodied into the 93rd Regiment, that, according to the words of a distinguished general officer, "although the youngest regiment in the service, they might form an example to all:" and on general parades for punishment, the Sutherland Highlanders have been ordered to their quarters, as "examples of this kind were not necessary for such honourable soldiers, who had no crimes to punish."*

Can it be doubted, that had a moderate portion of the encouragement given to the stock graziers possessed

records of the Court of Justiciary, from 1747 to 1810, there was only one capital conviction for theft (horse stealing, which happened in the year 1791), and only two capital convictions for other crimes; namely, a woman for child murder in 1761, and a man for fire raising in 1785. Such was the *former* state of the people in these districts, where crimes have increased so rapidly of late, that protecting associations are become necessary, and where it has been found that nearly 600 sheep have been stolen in a season from one individual: while those who left the country with the character and dispositions acquired among their fathers and brothers (against whom those protecting societies are formed), are declared by the first authority "pictures of perfect moral rectitude, military discipline, and soldierly conduct;" and, in the energetic language of an ingenious author, "a mirror to the British army." The man convicted of horse stealing was William Mackay, a discharged soldier, who had learned a lesson in another country. The circumstance was so very extraordinary as still to afford subject of conversation among the people.

* See Article Sutherland Highlanders [3rd Edition, vol. ii.]

of capital, been bestowed on these valuable men, we should probably have seen no difference of character, except that, in those who remained at home, we might have expected to meet with more of native simplicity and integrity, part of which might have been lost by those who had mixed more with the world? If those who remain at home have shown contrary dispositions, these must have been produced by some powerful cause; and, with the loss of that independence and disinterested fidelity which hardly knew any bounds, the best parts of their character must have been destroyed. Is not their altered conduct rather a subject of pity than of blame? When they see their children starving, and crying for that food which they have not to give; and when we reflect that, according to the Gaelic proverb, "Hunger has a long arm,"—some cause may, perhaps, be discovered why the hand which ought to have been employed in profitable industry at home, or against an enemy abroad, has been sometimes extended to endanger a neighbour's property. Have they shown ingratitude for kind treatment? Are they unreasonable, because they are not satisfied when suddenly deprived of their usual means of subsistence, and placed upon the black moors? Some are, indeed, told that the ocean is open to them, and that they may live by fishing, though their former habits render them unfit for that line of life.*

* Till lately, very few flat fish were caught by the fishers on the east coast of Scotland, although the sea abounds with turbot, soles, etc. Every encouragement in the way of premiums had failed to induce these men to alter their usual mode of fishing. When such are the difficulties in the way of overcoming the prejudices of men who have been fishers from their youth, can it be matter of surprise that the shepherds and graziers of the mountains do not, as if by

It is probable that the notoriety which these facts have obtained, is the cause which has given birth to the statements which I have already noticed. In these publications the people are vilified, and described as dishonest, void of religion, irregular in their habits,* and incapable of managing farms, or of paying adequate rents ; although, on a reference to the poor's funds, taken on an average of many years previous to 1800, it will be

instinct, become fishers, without the least knowledge or experience of the new element from which they are desired to extract their subsistence ?

* Detachments of the Sutherland Fencible Regiment of 1762 were stationed in different parts of the Perthshire Highlands. The excellent and orderly conduct of these men, their regular attendance at church, and their general deportment, were so marked, even among a people who were themselves distinguished for similar habits, that the memory of the Sutherland soldiers is, to this day, held in respect. In the years 1797 and 1798, large detachments of the Sutherland Regiment of that period were stationed in the same districts. The character and conduct of these soldiers, every man of whom was from Sutherland, were in all respects the same. So strong was the impression made on the minds of the people of Athole and Breadalbane by the behaviour of the Sutherland men, that it materially changed their previous opinion of the character of soldiers in general, whom they considered as reprobates, with whom no person of quiet domestic habits could with safety associate ; and hence, when a young man enlisted in any regiment except the National Corps, his family were too ready to believe that he was a lost man, an outcast from them and his native country. I now speak from personal experience, as I found, in the course of my recruiting in those districts, a great and gratifying change in the sentiments of the people. After the Sutherland detachments were stationed in Perthshire, young men engaged more readily, and their parents showed less dread at their enlistment as recruits, "as they now found that soldiers were quiet sober people, with whom they need not be afraid to trust their sons."

found, that, however ignorant they were of farming, they were so independent of parochial aid, that, in those days, when the population of that country was so great as to form one of the alleged causes of removal, the sums paid to the poor of this supposed surplus population, in the parish of Rogart, containing 2023 persons, were under £13 annually; in the parish of Farr, containing 2408 persons, under £12; in Assynt, containing 2395 inhabitants, under £11; in Kildonan, containing 1443 persons, under £8 annually; other parishes were nearly in the same proportion; and at this moderate expense were all the poor of those districts supplied! Few districts, however fertile, can produce such instances of independence as were exhibited by these uncultivated parishes, which gave birth to the religious, the virtuous, and honourable soldiers of the Reay and Sutherland Regiments, whose character, as appreciated by the best judges, and proved by their own conduct, will be seen in the Notice of the Military Services of these Corps.*

* The great changes which have taken place in the above parishes, and some others, have excited a warm and general interest. While the liberal expenditure of capital was applauded by all, many intelligent persons lamented that its application was so much in one direction; that the ancient tenantry were to have no share in this expenditure; and that so small a portion was allotted for the future settlement of the numerous population who had been removed from their farms, and were placed in situations so new, and in many respects so unsuitable,—certain that, in the first instance, great distress, disaffection, and hostility towards the landlords and government, with a diminution of that spirit of independence and those proper principles which had hitherto distinguished them, would be the inevitable result. So sudden and universal a change of station, habits, and circumstances, and their being reduced from the state of independent tenants to that of cottagers and day-labourers, could not fail of arresting the notice of the public.

Anxious to obtain the best information on this interesting subject, I early made the most minute inquiry, careful, at the same time, to form no opinion on intelligence communicated by the people of the district, or by persons connected with them, and who would naturally be interested in, and prejudiced against, or in favour of those changes. I was the more desirous for the best information, as the statements published with regard to the character, capability, and principles of the people, exhibited a perfect contrast to my own personal experience and knowledge of the admirable character and exemplary conduct of that portion of them which had left their native country; and I believed it improbable, nay impossible, that the sons of worthless parents, without religious or moral principle—as they have been described—could conduct themselves in such an honourable manner as to be held up as an example to the British army. But, indeed, as to information, so much publicity had been given, by various statements explanatory of, and in vindication of these proceedings, that little more was necessary, beyond what these publications afforded, to show the nature of the plans, and the manner in which they were carried into execution.

Forming my opinions, therefore, from those statements, and from information communicated by persons not immediately connected with that part of the country, I drew the conclusions which appeared in the former editions of these Sketches. But, with a strong desire to be correct and well informed in all I state, and with an intention of correcting myself in this edition, should I find that I had been misinformed, or had taken up mistaken views of the subject, in the different statements I had produced, I embraced the first spare time I could command; and in autumn 1823, I travelled over the improved districts, and a large portion of those parts which had been depopulated and laid out in extensive pastoral farms, as well as the stations in which the people are placed. After as strict an examination as circumstances permitted, and a careful inquiry among those who, from their knowledge and judgment, were enabled to form the best opinions, I do not find that I have one statement to alter, or one opinion to correct; though I am fully aware that many hold very different opinions. But however much I may differ in some points, there is one in which I warmly and cordially join; and that is, in expressing my high satisfaction and admiration at the liberality displayed in the immense sums expended on buildings, in enclosing,

clearing, and draining land, in forming roads and communications, and introducing the most approved agricultural implements. In all these, the generous distribution of such exemplary encouragement stands unparalleled and alone. Equally remarkable is the great abatement of rents given to the tenants of capital—abatements which it was not to be expected they would ask, considering the preference and encouragement given them, and the promises they had held out of great and unprecedented revenue, from their skill and exertions. But these promises seem to have been early forgotten; the tenants of capital were the *first to call for relief*: and so great and generous has this relief been, that the rents are reduced so low as to be almost *on a level with what they were when the great changes commenced*. Thus while upwards of £210,000 have been expended on improvements, no return is to be looked for from this vast expenditure; and in the failure of their promised rents, the tenants have sufficiently proved the unstable and fallacious nature of the system which they, with so much plausibility and perseverance, got established by delusions practised on a high-minded, honourable individual, not aware of the evils produced by so universal a movement of a whole people. Every friend to a brave and valuable race, must rejoice that these evils are in progress of alleviation, by a return of that kindness and protection which had formerly been so conspicuous towards that race of tenantry, and which could never have been interrupted, had it not been for those delusions to which I have more than once alluded, and which have been prosecuted, within the last twenty years, in many parts of the Highlands, with a degree of assiduity and antipathy to the unfortunate inhabitants altogether remarkable. But in the county in question, no antipathy to the people is now to be dreaded; a return of ancient kindness will be met with ancient fidelity and attachment; and if the people are rendered comfortable and contented, they will be loyal, warlike, and brave. Then regiments may again send recruiting parties, which had been recalled from the county, as not a young man would enlist while the minds of the people were soured and disaffected; but now, Sutherland will again be what it has been, a nursery of soldiers, “Mirrors,” as they have been called, “to the British army.”

SECTION III.

Beneficial Results of Judicious Arrangements, and of allowing Time to acquire a Knowledge of Agricultural Improvements—Emigration—Agricultural Pursuits promote Independence, and prevent Pauperism.

HAPPILY for the prosperity of the Highlands, for the welfare of the state, and for the preservation of the original inhabitants of the mountains, there are many populous districts, in which the inhabitants have been permitted to remain, and are contented and independent, and in which the beneficial effects of judgment, combined with a proper appreciation of the best interests of Highland landlords, are successfully displayed, and the character and capability of Highland tenants practically proved. The former, availing themselves of the natural benefit of a hardy athletic race of men, easily induced by kindness to make a full exertion of their powers, have realized the most beneficial effects on their general character, and, by a gradual and gentle diffusion of agricultural knowledge, have both improved their own incomes, and increased the wealth and comfort of their tenants. The aversion of the latter to any change of ancient habits, has been, in a great measure, overcome; and they are found to enter very keenly into the improved system, when encouraged by example, and once fairly convinced of its advantages.* The gentlemen to

* This is no new trait of character. Dr Walker, an eminent Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh, commenced, in the year 1760, an extensive and enlarged system of inquiry relative

whom I allude commenced with the improvement of the condition of their tenants, as the best foundation for the improvement of their estates, the permanency of their incomes, and the pleasure of seeing themselves surrounded by a prosperous, grateful, and contented tenantry.* “On every estate,” says Dr Robertson,

to the Highlands. From that year till 1780, he was employed by the General Assembly to examine and report on the religious and moral condition of the inhabitants, to which he added their economical history. Of the people he says, “It is only from a superficial view that they are represented as unconquerably averse to industry and every kind of innovation. Besides other good qualities, their laborious assiduity in various occupations is well known, wherever they happen to settle in the low country.” He adds, “The unrestrained progress of inoculation abundantly shows, that the Highlanders are as candid in their judgment, are as ready to embrace, and can as vigorously pursue, any innovation that is advantageous or salutary, as any other people whatever.”—*Economical History of the Highlands of Scotland.*

* A very worthy Baronet in the Highlands (Sir George Stewart of Grandtully), who has made the necessary allowances for the prejudices and frailties of men, has allowed his tenants the time necessary to learn the improved mode of culture, and to increase the value and size of their breed of cattle and sheep. This has been done without separating the arable land from the pasture, or diminishing the farms of any, but rather enlarging them, if too small, when it could be done without prejudice to others. At the same time the rents have been gradually rising. The consequence is, that he receives the undiminished rental of his estate; and while considerable distress has been experienced in his neighbourhood, his people are in so different circumstances, that, when lately, he had occasion for a supply of money to assist him in the purchase of some adjoining lands, they came forward with a spontaneous offer to advance £18,000, with a declaration that they were ready with £6000 more if required. This is a pleasing instance of the attachment of the olden times. The manner in which these people pay their rents, and support their families, will appear the more remarkable to the advocates for large

speaking of the new system, "this complete change has not taken place: the ancient connection between the heads of tribes and their clan is not in every instance dissolved. In these cases, the affability and kindness of the landlord is the frequent subject of their conversation, and the prosperity of his family is the object of their warmest wishes and devout prayers. At their little parties and convivial meetings, his health is always the first toast. They feel an interest in the fortunes and destiny of his children. Upon his return home, after a long absence, or his promotion to a place of honour or profit, or the birth of an heir, the glad tidings spread with the velocity of lightning, and bon-fires illuminate the whole estate. In the county of Inverness there are such landlords; as the almoners of heaven, they take the divine pleasure of making their dependents happy. There are also, in the same county, landlords, who are left to the execration of their people, to the contempt of every benevolent man, and to the reproach of their own condemning consciences."*

The policy of the innovations may be considered in three points of view; *1st*, As affecting the interests of the proprietors; *2ndly*, The welfare of the people; and, *3rdly*, That of the state.

1st, The interest of the proprietors. Whether these

farms, as this estate, with a rental of less than £9000 supports a population of 2835 souls, all maintained on the produce; while only 17 disabled paupers, and some poor old women, require parochial relief; and the tenants are so independent, and so grateful to their humane and generous landlord, that they enable him to purchase the estates for sale in his neighbourhood.

* *Dr Robertson's General View of the Agriculture of the County of Inverness*, drawn up by order of the Board of Agriculture.

innovations be conducive to the advantage of the proprietor is a point which, in the conflict of adverse opinions, is not easily decided; yet it would seem to be very clear, that a system, which has so great a tendency to break the spirit and lower the natural and moral condition of the bulk of the people engaged in the agriculture of the Highlands, cannot, in any just sense of the word, be very advantageous to the landlords, since, by throwing the produce of the country into the hands of a few men of capital, it gives them a monopoly of the farms, and often the option of fixing whatever rents they choose to pay; for few men can enter into competition on the enlarged scale of the new system,—an evil which seems to have been overlooked when it was adopted. But, admitting that landlords are not bound to wait for the instruction and improvement of their tenants in agricultural knowledge; admitting, to its fullest extent, their legal right of managing their lands in the manner apparently most profitable; and allowing the most unqualified power to exercise the right of removing the ancient occupiers,*

* In answer to the question of the propriety of dismissing the ancient occupiers of land, the conduct of manufacturers and tradesmen is quoted as an example of the exercise of such a right, and of the practice of turning away the people without regard to their future comfort. While it is admitted that this is certainly the practice in the instance alluded to, it may still be a question whether, if more kindness were shown, if the legal right of dismissal were less rigorously exerted, and if working tradesmen and artisans were encouraged, by ties of kindness and association, to believe their situations and employments permanent, we would not see so many combinations against master tradesmen and manufacturers, and their houses and property so often in danger of conflagration. But, whatever may be the cause, there is no doubt of the appearance of a spirit of revenge and despair on the part of the working classes, and of a want of confidence and a distrust on the part of their em-

it may still be doubted whether plans so hastily adopted, so productive of immediate distress, and which occasion such permanent discontent, are likely to be ultimately successful.

But, at the same time that this legal and admitted right of removing the original tenantry from their farms has been very freely exercised, it must appear somewhat extraordinary, nor is it easy to account for it in a satisfactory manner, that so many attempts have been made to restrain emigration, the best and only remaining relief for those who had been deprived of their farms. This course must undoubtedly have been pursued under the persuasion that some benefit would have been lost to the community by the consequent depopulation. But, the truth is, the value of the people was well known ; and to constrain them to remain in the country, after they have been deprived of their usual resources, is equally inconsistent with every principle of sound policy and of justice. Nor is it a weak objection to the expediency of these measures, that an interference to prevent Government from giving encouragement to emigrants was found necessary ;* for this furnishes a practical

ployers ; and certainly such a state of society, in which the employed are kept down by the bayonet and the strong arm of the law, and the lives and properties of the employers protected by military force, and a strict police, does not form a very desirable example for the imitation of Highland proprietors, in the case of the once chivalrous, and still valuable occupiers of their land.

* Government having listened to representations made a few years ago in name and behalf of those Highlanders who had already been ejected from their possessions ; and in behalf of others who dreaded the same fate, it was resolved to encourage emigration to Canada, under certain stipulations. Several landholders became alarmed, and made counter representations, on the plea that their country

refutation of the principles on which many have acted, and of the assertion made, that the Highlands were only calculated for pasture and a thin population. If the position was correct, why, in opposition to this maxim, attempt to retain the people, and place them on such paltry lots of land as have been mentioned, perhaps not one-tenth of the extent of the farms from which they were removed, on the ground that they were too small, and this in a country without regular employment, or, indeed, any means of subsistence except such as are drawn from the soil? Hence, it would appear, that the value of the old tenantry was well understood; otherwise why encourage or compel them to remain? Many considerations might be expected to operate to prevent the adoption of a system which called for such indefensible expedients, and which could only be supported by arguments so inconsistent.

When the proprietor is anxious to obtain the utmost rent for his land, it is, in general, his interest not to divide his farms upon too minute a scale, such subdivision of land, among those of the ancient tenantry, who, after their removal from their original farms, are permitted to remain, being found to be fruitful in misery and discontent: but, however proper and applicable extensive establishments may be to fertile districts, easily

would be depopulated. In consequence of this, the execution of the plan was suspended, and it was at length entirely withdrawn, to the great distress of numbers who were anxious to avail themselves of this opportunity of removal to a country more favourable to their views, but who were destitute of the means of attaining their object, as much of their small capital had been expended in waiting the final decision of the proposed offers. This line of conduct must appear very inconsistent.

cultivated, situated in a favourable climate, and possessing the advantages of being near market, water carriage, and manure ; and also of being within reach of towns and villages, where a supply of labourers, in the busy period of autumn, may be readily procured ; yet, in peculiar situations, great advantage may be derived from a division of the soil into moderately small farms ; and, with regard to the Highlands, many, who have had opportunities of judging accurately, have been inclined to believe that, at a distance from market, with much rugged but improvable land, an active abstemious population, and a comparatively barren soil, improvements, which could not be executed by capital alone, unassisted by the manual labour of the occupiers,* may be carried on to the mutual advantage both of landlord and tenant. To this we may add what has occurred in many instances in times of difficulty, that the economical habits of the small tenantry will enable them to fulfil their engagements to their landlords, when the large farmers, embarrassed by extensive speculations and expensive establishments, must often fail in the fulfilment of theirs. That this is not merely a fanciful hypothesis, unsupported by facts, may be seen by reference to those countries in which the lands are more generally distributed, as in France, where the labours of the agricultural population are at once productive of a great public revenue, and of comfort and independence to the body of the people. England, in the days of the Edwards and Henries, although her foreign commerce was then extremely circumscribed, was prosperous and powerful from the produce of the soil alone, as was France during the late war, in which, though general communication and commerce were almost entirely in-

* See Appendix, BB.

errupted, great revenues were derived from internal resources. In the same manner, in Flanders, Holland, etc., the profits of agricultural produce are more generally diffused, and few countries display a finer agricultural prospect; especially Austrian Flanders, where the farms do not, in many instances, exceed 10, 20, and 30 acres each, and only, in a few cases, extend to 100 or 200; and yet it has been maintained that, in Britain, where, in many counties, the farms average from 300 to 3000 acres, the country could not pay the taxes and other public burdens,* unless formed into such extensive establishments, and unless the rural population were dispersed. It is a striking fact, however, that poor-rates are as high, and in some cases higher, and that, consequently, greater poverty prevails in the thinly-peopled agricultural districts, than in the more populous counties. In Norfolk, Sussex, and other counties, where the largest capitals are invested† in agriculture, and where public meetings are held to celebrate the prosperity and

* The great increase in the value of animal produce has been ascribed to an extensive commerce, and particularly to the great consumption in manufacturing towns. Yet, in no period in the history of this country, were the manufacturers in greater distress, and less able to purchase animal food, than in 1816 and the four succeeding years, while at no time were sheep and cattle higher priced, or in greater demand. In 1822, when manufacturers were in full employment, the price of beef and mutton fell fifty per cent. below former prices in the butcher-market. In 1824, again, cattle have risen forty per cent. in price above that of 1822, while there is no change in the condition of the manufacturers. The high price of Highland produce must, therefore, depend on other causes than the demands of manufacturing districts.

† It was stated by Mr Burrell, in the House of Commons, that, in the parish of West Grinstead, in Sussex, 5000 acres pay poor-rates to the amount of £4000.

successful enterprise of the men of capital and skill, landlords must pay back 20, 30, and 40 per cent. of the produce of their land to support the paupers, who are so numerous in the midst of this prosperity. No part of the crowded manufacturing districts of Lancashire is more heavily taxed with poor-rates than several of these great agricultural districts. In like manner, we find, that parochial rates are, by no means, so heavy in the populous manufacturing counties of Lanark and Renfrew, as in the large farming counties in the South of Scotland, particularly in Roxburgh and Berwick shires, where the English system of pauperism has begun to find its way,—not, as I heard stated by some reverend members of the General Assembly in the year 1818, on account of the vicinity of these counties to England, but, partly at least, from the similarity of system adopted and pursued. Pauperism is not geographically contagious, and poverty and poor-rates have not increased in Roxburgh and Berwick shires, because they happen to be contiguous to England, but because the same evil will spread in Scotland as well as in other countries, by the action of the same cause. But it is evident, as has been already stated, that it is advantageous to have a considerable portion of a country laid out in large farms, that men of capital and education may be encouraged to engage in agricultural pursuits ; and this has always been the case in the Highlands, where large tracts have been held in lease by men of education and respectability,—as, for instance, the estates of Macdonald and Macleod, on which there were sixty gentlemen farmers : it is the too general adoption of such a system which is to be dreaded ; nor, indeed, can it be generally established, even in one district, without causing great distress, in the first instance, and ultimately

expelling a valuable and industrious race of people.* Nor does the adoption of such a system appear so conducive to the interest of the proprietor as it might, on a first view, seem. Late experience has, in many cases, shown, that improvements may be effected, and good rents obtained, by judicious changes and modifications of the old system, without the expatriation of inhabitants or great expense to the landlords. In illustration of this point, I could produce many instances, but shall content

* The evils resulting from the non-residence of proprietors are generally acknowledged. In no country is the absence of country gentlemen more felt than in the Highlands, where many proprietors seldom see their estates or tenants: and when they do, it is too often either for the sake of a few weeks' pastime, or perhaps to collect arrears of rent, or to make arrangements for an increase; and hence their visits are more a subject of dread than of satisfaction to their tenants. Now, if the absence of proprietors be an evil, would it not be subversive of the best interests of the Highlands to suppress or remove the whole class of country gentlemen and proprietors of small estates from £100 to £3000 a-year, and concentrate their lands in possession of a few individuals, leaving no intermediate class between the great landholder and the occupiers of his farms? By the same analogy, would it not be destructive of the independence of the lower classes in the North, if entire districts were given to one great farmer, leaving the whole population to support themselves on accidental labour, or on such employment as the man of capital chose to give them? As country gentlemen, of small or moderate properties, resident on their estates, have ever been an honourable, independent, and useful class in the chain of society, and as they have eminently contributed to the support of the country, does not the same thing apply to a lower link in society in the Highlands, where the gradation in the division of land among the tacksmen, smaller tenantry, and cottagers, has preserved their race moral and independent, without the degradation of poor-rates or pauperism? And should not these facts and considerations operate in preserving a share of the profits of the soil for a more general distribution of its benefits in producing independence and comfort to the bulk of the people?

myself with the following brief account of a great Highland estate.

Previous to 1797, this estate was occupied by a numerous small tenantry, interspersed with large farms, rented by men of education and respectable rank in society. The latter began to improve their lands and stock, after the examples they saw in the Lowlands. The small tenants also evinced symptoms of increasing industry, but they held their lands in common, and by what is known in Scotland by the name of "*Runrig*;" that is, each man having a ridge of the arable land alternately with his neighbour, the higher pastures being held in common. While this interlacing system continued, it was not easy to carry on any improvement; but, soon after the period just mentioned, the arable lands were measured, and each man received a portion equal to what he formerly held, but contiguous, and, in general, enclosed, so that the benefit of his improvements was entirely his own. The people were so numerous, that from eight to thirty arable acres, with a portion of pasture, were all that could be allotted to each tenant; but none were removed. The pastures remained in common, as, from their nature and extent, they must always be, the expense of enclosures and subdivisions being more than such unproductive lands can sustain. But the number of horses, cattle, and sheep to be kept on the pastures was limited in proportion to the quantity and quality of the arable land occupied by each tenant, at the same time allowing a small portion for each cottager. By taking advantage of the great inequality of soil and climate, and diversifying the stock and produce accordingly, the tenants were frequently able to pay their rents in cases in which they must have failed, had they had only one article for sale.

When these changes took place, the farms of the tacksmen on a larger scale remained without any alteration as to extent ; but they henceforth commenced considerable improvements, and gave an example to the common people, who readily followed it, and who, at the same time, received considerable encouragement from their landlord.

The consequence of this wise and equitable plan was a progressive and regular improvement of the soil, and an advancement of the wealth and comfort of the tenants, while rents at once adequate and well paid were secured to the proprietor. But in an evil hour, and unfortunately for both landlord and tenant, the management of this estate was transferred to an agent of the new school, who immediately commenced operations according to the most approved modern system. He divided and subdivided farms that were already sufficiently small, while he made others again by far too large. Secret and rival offers were called for, and while he raised a spirit of rivalry, revenge, and irritation, which has not yet been subdued, he quickly succeeded in increasing the rent-roll to an unprecedented nominal amount ; but the actual returns have fallen much below the original rent, much of the stock and capital of the tenants having been expended ;—a deficiency of payment hitherto unknown among a people remarkable for their punctuality, and respect to their pecuniary engagements with their landlords.

Others by separating the high pasture lands from the low arable grounds, and letting them apart, have lost the advantages which joint possessions of arable and pasture grounds afforded for counteracting the evils of precarious seasons, and the difficulty of disposing of produce when distant from market ; and have also lost the benefit to

the arable ground of the winter manure of the cattle fed upon the pastures in summer. It frequently happens, that, when corn is at a low price, the produce of the pastures is high; and, again, when sheep, wool, and cattle, are low, there is sometimes a great demand for grain. Judicious distribution of these natural advantages of the country have long secured an equality to, if not, in some cases a superiority over situations more favoured in point of climate and soil. Of this superiority, however, many have deprived themselves by the separation of the arable from the pasture lands, in expectation that, by this separation, better rents would be received—an expectation which experience has proved to have been ill founded. To deprive people of their pasture lands, in a country naturally pastoral, appears a very questionable measure, when it is considered that in the Highlands manure cannot be purchased, and that the scarcity of fuel renders lime expensive.* Another inconvenience arising from this

* By the loss of their sheep, the small tenants suffered exceedingly. All the clothes in common use were formerly manufactured at home from their own wool, and they were thus able to clothe their families with comfort and at small expense. Now, much money goes out of the country for clothing, which formerly went to pay the rents, or to portion their children. This also accounts for the almost total disappearance of tartan, which was formerly made in every family; for so many want wool that they cannot manufacture any, and the flimsy thin dry tartan made in the Lowlands is too expensive, and quite different from what was in use in the Highlands, and is unfit for the common purposes of life. Thus almost every new measure tends to change the habits as well as the character of the people. How much dress affects the manners is well known; and certainly the clumsy, vulgar, ill-made clothes, now so much worn by the young men of the Highlands, give them a clownish appearance, altogether different from, and forming a marked contrast to the light airy garb, gay with many colours, and the erect martial air and elastic step of the former

separation is, that their hay cannot be consumed unless the farmers become dealers in cattle, which often renders them losers by the uncertainty and sudden variations of this precarious traffic ; whereas, if they had cattle of their own, reared and fed on the produce of their lands, they could only occasionally suffer by the falling of markets, and not be subject to the heavier loss of purchasing high and selling low.

These reflections will receive further confirmation, if we look to the state of the inhabitants in the two most populous and extensive districts of the Highlands of Perthshire, namely, Athole and Breadalbane. These districts are divided into eleven parishes, there being nine in the former, and two in the latter, and contain a population of 26,480 persons, of which number not more than 364 (taking the average of five years previous to 1817) require relief from the public funds. The extent of this relief cannot be great, as the funds for the support of the poor are supplied by voluntary donations, and the interest of a few trifling legacies. Accordingly, the annual sum allotted for the above number is, on the same average of five years, £522. os. 10½d.* † or £1. 8s. 8d. to each individual.

race of Highlanders. I have already noticed the manner in which particular patterns or sets of tartan were preserved in families, as also Mr West's opinion of the beauty of the colours, and the taste with which they were arranged. Indeed, the beauty and clearness of the dye were quite remarkable. There are plaids preserved in families, manufactured in the Highlands in the seventeenth century, with as brilliant a tint as can well be given to worsted. These were the manufactures of the tenants in their families.

* This is a very different condition from what we find in a large

† See Appendix, CC.

When the poor in these districts are so few, and when these few are so easily supported, how does it happen that such frightful misery and poverty have existed in the more northern counties, and that, in other parts of the country, such heavy demands are made on the benevolence of landlords? This difference between the poverty of some districts and the comparative comfort of others may be ascribed to local situation, and to different modes of management. In those parts of the North where the greatest distress prevails, the people have been removed from their lands; and in the Southern counties, where poor-rates are establishing, the people have no support

parish in Sussex, stated by Mr Burrell in the House of Commons to contain a population of 18,000 souls, and to pay £16,000 of poor-rates; so that the proportion paid for the maintenance of the poor by the Highland population of these two districts is to the proportion paid by an equal number of the English population in the same condition with the parish in Sussex, referred to by Mr Burrell, as 1 to 5·5 nearly. And yet the Highlanders, among whom there is only one pauper for every fifty-one, in one of the most fertile counties in England, are called a slothful, beggarly, poor people. They are poor; but as they manifest so proper a spirit of independence, such appellations might sometimes be spared. When the Highlanders are so often branded as poor and ignorant, might not some observations be made on the line of conduct pursued by those who are the cause of their poverty and ignorance? If the people had the power, they would soon remove the stain of poverty, and having the means would provide teachers to enlighten their ignorance. Gentlemen would be more honourably employed, in individually removing the cause of the distress of their people—which they have themselves the power to do—than in calling public meetings in Edinburgh and other towns, to proclaim to the world the destitute and deplorable state of their dependants and tenants; and begging for charity from the benevolent to relieve them. There are many gentlemen in the Highlands who would hesitate to acknowledge that their tenants are poor and depressed, and would blush if forced to ask for charitable aid.

but from accidental daily labour: but in Athole and in Breadalbane the removal of the ancient tenantry, and the increase of unemployed labourers, has not, by any means, been adopted to the same extent, and, consequently, the continuance of small farms allows to a very great proportion of the people a share in the produce of the earth. Hence, they feel no want of food, no abject poverty, although subjected, of course, like other parts of the kingdom, to the difficulties arising from bad crops, depreciated produce, and other causes. So great a proportion of the people having a permanent support, they are able to assist the destitute without the smallest call upon landlords. But, while the people are in a great measure independent of charitable aid, it must nevertheless be admitted, that, in some recent instances, lamentable symptoms of a relaxation of principle are visible, especially in the want of punctuality in the payment of rents. This is not now, as formerly, a heavy reproach; for the frequency of defalcation has obliterated the shame which attached to it, and thus the best security of punctual payment and correct general conduct is destroyed.*

The great influx of money occasioned by the late war, a circumstance which, in general, has had an effect directly contrary, introduced into the Highlands the same speculative spirit which was, more or less, in operation over the whole kingdom. Agriculturists and graziers received

* This evil is extending to more transactions than payment of rents. When so much of the sense of shame is lost, when a breach of engagement with a landlord, which was considered as a heavy misfortune, begins to be contemplated with indifference, other claims will soon come to be viewed in the same light. Such answers as the following are already becoming frequent, "Don't speak of your debt; why should I pay you, when I have not paid my rent?"

unprecedented prices for their grain and for their cattle. Intoxicated with this gleam of prosperity, tenants, forsaking their wonted integrity and union of interests, were induced to overbid each other, and succeeded in misleading such landlords as were inclined to be moderate in their calculations, till thus tempted, as it were, by such extravagant offers; for who, it was said, could know the value of land so well as the cultivators? and how could landlords be expected to refuse rents, however high, that were thus urged upon them? * If the moderate and well-meaning were thus misled, the speculations of the sanguine or thoughtless may be supposed to have exceeded the bounds of moderation. This progress of late events and of new opinions may, in some manner, account for the more painful process now in operation, which has a marked tendency to deprive proprietors of the genuine comfort that attends living honoured and beloved in a safe and happy home, surrounded by an attached and contented people.

The point of view in which the system of agriculture, now pursued in many parts of the Highlands, may be considered as affecting the general interests of the State, is the loss of a valuable body of men by too general emigration, or the much greater evil that may be produced by forcing the inhabitants to remain without affording them any certain means of subsistence, and by breaking down their native spirit, and extinguishing the shame, which, happily, for themselves and their country, has hitherto attached to mendicity.

An attempt has been made to account for the peculiar character of the Highlanders on the principle of feudal subordination and hereditary attachment to their

* See Appendix, DD.

leaders ; and those who impute the character attained by Highland troops solely to such causes, affect to ascribe the change which, they say, they discover in the conduct of later corps, to the absence of this excitement. Whether these corps have actually degenerated from the example shown by their predecessors, will be best decided by those who, either as friends or enemies, have witnessed their conduct ; and, on the testimony of such persons, though strangers to their country and their language, the proof may safely be allowed to rest. Still, however, it may with truth be said, that, in those regiments which, as national corps, have been preserved more unmixed than any other, their moral and military character stands pre-eminent to this day. Of this the Seaforth and Sutherland Highlanders afford incontestable proof.

To those who object to the policy of the late changes in the Highlands, on account of their effect in expelling or in lowering the condition of so many able defenders of their country, it has been replied, that, with the abolition of the patriarchal system, the military spirit of the Highlanders has been extinguished ; that the recruits, who have been obtained from the Highlands of late years, did not come forward, as their fathers were wont to do, at the call of their chief, but were procured by a species of crimping, or offered as the premium of a renewed lease, or some other petty gain. But those who urge this argument ought to remember, that the great drafts from the Highlands were made at a time long subsequent to the dissolution of the patriarchal brotherhood and feudal government, and were completed with as much expedition, and to as great an extent, as in times when the authority of the chieftain was most absolute ; and that

numerous bands of recruits followed Highland gentlemen, and young men, who had neither lands nor leases to grant, nor money with which to tempt or reward the young soldiers. To those who know the facts, it will appear absurd to state what must be so familiar to their knowledge, that the great numbers of independent men who have, from time to time, enlisted from the Highlands, could not have been influenced by the trifling temptations which most of the individuals to whose fortunes they attached themselves were able to offer.* It is the value of such recruits, and the danger of their being lost to this country by too extensive an emigration, and more especially by the disaffection of those who remain

* It is well known that the bounty-money had no influence in the Highlands, when men were raised for the 42nd and other Highland corps in the Seven Years' War, as well as in that which ended in 1783. In 1776, upwards of 800 men were recruited for the 42nd in a few weeks, on a bounty of one guinea, while officers who offered ten and twelve guineas for recruits, which they were raising for their commissions, could not get a man till the national corps were completed. I have also had frequent experience of this in my own person while serving in the 42nd and 78th regiments. On many occasions, as I shall have to notice afterwards, numbers of young Highlanders enlisted for foreign service (and this sometimes in bands together), on receiving less than one-half of the bounty-money given at the same time by officers for their commissions in the regular and fencible regiments for home-service, as likewise by others for militia substitutes. When I was recruiting for the 78th, the regiment was in the East Indies, and the prospect held out to the men of embarking for that country in a few months; yet they engaged with me, and other officers, for ten guineas, to embark immediately on a dangerous but honourable duty, when they could have got twenty guineas as militia substitutes, and to remain in their native country. This is very different from what some late authors have pretended to discover, that the youth of the Highlands have a notorious aversion to a military life.

at home, that constitute the great consideration of public importance. If the proprietors of many estates, once full of men able and willing to serve in defence of their country, were now to muster their military strength, it is to be feared, that, even in cases where the ancient race is still retained, neither the influence of the name, nor the wealth of their superiors, would be able to counteract the effects of the disregard which has been shown to the feelings of their ancient retainers, nor recall that power over the mind and heart which their forefathers so fully possessed. Many seem to apprehend that the military spirit of the Highlanders is not only connected with the existence of the feudal system, but that it is, in some measure, dependent upon their continuing to lead a pastoral or agricultural life, and that a sedentary or mechanical employment must of necessity assimilate them to other artisans. Although there may be some reason for this conclusion, perhaps it assumes too much. "Nature," says Mrs Grant, "Never meant Donald for a manufacturer. Fixing a mountaineer to a loom too much resembles yoking a deer to a plough, and will not in the end succeed better." And it is presumed that, even supposing he should become a manufacturer, there is still something left to distinguish him from either the Glasgow or the Perth weaver.

It is not, however, so much the actual removal of the inhabitants to another country, which the State has reason to deprecate, as the manner in which it has, in so many instances, been effected, and the impression which it has made upon the character and the spirit of those who remain in their native country. Under proper limitations, emigration is desirable, and ought to be encouraged, in as much as, it affords vent for a redundant population which might otherwise prove injurious to a country without

commerce, and without extensive tracts of new and uncultivated land.* Surplus population, where it exists in the Highlands, must be disposed of as in all other countries. But admitting that moderate emigration would provide for a useful people, if too numerous for their native country, this cannot apply to measures which do not aim at lessening the number of people, but either at the complete expatriation of the whole, or such a depression of the condition of those who are permitted to remain, as will endanger their independence by creating both the necessity and inclination for receiving charitable aid, and by increasing in a tenfold ratio the evil of a redundant population,—an evil which is by no means general in the Highlands,† and which exists only in those places where small lots of an acre, or more, have recently been assigned to each of those families whose former farms had been dismantled. Emigration is, in every view, preferable to this system of retaining the peasantry

* It was sending forth colonies from a redundant population, which originally peopled the different regions of the earth. This was the policy of Greece and Rome, and, in later ages, of the northern nations, who, in their migrations southward, overcame and ultimately subdued the Roman empire.

† While the evil of a crowded population is so much dreaded in the Highlands, it must be irreconcilable with every principle of sound policy or humanity, to attempt to check emigration, its best antidote. Yet, notwithstanding the many complaints of a superabundant population, grain, in all average seasons, is so plentiful, even in the most populous glens, in which the people have been retained in their original possessions, that the greater part is unsaleable. Now, as provisions are unsaleable from their abundance, can there be any serious danger of over-population? Or, if the number of consumers was lessened, would it not increase the evil of superabundant produce (if it can be called an evil); and can there be a surplus population, when the value of land is diminished, by the cheapness of the produce?

after they have lost their lands, and of confining them within bounds too narrow to afford them subsistence. Voluntary emigration would benefit the state by strengthening the colonies, and transfusing into their general mass able and intrepid defenders; but it is much to be feared that the provocations and oppressions which have already induced many to fight in the ranks of an enemy, may, at some future day, set those who have sought an asylum in another region in open array against their mother country, whence they have, in effect, been banished,—the highest punishment, next to death, which the law inflicts.* The intercourse between Highland land-

* Although the sentences of judges condemning criminals to *temporary banishment* have been questioned as being too severe, and the miseries of the convicts on their passage to New South Wales have been brought under the view of Parliament, little notice has been taken of the *banishment for life* of thousands driven from the Highlands; of whom so many must sell the reversion of a portion of their lives for the expense of the passage, the miseries of which, and of the after slavery, will be seen in *Parkinson's Tour in America*, and other works. Emigrants paying, in this manner, for their passage, are said to be bought and sold, and transferred like cattle from hand to hand. When felons, who, with all their crimes, are certainly objects of compassion, meet with such commendable attention, why do not the virtuous and innocent, who are sent to *perpetual exile*, meet with equal commiseration? While Government is arraigned for supposed inattention to the comforts of those whose crimes are disgraceful to the country for whose safety they are transported, the misery of the unoffending Highlanders does not seem to attract the same attention as the supposed harsh usage of felons, who, in reality are rendered so comfortable on the passage, that in a voyage of ten months, vessels have not lost an individual by sickness. How different is the condition of unfortunate emigrants in their wretched and crowded vessels! In fact, the subject is too melancholy to contemplate without the deepest commiseration; and yet the usual professors of philanthropy and religion are silent.

lords and their people resembled that of a family, and, when a breach of confidence occurs, their quarrels and animosities, like those of long-trying friends, are the more bitter and painful; * and, consequently, those who emigrate from compulsion, carry with them a lasting remembrance of the cause. I have been told by intelligent officers, who served in Canada during the last war, that they found the Highland emigrants more fierce in their animosity against the mother country than even the

* Perhaps it may be thought that I give too many instances of the attachment and fidelity of the Highlanders to their superiors. I shall only give one more from a number of facts of the same description. While the estates forfeited after the rebellion of 1745 were vested in the Crown, the rents were moderate, and the leases long, the latter being generally forty-one or fifty-nine years. In the year 1783, these estates were restored to those who had been attainted, or to their heirs. This event caused general joy in the Highlands, and, among many other acts of kindness of his late Majesty towards the Highlanders, has so operated on their ardent minds, long affectionately attached to their kings and superiors, that he is often called the "King of the People." The heir of one of the persons attainted succeeded to an estate of considerable extent. Government, with a kindness that might have been imitated to advantage, removed few of the tacksmen, "kindly tenants," and followers of the old families. When the tenants of this gentleman found the descendent of their venerated chiefs in possession of the inheritance of his ancestors, they immediately surrendered their leases, doubled the rents upon themselves, and took new ones for a term shorter by ten years than that which was yet to run of the King's leases; in order, as they said, that the man whose presence among them had diffused so much happiness, might sooner be enabled to avail himself of the price of produce, which they saw annually increasing, and raise his rents accordingly. This was in 1783, nearly forty years after the whole power of the chiefs, except over the minds and affections of the people, had ceased. This is one of the many instances that show how long those honourable traits of character continued, and the importance of such disinterested and generous attachment.

native Americans. By weakening the principle of loyalty and love of country among a people hitherto distinguished for both, but who now impute part of their grievances to the Government which does not (perhaps cannot) protect them, the interests of the State are affected, and a fund of hostility created, if I may so express myself, against the occurrence of some season of difficulty and trial, when Government will in vain look for aid from those men whose minds are rankling with the remembrance of recent injuries, and whose spirits are broken by an accumulation of actual and irritating evils.*

* How different the feelings of those are who emigrate voluntarily, may be seen by the following instance. My father had long been an indulgent landlord to a numerous tenantry. By his kind treatment several became rich, at least they believed themselves rich, and wished to get their farms enlarged. Their landlord explained to them that he could not do this without injustice to others, by removing them without cause from their farms. They saw the force of this reasoning; but, still anxious to enlarge their possessions, resolved to emigrate to a country where they could, without injustice or injury to their neighbours, accomplish their wishes; and they accordingly gave up their farms and embarked for America. Having the command of money, one detachment purchased a tract of land on the banks of the Hudson river, equal in fertility to any in the United States; others purchased in different parts of the Union. By their labour they cleared a considerable portion of land. It is now upwards of thirty years since the first detachment emigrated; but, so far are they from entertaining a spirit of hostility towards this country, that they cherish the kindest feelings towards their ancient homes, and the families of their ancient laird; their new possessions are named after their former farms, and their children and grandchildren are named after the sons and daughters of their laird; and so loyal were they to the King and Government of this country, that, to avoid serving against them in the late war, several emigrated from the States to Canada, where the young men entered the Royal Militia and Fencibles. Such are the consequences of considerate treatment, and of voluntary emigration.

These emigrants, with all their endearing recollections of the past, have excited the sympathy of the Muse, and poetry has been called in to interest us in their fate ; but, in this case, truth is better than fiction.* Dr

* In the Emigrant, by the late Honourable Henry Erskine, he describes the feelings of an old Highlander on quitting his native country for America.

“ Farewell, farewell, dear Caledonia’s strand,
 Rough though thou be, yet still my native land,
 Exiled from thee, I seek a foreign shore,
 Friends, kindred, country, to behold no more :
 By hard oppression driven—————

 Thou dear companion of my happier life,
 Now to the grave gone down, my virtuous wife,
 ’Twas here you reared, with fond maternal pride,
 Five comely sons ; three for their country died,
 Two still remain, sad remnant of the wars,
 Without one mark of honour but their scars :
 They live to see their sire denied a grave
 In lands his much-loved children died to save.
 My two remaining boys, with sturdy hands,
 Reared the scant produce of our niggard lands ;
 Scant as it was, no more our hearts desired,
 No more from us our generous lord required.

“ But, ah ! sad change ! those blessed days are o’er,
 And peace, content, and safety charm no more :
 Another lord now rules those wide domains,
 The avaricious tyrant of the plains.

“ For thee, insatiate chief ! whose ruthless hand
 For ever drives me from my native land ;
 For thee I leave no greater curse behind,
 Than the fell bodings of a guilty mind ;
 Or what were harder to a soul like thine,
 To find from avarice thy wealth decline.

“ Feed on, my flocks—my harmless people, feed,
 The worst that ye can suffer is to bleed.

Robertson, in his Report for the County of Inverness says, "Some of the chieftains themselves have given the death-blow to chieftainship; they have cut the cords of affection which tied their followers and their tribes, and yet they complain of the defection of their tribes, which, with their eyes open, they have driven from them."* Those who respect the feelings of a whole people, may mourn over the breaking of those cords which bound together in affectionate duty and esteem the different orders of Highland society: and, while a change of management and improved cultivation were not only necessary, but indispensable, may regret that, to attain them, it has been found necessary to occasion such a revolution as has, in many cases, taken place, by the abrupt and unanticipated adoption of such measures as, without time or opportunity afforded for guarding against the convulsive shock, have been productive of the most violent changes, and proved subversive of all former habits and modes of living.

O! that the murderer's steel were all my fear,
How fondly would I stay to perish here;
But hark, my sons loud call me from the vale,
And, lo! the vessel spreads her swelling sail.
Farewell, farewell—————
Then casting many a lingering look behind,
Down the steep mountain's brow began to wind."

* See Report to the Board of Agriculture.



SECTION IV.

Smuggling—Consequences of reducing the Highlanders from the Condition of small Tenantry—Policy of retaining Agricultural Population.

I MUST now advert to a cause which contributes to demoralise the Highlanders in a manner equally rapid and lamentable. Smuggling has grown to an alarming extent, and, if not checked, will undermine the best principles of the people. When they become habituated to falsehood, fraud, and perjury, in one line of life, they will soon learn to extend these vices to all their actions. This traffic operates like a secret poison on all their moral feelings. They are the more readily betrayed into it, as, though acute and ingenious in regard to all that comes within the scope of their observation, they do not comprehend the nature or purpose of imposts levied on the produce of the soil, nor have they any distinct idea that the practice of smuggling is attended with disgrace or turpitude. Their excuse for engaging in such a traffic, is, that its aid is necessary to enable them to pay their rents and taxes;—an allegation which supposes that these demands require the open violation of the law, by practices at once destructive of health and good morals, and affords a lamentable instance of the state to which they find themselves reduced. As a contrast to the discontents against Government which prevail in the South on political subjects, and on Reform, it deserves to be mentioned, that in the North, annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and the whole catalogue of political grievances, are never

thought of. There the severity and intricacy of the Excise laws, which render them equally difficult to be understood or obeyed, conjoined with the conduct of individual proprietors, form the theme of their complaints. The delicate situation in which landlords are placed, when sitting as magistrates in Excise courts, and inflicting penalties for smuggling, has a strong influence on the minds of their tenants, who complain that they cannot dispose of their produce, or pay their rents, without the aid of this forbidden traffic; and it is difficult to persuade them that gentlemen are sincere in their attempts to suppress a practice without which, as it is asserted, their incomes could not be paid, in a country where legal distillation is in a manner prohibited. How powerfully this appearance of inconsistency contributes to affect the esteem and respect of tenants for their landlords must be sufficiently evident.

It was not till after the year 1786, when the introduction of foreign spirits was checked by Mr Pitt's celebrated bill, that the distillation of whisky was carried on, to any extent, in the Highlands.* Brandy and rum were landed

* So little was it practised in the Perthshire Highlands, that a tenant of my grandfather's was distinguished by the appellation of "Donald Whisky," from his being a distiller and smuggler of that spirit. If all existing smugglers were to be named from this traffic, five of the most numerous clans in the country conjoined, could not produce so many of one name. In the year 1778, there was only one officer of Excise in that part of Perthshire above Dunkeld, and he had little employment. In the same district, there are now eleven resident officers in full activity, besides Rangers (as they are called) and extra officers sent to see that the resident excisemen do their duty; yet, so rapidly did illicit distillation increase, that it would seem as if the greater the number of officers appointed, the more employment they found for themselves; and it is a common, and, I believe, a just remark, that whenever an Excise officer is placed in a glen, he is not long without business.

on the West Coast, from which they were conveyed to all parts of the country, and composed the principal spirituous drink of the inhabitants. But when foreign spirits were prohibited, the contraband distillation of whisky commenced, and was prosecuted to an extent, and with an open defiance of the laws, hitherto unknown; and yielding large profits,—particularly since the improvements in agriculture increased the produce of barley,—the traffic spread rapidly, and, in many districts, became the principal source from which the rents were paid. Whisky became fashionable, and superseded the consumption of other liquors; one effect of which has been, the nominal price to which rum has been reduced. The Lowland distillers complained that the smugglers under-sold them, and lessened the demand for their manufacture. These complaints were not without cause, at the same time that the preference given to the contraband spirits was owing to its superior quality;—a remarkable difference, considering that the legal distiller has full time for conducting his operations in safety, while the smuggler is in constant hurry and dread of detection, and, when ferreted out from one rock or hiding-place, is obliged to commence in another. With all this, a pure and wholesome spirit is distilled in the hills, while the legal still throws out an unsaleable liquor, at least not saleable, unless at a lower price, or until after it is re-distilled and rectified.

Several Acts of Parliament were passed for the suppression of smuggling. By a special Act, the Highland district was marked out by a definite line, extending along the southern base of the Grampians, within which all distillation of spirits was prohibited from stills of less than 500 gallons. It is evident that this law was a com-

plete interdict, as a still of this magnitude would consume more than the disposable grain in the most extensive county within this newly drawn and imaginary boundary; nor could fuel be obtained for such an establishment, without an expense which the commodity could not possibly bear. The sale, too, of the spirits produced was circumscribed within the same line, and thus the market which alone could have supported the manufacture of such quantities was entirely cut off. The quantity of grain raised in many districts, in consequence of recent agricultural improvements, greatly exceeds the consumption; but the inferior quality of this grain, and the great expense of carrying it to the Lowland distillers, who, by a ready market, and the command of fuel, can more easily accommodate themselves to this law, renders it impracticable for the Highland farmers to dispose of their grain in any manner adequate to pay rents equal to the real value of their farms, subject as they are to the many drawbacks of uncertain climate, uneven surface, distance from market, and scarcity of fuel. Thus, no alternative remained but that of having recourse to illicit distillation, or absolute ruin, by the breach of their engagements with their landlords.* These are difficulties of which the

* Since the formation of roads to the hill-mosses, and the introduction of carts, the consumption of peat for fuel has greatly increased, and is quickly diminishing the supply. Peat has now become an expensive fuel; the raising and carrying home the quantity necessary for even family purposes consume much valuable time, in the season best calculated for agricultural labour and improvements. Coals are brought from thirty to fifty miles by land carriage, in preference to the expense and loss of time in preparing a species of fuel which is not well calculated for strong fires. The nature and expense of this fuel afford additional arguments against the propriety or justice of equalizing the Highland duties with those of the Lowland distilleries,

Highlanders complain heavily, asserting that nature and the distillery-laws present insurmountable obstacles to the carrying on of a legal traffic. The surplus produce of their agricultural labour will, therefore, remain on their hands, unless they incur an expense beyond what the article will bear, in conveying to the Lowland market so bulky a commodity as the raw material, and by the drawbacks of price on their inferior grain. In this manner, their produce must be disposed of at a great loss, as it cannot be legally manufactured in the country. Hence they resort to smuggling as their only resource,—a state to which it might have been expected that neither an enlightened Government nor liberal landlords would have reduced a well-principled race, and thereby compelled them to have recourse to practices subversive of the feelings of honour and rectitude, and made them regardless to their character in this world, and their happiness in the next. And if it be indeed true, that this illegal traffic has made such deplorable breaches in the honesty and right feeling of the people, the revenue drawn from the large distilleries, to which the Highlanders have been made the sacrifice, has been procured at too high a price to the country.

By the late alterations in the distillery-laws, the size of the still has been reduced, with the view of meeting the scarcity of fuel, and the limited means of the High-

independently of the great difference in the quality of the grain and of the distance from market. The price of forty stones of coal sold in this neighbourhood is thirteen or fourteen shillings; the same quantity is sold in Perth for four shillings; how then, with an inferior grain, and such a difference in the expense of fuel, and a farther expense of sending the spirits to market, can the Highland distiller pay the same duty as the Lowland distiller?

landers. Government had, unfortunately, shut their eyes to the representations of the evil consequences resulting from those prohibitory measures, and had turned a ready ear to the offers of revenue by the large distillers. This conflict between temporary revenue and lasting injury to the morals of a virtuous people, was so long continued, that the evil has become too general, but not beyond remedy. If the Excise-laws were so framed as to enable the Highland distiller to overcome the difficulties which nature has thrown in his way, and with his light and inferior grain, to pay the duties which are calculated for the more productive grain of the southern counties, it might safely be predicted that smuggling to any extent would speedily disappear.* It is well known that smuggling was little practised, and produced no deterioration in the morals of the people, (who, in the last age, were not, in any manner, addicted to strong liquors,†) till the

* When the duty on malt was lowered a few years ago, all grain malted in the Highlands of Perthshire was entered for the Excise-duty, and a great increase of revenue drawn; but when it was again augmented, smuggling of malt recommenced, and the revenue produced has not been worth the expense of collection.

Since the publication of the former editions, circumstances have occurred which, if persevered in, will confirm the above prediction. An act was passed in 1823, lowering the duty, and allowing stills of forty gallons. The consequence has been, that smuggling is disappearing; and when the people have time to comprehend the provisions of the act (no easy matter, considering the power the Board of Excise assume, of construing the different clauses at their own discretion), smuggling will be as little practised in the Highlands as it was sixty years ago; that is, before the people were prohibited from manufacturing their grain, by enactments so unsuitable to the state of the country as to be a complete interdict.

† The salaries of Excise-officers are so small, as to be inadequate to the support of their families, and the expense to which the exercise

change in the Excise-laws,* and in the manner of letting land; and there is little doubt, that, if the laws were ac-

of their duty lays them open, viz., being daily on horseback, and living much in taverns. The deficiency is supplied by their being allowed a share of all fines and seizures; but it is evident that, if there were no smuggling, there could be neither fines nor seizures, and, while the suppression of the traffic would destroy a source of great emolument to those whose duty it is to suppress it, they must live on their small and inadequate salaries—an alternative to which it were prudent not to expose them. Without attributing any improper conduct, or neglect of duty, to men placed in this delicate situation, it is well known, that fines and seizures have failed in suppressing smuggling. On the contrary, smugglers proceed with more eagerness than usual, immediately after a seizure or conviction, as, otherwise, how could the consequent fine be paid? How could the Excise-officer be paid his share?

* Till within the last thirty years, whisky, as I have just noticed, was less used in the Highlands than rum and brandy, which were landed on the West coast, and thence conveyed all over the country. Indeed, it was not till the beginning, or rather towards the middle of the last century, that spirits of any kind were so much drank as ale, which was formerly the universal beverage. Every account and tradition go to prove that ale was the principal drink among the country people, and French wines and brandy among the gentry. In confirmation of the general traditions, I may state, that Mr Stewart of Crossmount, whom I have already mentioned, and who lived till his 104th year, informed me, that, in his youth, strong frothing ale from the cask was the common beverage. It was drank from a circular shallow cup with two handles. Those of the gentry were of silver (which are still to be seen in ancient families), and those used by the common people were of variegated woods. Small cups were used for spirits. Whisky-house is a term unknown in the Gaelic. Public-houses are called Tigh-Leanna, that is, Ale-houses. Had whisky been the favourite beverage of the Highlanders, as many people believe, would not their songs, their tales, and names of houses allotted for convivial meetings, bear some allusion to this propensity, which has no reality in fact, and is one of those numerous instances of the remarkable ignorance of the true character of the

commodated to the peculiar circumstances of the Highlands, the prediction which I have now ventured to make would be fully verified. In this opinion I am supported by that of many men of judgment and knowledge of the character and disposition of the people, whom I have consulted, and who have uniformly stated that smuggling was little practised till within the last thirty years. The open defiance of the laws, the progress of chicanery, perjury, hatred, and mutual recrimination, with a constant dread and suspicion of informers,—men not being sure of, nor confident in, their next neighbours, a state which results from smuggling, and the habits which it engenders,—are subjects highly important, and regarded with the most serious consideration, and the deepest regret, by all who value the permanent welfare of their country, which depends so materially upon the preservation of the virtuous habits of the people. No people can be more sen-

Highlanders on the part of their Lowland friends and neighbours? In addition to the authority of Mr Stewart (who was a man of sound judgment and accurate memory to his last hour), I have that of men of perfect veracity, and great intelligence regarding every thing connected with their native country. In the early part of their recollection, and in the time of their fathers, the whisky drank in the Highlands of Perthshire was brought principally from the Lowlands. The men to whom I allude died within the last thirty years, at a great age, and consequently the time they allude to was the end of the seventeenth century, and up to the years 1730 and 1740. A ballad full of humour and satire, composed on an ancestor of mine, in the reign of Charles I., and which is sung to the tune of *Logie o' Buchan*, or rather, as the Highland traditions have it, the words of *Logie o' Buchan* were set to the air of this more ancient ballad, describes the Laird's jovial and hospitable manner, and, along with other feats, his drinking a brewing of ale at one sitting, or convivial meeting. In this song whisky is never mentioned; nor is it in any case except in the modern ballads and songs.

sible than the Highlanders themselves are of this melancholy change from their former habits of mutual confidence and good neighbourhood, when no man dreaded an informer, or suspected that his neighbour would betray him, or secretly offer for his farm. And they still recollect that the time has been when the man who had betrayed or undermined the character or interests of his friend and neighbour, would have been viewed as an outcast from the society to which he belonged. But, while they bitterly lament this change, they ascribe much of it to the seeming determination of Government to prevent distillation on a small scale, by enforcing laws and regulations unsuitable to their country or its means, and equally difficult to be comprehended or obeyed ; and when landlords cannot draw the full value of their lands, nor tenants pay their rents without a vent for their produce, the complaints of the Highlanders, both proprietors and tenants, seem to be well founded.

There is another circumstance which I cannot avoid noticing ; that is, a practice lately introduced of ordering parties of cavalry to the Highlands as a terror to smugglers. Dragoons are necessary to oppose an enemy ; but they are instruments that ought not to be used at the instigation, or under the direction, of an irritated, and perhaps ignorant, exciseman. Parading cavalry through glens and rocks, where they can be of no use, is an ignorant display of power, and would be matter of derision, were it not for the feeling which the exhibition occasions among the people, who ought not to be suspected of resisting the laws without good grounds ; nor should they be permitted to believe that they are so formidable as to require military force. So different is it in the Highlands, that, with a tolerable knowledge of circum-

stances, I know not of *one case* where it was necessary to call in the military. On the contrary, the excise-officers are so far from meeting with resistance, that when they make a seizure, they are often assisted by the people to destroy their own utensils with their contents; and when the duty is finished, the officers are offered refreshment, and invited into the houses of those whose property *had been destroyed*. Are these a people requiring dragoons to keep them down. Government and the Board of Excise ought to look into this matter. Military force is not yet required in the Highlands, except in the northern ejections by fire, and military execution; but unnecessary harshness, and accustoming men to believe that they are turbulent, may make cavalry and infantry necessary. Let a warning be taken from Ireland. The deforcements and resistance to excise-officers, so frequent in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, Stirling, and Perth, are by bands of men of desperate character, many of them Irish, and from the western counties, who are the purchasers and carriers of smuggled spirits, but not the manufacturers, who carefully avoid such encounters and skirmishes, and, except in cases of unnecessary severity on the part of excise-officers, and the consequent irritation, quietly surrender their property when discovered.

The recent change of disposition and character forms an additional argument with those who urge the propriety of removing the ancient inhabitants, on pleas derived from their supposed incapacity and indolence, or from the climate and soil. This character has been depicted in strong colours. Pinkerton describes the Celts as "mere radical savages, not advanced even to a state of barbarism; and if any foreigner," adds he, "doubts this, he has only to step into the Celtic part of Wales, Ireland, or Scotland,

and look at them, for they are just as they were, incapable of industry or cultivation, even after half their blood is Gothic, and remain, as marked by the ancients, fond of lies, and enemies to truth." Without being influenced by the opinions of this author, the well-known fact should be recollected, that much of the land in the Highlands is barren, rugged, and from the numerous heights and declivities difficult to cultivate ; that the climate is cold, wet, and boisterous ; and that the winter is long and severe, and the country fitted only for the maintenance of a hardy abstemious population. No doubt, the population is numerous in many districts, in proportion to the extent of fertile land, but nevertheless the people have supported themselves, with an independence, and a freedom from parochial aid, which a richer, more favoured, and more fertile country, might envy.

The indolence of the Highlander is a common topic of remark : at the same time it is admitted, that, out of their own country, they show no want of exertion, and that, in executing any work by the piece, and in all situations where they clearly see their interest concerned, they are persevering, active, and trustworthy.* But still it is

* The integrity and capability of the numerous bands of Highlanders which supplied Edinburgh with *Caddies* is proverbial. These Caddies were, during the last century, a species of porters and messengers plying in the open street, always ready to execute any commission, and to act as messengers to the most distant corners of the kingdom, and were often employed in business requiring secrecy and dispatch, and frequently had large sums of money intrusted to their care. Instances of a breach of trust were most rare, indeed almost unknown. These men carried to the South the same fidelity and trustworthiness which formed a marked trait in the character of the Highlanders of that period, and formed themselves into a society, under regulations of their own. Dr Smollet, in his *Humphry Clinker*, gives an account of an anniversary dinner of this fraternity,

maintained, that, if placed on small farms in their native country, they are worse than useless. If this opinion be well-founded, it might furnish a subject of inquiry, why men should be persevering as labourers in one situation, and in another useless, and that too, though labouring for their own immediate comfort, and for the support of their families? It might also furnish a surmise, that as they seldom show any deficiency of intellect in comprehending their own interests, so there is something wrong in the system under which they are frequently managed; otherwise what could occasion an inconsistency so difficult to reconcile with any known principle, as that a man should be indolent and careless about his own fields, and yet active and vigilant about those of others. *

of which nine-tenths were Highlanders, though little now remains of the original order of Caddies. These employments were thrown into other channels, the number of stage-coaches rendering communication so cheap and safe, that special messengers are unnecessary. There are, however, many Highlanders in Edinburgh employed as chairmen, and in other occupations; and it might furnish no uninteresting inquiry, whether the Highlanders formerly employed in Edinburgh were not trustworthy, and more remarkable for their zeal, activity, and regard to their word, than those of the present day? If such an inquiry should prove that they have not greatly degenerated from the virtues of their predecessors, perhaps there is little foundation for the reports of the deplorable want of religion and morality in the North. It would, on the contrary, show that their moral feelings, and the sense of shame which they attached to a breach of trust, were the best safeguard of that integrity which made them valuable servants to the public. On the other hand, were such an inquiry to show a change of character, it would afford a melancholy contradiction to the reports of the improved religious knowledge of the Highlanders, and show that the blessings resulting from religious and moral education were not so defective in the last age as many have been made to believe.

* The small tenantry often complain of the want of encourage-

Another circumstance has prejudiced the character of the Highlanders in the opinion of strangers ; I mean, the reluctance they showed to avail themselves of the employment offered them on the Caledonian Canal, although furnishing employment to the ejected tenantry was one of the reasons assigned for undertaking that work. At the same time, it may be observed, that this expensive relief, the formation of the Canal, *was only*

ment to improve. But the want of encouragement to themselves they would not perhaps feel so much, did they not see great encouragement given to the large farmers, while they are abandoned to their own exertions. Thus, when glens and districts in the Highlands are depopulated, and the lands given to a man of capital, estimates are taken for building a proper establishment, large sums are expended on inclosures, and stipulations are made to recompense the tenant at the end of the lease for improvements made by him. When such are the very commendable encouragements given to farmers on a large scale, why are the small tenants *so often refused any kind of support* ? Before large houses are built for tenants, it might, however, be matter of consideration to apportion the rent and taxes in such a manner as to leave a clear income suitable to the accommodation provided for them ; otherwise it must appear absurd to place a man in a house proper for an income of six or seven hundred a year, as is often seen, when perhaps the clear profits of the farm are not fifty. There are farms of two and three hundred pounds' rent, where the interest of money sunk in building houses is from fifty to sixty, and in some cases more than one hundred pounds. Had these men the fee-simple of their farms, it might be a question how far it would be prudent to pay such rents for a dwelling-house and its appendages. Several farms within my knowledge are rented at two pound the acre, but the landlords have erected such expensive buildings, that the interest of the money expended is equal to one pound per acre, leaving only the same sum of clear rent, while the tenant is subjected to an unsuitable expense in furnishing and keeping in repair such an establishment. A process which is so hurtful to the tenant, and which reduces the landlord's rent one half, is called by our statistical economists, improving his property.

temporary, while the want of employment is *permanent*. The small number of Highlanders who have been employed on the Canal has afforded ground for an opinion, that they have a disinclination to labour, and are not calculated for any exertion beyond the habits of a pastoral life. To those who are strangers to their habits and way of thinking, this of itself might appear a sufficient proof of their aversion to any stationary or laborious employment; but not so to those who know that land and cattle, with their usual appendages, form, as I have already noticed, the principal aim of a Highlander's ambition. Deprived of these, he is lowered and broken in spirit; and to become a labourer in his own country, and to be forced to beg for his daily hire and daily bread, in sight of his native mountains, and of those who witnessed his former independence, he cannot bear without extreme impatience. Hence, while so few resorted to the constant and well-paid labour on the Canal, in the heart of their country, thousands crowded down for employment to the most distant Lowlands. Indeed, the greater the distance the better, as at a distance from home they were unknown, and their change of station remained concealed, or unnoticed. For the same reason, they overcome their attachment to their native country, and emigrate to the woods of America, in the hope of obtaining a portion of land, the possession of which they consider as the surest and most respectable source of independence. "Wherever the Highlanders are defective in industry," says the late Professor Walker, "it will be found upon fair inquiry, to be rather their misfortune than their fault, and owing to their want of knowledge and opportunity, rather than to any want of spirit for labour. Their disposition to industry is greater than is

usually imagined, and, if judiciously directed, is capable of being highly advantageous both to themselves and to their country.”

Their spirit and industry may be seen by looking to the nature of the country, and the length of time during which the Highlands formed a separate and independent kingdom, repelling all invasions, and at length establishing their king and government in more fertile regions. It must therefore have been capable of supporting a greater population than it is commonly supposed adequate to maintain: for, surrounded as the people were by the sea, and by neighbours often hostile, preventing any excursions beyond their mountains, except by force of arms, their sole dependence must have been on their own resources. But these must have been sufficient to maintain the whole inhabitants, or they could not have so long existed in independence. Indeed, it is not easy to form an opinion of the extent to which population might be carried by spirited and liberal encouragement to the industry and energy of the people. Unfortunately, however, this is not the opinion of many, who hold that the country cannot prosper while the original inhabitants remain, and that, to improve the soil, where the people are without capital or skill, would be a vain attempt. This opinion is probably the cause why, in so many cases, the liberal encouragement of Highland landlords has been directed to other channels than that of raising the condition of the original occupiers of their estates. If the Highlanders are deprived of their lands, where is the benefit to them, that great sums are expended in building large and commodious establishments for the stranger of capital? Is it of any advantage to the ancient race, that the landlord liberally sacrifices

part of his expected rents to encourage the present skilful possessors, to make room for whom they were removed? Nor does it seem clear that the natives of the country can profitably avail themselves of the admirable roads, for the formation of which gentlemen advanced large sums; or that they can frequent the inns built, and the piers and shores formed, since by their removal to their new stations, as cottagers, they are left without a horse to travel on the roads, without produce to embark at the shores, and deprived of the means of acquiring property or independence.

It was not by depopulation, or by lowering the condition of the inhabitants; it was not by depriving the country of its best capital and strength, "a sensible, virtuous, hardy, and laborious race of people,"* and, by checking all further increase of wealth, except what might arise from the increased value of the produce of pasture lands, that the Dutch reclaimed fertile meadows from the ocean, that the Swiss turned their mountains into vineyards, and that the natives of Majorca and Minorca, scraping the rocky surface of their respective islands (as hard as the most barren within the Grampians), caused them to produce corn and wine in abundance. What industry has accomplished on the rocks of Malta is proverbial. But, in the North, "the climate is a common-place objection against every improvement. It is certain that improvements, which, for this reason, are resisted in the Highlands, have taken place successfully in districts of Scotland, which are more unfavourable in point of climate."† If such is the case in other districts, the difficulty should be more easily overcome in the Highlands, from the abstemious and hardy habits of the people, who

* *Professor Walker's Economical History.* † *Ibid.*

are contented and happy with the plainest and cheapest food. Wherever time has been allowed, and proper encouragement afforded, the industry of the tenants has overcome the difficulties of climate, and of unproductive soil.* Although their labours are unremitting, their time and attention are divided among so many objects, that the aggregate produce of their labour is less visible than

* No encouragement to a Highlander is equal to the prospect of a permanent residence, and of an immediate return for his labour. The rent should be fully as high as the produce will admit, with a promise of reduction in proportion to the extent of improvements made. Hence, when men rent small farms of fifteen, twenty, and thirty acres, they will, by their personal labour, and that of their families and servants, be able to drain, clear, and enclose the land. The improvements should be annually valued, and one-fourth or one-third of the amount allowed to the tenant as a deduction from his rent. In this manner an industrious tenant will work equal to twenty or thirty per cent. of the rent. This will make the farm cheap during the progress of improvement, and, as these operations can be completed in a few years, the landlord will afterwards have his full rent, which the tenant will be enabled to pay easily by the improved state of his land, and, at the end of the lease, can afford a considerable augmentation from his increased produce, the consequence of his own industry, and of the encouragement given him,—which may be said to have cost the landlord nothing, as the money remitted out of the rent could not perhaps have been paid without the personal labour and improvement of the tenant. It is evident that this process could not be accomplished by mere capital alone, without the personal labour of the occupier; and that the farm must consequently be small, because, if the work were done by hired labour, the payment by the landlord would be no relief to the tenant in the way of abatement of rent, as he must pay it away to those he hired; whereas, if he labours himself with the assistance of his family, he retains the money for his immediate use. Such a mode as this might be advisable in barren land, which will not always reimburse any considerable outlay of money, without the assistance of the personal labour of the cultivator.

where the same time is employed in the single endeavour to extract the utmost produce from the soil. The tending of cattle wandering over mountains, or constantly watched in pastures not enclosed, and the preparing and carrying home their fuel, with numerous interruptions, divide and increase their toil, in a manner of which the people of the plains can form no idea. These, indeed, are not monotonous labours that chain down the body to a certain spot, and limit the mind to a narrow range of ideas; but still they are toils incessant and exhausting. A different kind of labour may seem more advantageous to those economists, who would reduce the labouring class to mere machines, and produce, in this free country, a division of the people into castes, like the population of India. But such a change is nowhere desirable, and is impossible, in regions divided from each other by almost insurmountable barriers. A general plan of making all persons, however different their circumstances, conduct the agriculture of their respective districts in the same manner,—like the iron bed of Procrustes, which all were made to fit, by being either stretched to the proper length, or shortened by mutilation,—must not only be inexpedient, but cruel and oppressive to the tenant, and subversive of the best interests of the landlord.*

* The sagacity and facility of accommodation to novel situations that mark the Highland character, may be ascribed to the versatility arising from such varied occupations. As emigrants settling in a wilderness, the exemption from dependence on tradesmen must be peculiarly useful. If the Highland, like the English peasant, could not subsist without animal food, and bread made of the best of flour, together with ale and beer, it would give some strength to the opinion of those who think that the barren lands of the North ought to be left in a state of nature, and that an attempt to improve them to advantage would be hopeless, as the produce of so sterile a soil

But it is unnecessary to talk of economy, industry, and good morals, in regard to a country without people, as is the state of many Highland districts. These districts, once well-peopled with a race who looked back for ages to a long line of ancestors, will now only be known like the ancient Pictish nation : that is, by name, by historical tradition, and by the remains of the houses and the traces of the agricultural labours of the ancient inhabitants. In these there can be no increase of the general produce, by any amelioration of the soil, and consequently the rents can advance only by a rise in the value of the animals fed on the pastures ; and as this increase of price may proceed from a previous loss by severe winters, diseases, and other causes, it is rather a precarious contingency. The increased value of animal produce has enabled those interested to put forth statements of the unprecedented riches of the country, and of the expected prosperity of those placed in the new villages.* But no hint is given of this important truth, that

could not support a people requiring such expensive food. But, when we have men of vigorous bodies, capable of subsisting on potatoes and milk for nine months in the year, using animal food, beer, or spirits, only on great occasions, and wheaten bread never ; it may be allowed that a Highland proprietor, having lands fit for cultivation, and a hardy race, might preserve the one and improve the other, and thus secure a better and more certain income on his improved soil, than that which depends entirely on the price of sheep or cattle.

* In the same manner, reports are published of the unprecedented increase of the fisheries on the coast of the Highlands, proceeding, as it is said, from the late improvements ; whereas, it is well known, that the increase is almost entirely occasioned by the resort of fishers from the South. To form an idea of the estimation in which Highland fishermen are held, and the little share they have in those

the same high prices would have equally affected the small occupiers as the great stock graziers, and that the high prices are the causes of the increased value of land, and not the cold-hearted, merciless system pursued, and the change of inhabitants. Wherever there is a space and soil covered with a well-disposed population, experience, example, and encouragement, will teach them to better their situation.

I shall only notice one other argument adduced in support of the depopulation of the Highlands; and that is, that sheep are the stock best calculated for the mountains. On this subject there can be but one opinion; but why not allow the small farmer to possess sheep as well as the great stock grazer? It is indeed said that it is only in extensive establishments that stock-farming can be profitable to the landlord. This hypothesis has not yet been proved by sufficient experience, or proper comparison. But allowing that it were, and allowing a landlord the full gratification of seeing every tenant possessing a large capital, with all comforts corresponding to the opinion of a great proprietor, who wishes to have no tenant but who can afford a bottle of wine at dinner; there is another important consideration, not to be overlooked in

improvements of the fisheries noticed in the newspapers, we may turn to an advertisement in the Inverness newspapers, describing sixty lots of land to be let in that county for fishing stations. To this notice is added a declaration, that a "*decided preference will be given to strangers.*" Thus, while, on the one hand, the unfortunate natives are driven from their farms in the interior, a "*decided preference*" is given to strangers to settle on the coast, and little hope left for them, save that those invited from a distance will not accept the offer. When they see themselves thus rejected, both as cultivators, shepherds, and fishermen, what can be expected but despondency, indolence, and a total neglect of all improvement or exertion?

introducing this system into the Highlands—that, in allotting a large portion of land to one individual, perhaps two, or three, or even five hundred persons will be deprived of their usual means of subsistence, compelled to remove from their native land, and to yield up their ancient possessions to the man of capital,* to enable him to drink wine, to drive to church in a gig, to teach his daughters music and quadrille-dancing, and to mount his sons upon hunters, while the ancient tenants are forced to become bondsmen or day-labourers, with the recollection of their former honourable independence still warm. Yet this is a system strongly recommended, and practised with great inconsistency, by men who have the words liberty and independence in their mouths, and are loud in their complaints of the slavish and oppressed state of the people.

It is impossible to contemplate, without anxiety and pain, the probable effects of these operations in producing that demoralization, pauperism, and frequency of crime, which endanger the public tranquillity, and threaten to impose no small burden on landlords, in contributing to the maintenance of those who cannot or will not maintain themselves. Will the Highlanders, as cottagers, without employment, refrain from immorality and crime? Can we ex-

* We have lately seen 31 families, containing 115 persons, dispossessed of their lands, which were given to a neighbouring stock-grazier, to whom these people's possessions lay contiguous. Thus, as a matter of convenience to a man who had already a farm of nine miles in length, 115 persons, who had never been a farthing in arrears of rent, were deprived of house and shelter, and sent penniless on the world. The number of similar instances of disregard of the happiness or misery of human beings in an age which boasts of enlightened humanity, patriotism, and friendship for the people, are almost incredible, and do unspeakable injury to their best principles, by generating a spirit of malice, envy, and revenge.

pect from such men the same regularity of conduct as when they were independent, both in mind and in circumstances? * When collected together in towns and villages, will they be able to maintain the same character that was their pride on their paternal farms? Losing respect for the opinion of the world, † will they not also lose that respect for themselves, which, in its influence, is much more powerful than laws on morality and public manners; and attempt to procure a livelihood by discreditable expedients, by petty depredations, or by parish aid? We have the example of Ireland, where the people are poor and discontented. In the tumults and outrages of that country, we see how fertile poverty and misery are in crimes. The Irish and Highlanders were originally one people, the same in lineage, character, and language, till the oppression of a foreign government, and the system of middlemen, as they are called, with other

* When the engrossing system commenced in the North, and the people were removed from their farms, a spirit of revenge was strongly evinced among those who were permitted to remain in the country. They saw themselves reduced to poverty, and, believing that those who got possession of their lands were the advisers of their landlords, hatred and revenge, heightened by poverty, led to the commission of those thefts from the pastures noticed in the criminal convictions in the Appendix, BB. As cattle-stealing disappeared when the people were convinced of the immorality of the practice, and as the crime now noticed commenced only when they were reduced to poverty, and instigated by vindictive feelings for the loss of their ancient habitations, may it not be believed that, if these irritating causes had not occurred, neither would the crimes which seem to have resulted from them? And if circumstances confirm the justness of this supposition, may we not ask what degree of responsibility to God and to their country attaches to those whose plans led to the commission of these crimes!

† See Appendix, EE.

irritating causes, have reduced the lower orders in the former country to a state of poverty which, while it has debased their principles, has generated hatred and envy against their superiors. This has been the principal cause of those outrages which throw such a shade over the character of a brave and generous people; who, if they had been cherished and treated as the clansmen of the Highlands once were, would, no doubt, have been equally faithful to their superiors in turbulent times, and equally moral and industrious in their general conduct.* But, instead of exhibiting such a character as has been depicted, we have the following view from an intelligent author on the "Education of the Peasantry in Ireland." In allusion to the absence of proprietors, their ignorance of the character, dispositions, and capability of the native population, and their harsh measures towards them, he says, "The gentry, for the most part, seldom find time for such inquiries: the peasantry who live around them are sometimes the object of fear, but more usually of contempt;

* The misery of the lower orders in Ireland is frequently produced as an instance of the misery resulting from the continuance of small tenants in the Highlands. This, however, must originate in gross ignorance of the relative state of the two countries, which will not bear a comparison. The small tenants in the Highlands generally possessed from two to ten or twenty milch cows, with the usual proportion of young cattle, from two to five horses, and from twenty to one or two hundred sheep; the quantity of arable land being sufficient to produce winter provender for the stock, and to supply every necessary for the family. To each of these farms a cottager was usually attached, who also had his share of land; so that every family consumed their own produce, and, except in bad seasons were independent of all foreign supplies. This was, and still is, in many cases the small farming system in the Highlands, to which the system prevalent in Ireland bears so little resemblance, that it is impossible to reason analogically from the one to the other.

there may be enemies to guard against, creatures to be despised, but never subjects of research or examination. The peasantry saw that the real hardships of their condition were never inquired into. Their complaints were met by an appeal to force: the impatience of severe oppression was extinguished in blood. This served to harden their hearts; it alienated them from the established order of things; it threw them back on their own devices, and made them place their confidence in their wild schemes of future retaliation.

* “The gentry, of a lofty and disdainful spirit, intrepid and tyrannical, divided from the people by old animosities, by religion, by party, and by blood; divided, also, frequently by the necessities of an improvident expenditure, which made them greedy for high rents, easily to be obtained in the competition of an overcrowded population, but not paid without grudging and bitterness of heart; the extravagance of the landlord had but one resource—high rents; the peasant had but one means of living—the land; he must give what is demanded, or starve; and, at best, he did no more than barely escape starving. His life is a struggle against high rents, by secret combination and open violence: that of the landlord, a struggle to be paid, and to preserve a right of changing his tenantry when and as often as he pleased. In this conflict, the landlord was not always wrong, nor the peasantry always right. The indulgent landlord was sometimes not better treated than the harsh one, nor low rents better paid than high. The habits of the people were depraved; and the gentry, without attending to this, and surprised that no indulgence on their part produced an immediately corresponding return of gratitude and punctuality, impatiently gave up the matter as beyond

their comprehension, and the people as incapable of improvement."

This being given as the state of the Irish, we have the following view of the English peasantry from an able author, who, as I have already stated, in p. 181, describes the degradation consequent on the expulsion of the agricultural population from their lands. "Millions of independent peasantry were thus at once degraded into beggars. Stripped of all their proud feelings, which hitherto had characterized Englishmen, they were too ignorant, too dispersed, too domestic, and possessed too much reverence for their superiors, to combine as mechanics or manufacturers in towns. Parish relief was, therefore, established as a matter of necessity." Endeavouring to show the impossibility of preserving independence and morality in the precarious state of existence to which many are subject in England, he proceeds: "In England, the poor quarrel about, and call for, charity as a right, without being either grateful or satisfied. The question of property should be but of secondary consideration on this subject with the State. Whether the rents of the parish go to one great lord, or to one hundred great paupers, is a point of less importance than moral character. It has been already shown, that the poor rates of England tend to make the peasantry base and vicious. Men having no encouragement will idle if they can, but the parish officers will not let them if they can. The peasantry will not find work, but the parish officers will. The peasantry are put upon the rounds, as it is called; that is, they are sent round the parish, from door to door, not to beg, indeed, but to work a certain number of days, according to the extent of the property on which they are billeted, whether there be any work

for them to do or not. The roundsmen are paid eight or tenpence a-day, and so much is saved apparently to the parish funds. But the roundsmen knowing this, and having no mercy on the parish fund, thinking they are used ill in being thrust about, and being treated probably with ill humour by those they are thrust upon: under these circumstances, the roundsmen do just as little work as they can, and perhaps do more harm than good. Thus pushed about, as a nuisance, are the peasantry of this great, wealthy, and enlightened nation, without house or living, kindred, or protecting superiors; and yet we shall be told, these are free-born Englishmen, and that the slaves in the West Indies are hardly off, though they possess those enjoyments of which the English peasant is deprived, except personal liberty; that is, the enjoyment of being disregarded by every one, except as a nuisance. This is the state of the lower orders: and yet we are told, that teaching them to read will remove the evil—will correct the vices which such a horrible system necessarily generates. Give them not a looking-glass; gin and drugged beer will do better.*

We have here a short but impressive view of the state of the peasantry in the two sister kingdoms; what the peasantry have been in the northern part of Scotland, and what they are now, I have attempted to show. But if the Highlanders are forced to renounce their former habits of life; if the same system is applied to them as to the peasantry of the two sister kingdoms, infinitely more favoured by climate, soil, and every natural advantage for promoting the comfort, independence, and contentment of the people; are we not to expect that the results will be much more fatal in a country comparatively poor,

* *Serious Considerations on the State of the English Peasant.*

and destitute of such adventitious aids, as might counter-balance, or fix a limit to, the evils of systems which have produced so much wretchedness? Should the Highlanders be placed in similar circumstances, may we not dread least they realize in the North of Scotland the lawless turbulence of the sister island of Celts, and the degraded pauperism of a large part of England?

After the year 1745, when many of the Highlanders were driven from their homes, and forced to lead a wandering life, we know that many depredations were committed, although the great body of the people remained sound. Judging from recent symptoms, we may safely hazard the assertion, that the irritating causes in 1746, 1747, and in 1748, did not affect the morals of the people to the same extent as the events which have lately taken place. At no period of the history of the country, indeed, were the people more exemplary than for many years posterior to the Rebellion, when the moral principles peculiar to, and carefully inculcated at that period, combined with the chivalry, high feeling and romance of preceding times, strengthened by the religious and reverential turn of thinking peculiar to both, gave force and warmth to their piety, and produced that composition of character, which made them respected by the enemy in the field, and religious, peaceable, and contented in quarters, as well as in private life.* What they have formerly been, will they not still continue to be, if they were only made to experience the same kindness as their forefathers? The cordial and condescending kindness of the higher orders, as I have already oftener than once said, contributed materially to produce that character which the people seem anxious to perpetuate. This is particularly exempli-

* See Appendix, FF.

fied by the exertions which they make to give their children an education suitable to their station in life, and often far above it. The value of education is well understood; and whenever they have the power, and their circumstances are comfortable, they seldom fail to give it to their children.*

But unless their temporal, as well as their intellectual and spiritual concerns are attended to, it may be a question whether any degree of learning will make them contented and moral. If men live in the dread of being ejected at every term, or contemplate the probability of being obliged to emigrate to a distant country, the best education, unless supported by a strong sense of religion and morality, will hardly be sufficient to produce content, respect for the laws, and a love of the country and its government.

* One of the many instances of this is exhibited in a small Highland valley, the length of which is less than six miles, and the breadth from half a mile to one mile and a quarter. This glen is, with one exception, managed in the old manner, the original people being allowed to remain on their small possessions. How small these are may be judged from the population, which is 985 souls. They are consequently poor, but not paupers. Several aged women, and two men, who are lame, receive ten or fifteen shillings annually from the parish fund. The whole are supported on their lands, for which they pay full value. There are not manufactures, except for home consumption. In this state of comparative poverty, independent, however, of parochial aid, such is their proper spirit, and sense of the value of education, that as the parish school is near one end of the glen, the people of the farther extremity have established three separate schools for their children, paying small salaries, with school fees, to the teachers, who, if unmarried (as is generally the case), live without expense among the more wealthy of the tenants. Thus, these industrious people give an education, suitable to their situation in life, to 240 children (the number when I last saw them), including those at the parish school, without any assistance whatever from the landlords.

Scotland has indeed reaped the greatest benefits from education ; but perhaps it is rating these advantages too high to ascribe the acknowledged moral character of the people solely to this source. The Scotch were a trustworthy people before there was any established system of education in the country. Of this we have sufficient evidence in the confidence placed in Scotchmen in France and Holland, where for ages they were held in such esteem as to be preferred to situations requiring the greatest trust, honour, and firmness. Had these men been void of good principles at home, they could not well have acquired them in a superior degree in countries where they were preferred to the natives. In a report of the southern counties of Scotland by William Elliot of Stobbs, and Walter Scott of Arkleton, in the year 1649, we find that, after seven years of rebellion and intestine commotion, theft, lying, and swearing (except among a few outcasts), were totally unknown; the people were strong and active, sober, and abstemious in their diet; ingenious, and hating deceit.*

When the tyrannical restrictions on religion and conscience, in the reign of Charles II., drove the people in the western counties to desperation, and when forced to fly to the mountains, woods, and mosses, and to exist on such accidental supplies as an exhausted country could afford, we meet with no firing of houses, nor murders of magistrates, prosecutors and witnesses, as we daily see in the present enlightened age: all was borne with Christian patience, except in cases where fanaticism and bigotry deprived men of their reason; and it ought to be observed, that the principal actors in these instances were generally of the higher and educated orders, as in

* *Report of Selkirk, etc.*, Advocates' Library, 1649.

that of the murderers of Archbishop Sharpe. In the Highlands we find, from many authors, that, with the exception of their forays and cattle depredations, the Highlanders were early considered a valuable, trustworthy race. In the year 1678, when the Duke of Lauderdale and the Ministers of Charles II., ordered the "Highland Host" to the south-western districts of Scotland to put down the Covenanters, their forbearance, considering the nature of their duty, was a topic of remark. In like manner, in 1745, when many thousands were in arms, and let loose from all restraint, with *little education among the common men*, it may be a problem whether, if they had all been graduates of St Andrews or Aberdeen, they could have conducted themselves with more urbanity and moderation. Such were the characteristic principles of the Scotch, both Lowland and Highland, when education was far from being general. There are upwards of 8000 schools in Ireland, but these apparently exert little influence on the morals of the peasantry, because they are oppressed, despised, and neglected; nourishing a spirit of hatred and revenge, and in a state of poverty and despair which no education can remove.

The truth seems to be, that in a country where a universal system of education has been established as in Scotland, there must have been an early and well-founded principle, of which the schools may be considered as the effect, and not the cause, and which must have produced those estimable habits, long a distinguished feature in the national character. The foundation of those valuable habits may in part have been owing to the cordiality, mutual confidence, and support, which subsisted between the higher and lower orders in Scotland.

Fletcher of Saltoun, a strenuous supporter of the inde-

pendence of his country, gives indeed a deplorable view of the state to which thousands of the people were reduced at the end of the seventeenth century. His statement seems to refer only to Fife and the counties southward and westward, which at that period did not contain beyond 900,000 inhabitants. Of this population, he states that 200,000 went about in bands of sturdy beggars, or *sorners*, as they were called, without house or habitation, living on the public by begging, open plunder, and private stealing. This frightful number of beggars and outcasts of society, in so small a population, is almost incredible, particularly when compared with the report of the same counties by the Lairds of Arkleton and Stobbs, fifty years preceding. There was, indeed, sufficient cause for poverty, distress, and crimes in Saltoun's time. It was at that period that the stock-grazing system of large farms began in the South, when the higher orders lost all regard for their followers, and forgot all ancient kindness and friendship (of which we have seen too many instances in our times in the North), and thousands of the brave Borderers, whose forefathers defended their country, were sent adrift without house or shelter, in that country for which their ancestors had fought and bled. Then the people naturally lost all confidence and respect for those from whom they received this treatment; and there being no manufacturing towns to receive them, no emigration to America, and no employment in a country all turned to pasture, they had no alternative but beg or steal.* Were it not for America and the towns in

* I happened to read Fletcher of Saltoun's Statement of the Scotch Poor early in life, and was much struck with it. I mentioned the subject to Mr Stewart of Crossmount, who, as I have already noticed, died in 1791, in his 104th year, consequently was born before the

the Lowlands, would not the late ejections and depopulations in the North produce a host of sturdy beggars, sorners, and thieves? A reference to the state of England by Sir Thomas Moore, of Scotland by Fletcher of Saltoun, and to the recent associations for the suppression of felony in different parts of the Northern Highlands, exhibits a striking coincidence, and shows that the want of education is not the principle cause of crimes and poverty. Now that schools are generally established in Scotland, it behoves the higher orders to endeavour, by protection, by kindness, and by example, to preserve those principles which have been so honourable to this country, which form the best basis for good education

reign of King William, and was 15 years of age at the death of that monarch in 1702. He had a perfect recollection of the period to which Fletcher's Statement refers. I have already said that he was a man of sound judgment and accurate memory, but from his extreme youth at the period in question, he could not speak from personal observation beyond the glen in which he lived; yet he remembered that King William's seven years of famine, as they were called by the Jacobites, were the subject of all conversations, and that his father made a considerable sum of money by a speculation in grain which he brought from Dundee and Perth. In the Highlands the grain never ripened for many harvests. It would not grind into meal from its softness. The people dried or roasted the best and ripest grains, and, pounding it between two stones, ate it in that state. He knew little more of the South, than that he always heard that the people there suffered more than the Highlanders, because they had not so many cattle and deer to kill for their food. The number of cattle killed in those years, and afterwards sent to England, when the trade opened after the Union, raised the price to a height formerly unknown; that is, to twenty shillings or a guinea for a fat ox or cow. He added, that he went South with the rebels in 1715, and was wounded and taken at Sheriffmuir. When he recovered he came back through the south-east of Scotland. He saw many wandering beggars.

among a people, and without which, indeed, education may be a curse instead of a blessing. But, unfortunately, many Highlanders have begun (as I have too often had occasion to mention), to lose all confidence in the views and line of conduct of their superiors, of whom they say, “When I see a man subscribing for schools and Bible societies, while he reduces his tenants to poverty by exorbitant rents; while he has school books and Bibles in one hand, and in the other a warrant of ejection, or an order for *rouping out* for the rent; and when he makes speeches at public meetings lamenting the loss of morals, and in private lectures against drunkenness and the vices it produces, while at the same time the rents are such that they cannot be paid without smuggling, cheating, perjury, and lying;—when all this is daily seen and practised, who can doubt but that there is much hypocrisy at the bottom?”

Such are the sentiments I often hear expressed by the people, and which may be ascribed to the operation of that grasping selfish system, which looks only to what is supposed to bring the most immediate advantages, careless of the loss to others,—tempting men to cheat and deceive by calling for the cheapest contracts,—raising a spirit of rivalry and by over-reaching by auctioning, and receiving secret offers for farms, and which have occasioned great distress and discontent in the Highlands, with much less permanent advantage to the promoters than might have been obtained by a more open and a milder line of conduct. If the people see that their welfare is attended to, they will return the favour. Gratitude, kindness, and friendship, are natural to man; but harshness and oppression will quickly destroy all. In the Highlands, the contrast between the past and present manners are the more striking, from the

recollection of those times when the poorest clansman received a kind shake of the hand from the laird, and was otherwise treated like an independent man, and a proper regard shown to his feelings. Modern customs allow of no such intimacy with the lower orders, and strangers, with no recommendation but money, are preferred to all ancient claimants. "If a Lowlander," said an old acquaintance to me, with tears in his eyes, "comes among us with a good horse, a pair of spurs, and a whip, he is immediately received by the laird, who takes him to his house; he has the choice of a farm, and a whole tribe of us are sent to cot-houses on the moors, or ejected entirely; and while the Lowlander gets a fine house at the landlord's expense, I must build my own hut, get no allowance for the house I have left, although I built it myself, and while the stranger is supplied with Norway wood for his house, if I take a birch-tree not worth five shillings from the hill-side, the constable is sent after me with a warrant; I am threatened with a removal and the terrors of the law by the laird on whose lands I built the house, and whose property it will be when I leave it, which I would do to-morrow if I knew where to go." Will education cure this poor man's grief and indignation? Will reading make him contented with his lot, loyal to his King and government, and *attached to his landlord*? Reading will more clearly show him his misery. To make a man comfortable in his circumstances, and easy in his mind, and thus to remove all temptation or necessity for resorting to improper practices, are better and more certain preservatives of morals than reading or writing, particularly if the educated reader is in poverty and destitution, and that destitution occasioned by the oppressive conduct of others.

As a man blind from his infancy may be virtuous, and well instructed in all useful knowledge, without ever having read a line in his life, so are the bulk of the uneducated Highlanders well instructed in a knowledge of the Gospel and of the Scriptures, and possessed of great intelligence in all that immediately concerns themselves, and comes within the range of their knowledge, confined, as it must necessarily often be, to the narrow bounds of a Highland strath or glen.

I have already mentioned that many Highland gentlemen, though possessed of honourable and humane dispositions, have, with the best intentions, allowed themselves to be seduced into hasty measures, and the adoption of plans unsuitable to their lands and their tenants; and have thus unhinged the social virtues, and the mutual confidence between them and their formerly attached dependants, whose sentiments and feelings are deplorably changed in many respects. May we not therefore hope, that when prejudicial effects are produced on the minds of the tenants, an abatement of hasty changes will ensue; and that we shall not see advertisements inviting strangers to offer for their lands, while they are themselves willing and able to pay equally high rents; with other measures calculated to raise their indignation, and check the inclination to improve their farms and modes of cultivation? May we not hope, that gentlemen will take into consideration the well-known fact, that the agricultural system now carried on with such spirit in Scotland, was 140 years* in progress in

* A respectable Highland clergyman, of talents and learning, who occupied a farm of some extent contiguous to his glebe, was so wedded to old customs, that it was not till the year 1815 that he commenced green crops, liming, and fallow; although two gentle-

England before the prejudices of the southern Scotch farmers were so far overcome as to embrace and practise it? And if gentlemen will also recollect that their own fathers and grandfathers, men of education and knowledge of the world, saw these improved changes, in their frequent intercourse with the South, long before they introduced them into their own practice, many never having done so at all; will they not then make some indulgent allowance for the prejudices of the poor and ignorant Highlander, who never travelled beyond the bounds of his own or the neighbouring districts, and afford him time to comprehend the advantages of changes so recent, and so opposite to his usual habits? Should landlords arraign their people as incorrigible, because they do not change with every variation of every political or economical opinion, or according to the direction in which newly-adopted theories would turn them, and embrace systems of which they have never been made to comprehend the advantages, and without any encouragement or spur for exertion but *an augmentation of rent*?

In what manner the people comprehend and act on the new system of agriculture, when the knowledge of it is attainable, is clearly seen in those districts whose vicinity to the South has enabled the inhabitants to follow the example shown them.* Any person travelling through men (the honourable Baron Norton and Mr Macdonald of Glencoe) in his immediate neighbourhood, had carried on the system for some years with great success. Now, when such a person rejected all innovations, is it surprising than an ignorant Highlander, with his deep-rooted predilection to ancient habits, should not commence a system (by order, perhaps, of a harsh and authoritative agent) which would overturn all notions of respect and reverence for the customs of his fathers?

* The inveteracy and the difficulty of overcoming ancient habits,

Athole, Breadalbane, and other districts of the Highlands of Perthshire, will observe in the altered appearance of the country, how readily the people have availed themselves of useful and practical knowledge, and to what extent improvements have been carried, both in respect to the quantity and the quality of the produce. These districts furnish decisive proof of this progressive improvement. In glens where a few years ago, turnips and the green crop system were totally unknown, they are now as regularly cultivated as in Mid-Lothian; on a small scale, to be sure, as it must necessarily be, from the size of the farms and the narrow limits of cultivation, but in a manner calculated to produce good rents to the proprietors, and great comparative comfort to the tenants. This spirit of improvement is extending northwards, and has every appearance of spreading over the whole country, although it has, in various instances, been checked by attempts to force it on too rapidly, and by theories founded on the customs of countries totally different, both in soil, in climate, and in the habits of the people. One obvious evil is, the too frequent practice of giving leases for only seven years. This the people dislike more than none at all, †

in countries highly favoured by many opportunities of improvement, is shown in several parts of England, where ploughing is still performed, even on light soils, with four and five horses; whereas that custom has long been laid aside in Scotland, where two horses are found sufficient for the deepest soils: yet, with this example before them, English farmers continue such a waste of labour, at great additional expense to themselves and consequent loss to the landlord. But it would be endless to state instances of prejudices as deep-rooted and prejudicial as any entertained in the Highlands, where the people have suffered so much from mischievous experiments, founded on their supposed incapacity and incurable prejudices.

† On several estates, tenants neither ask for leases, nor are any

as, according to their opinion, the expiration of these short terms serves to remind the landlords of an increase of rent on the improvements made, without allowing

given, yet improvements are carried on with the same spirit as on estates where leases are granted. In the former case, much of the confidence of old times remains, the landlord's promise being as good as his bond; and the tenants trust to this in preference to a documentary term of years, and are safe from a removal while they conduct themselves with propriety, and are willing at the same time to augment their rents according to the times. In the latter they would be in anxious suspense, and in dread of removal at the end of each lease. Such is the manner of acting and thinking peculiar to landlords and tenants on the estates of honourable and judicious men, some of whom I have the happiness to call my friends; and such also is the custom in many parts of England. A highly enlightened and respectable friend, a native of Yorkshire, has favoured me with the following communication:—"The practice of letting farms to the highest bidder is unknown. It would be utterly destructive of that good faith that subsists between landlord and tenant. In Yorkshire, few gentlemen grant leases. It may be supposed that the want of leases impedes improvement, inasmuch as tenants are unwilling to lay out their capital upon an uncertain tenure. This may be true to a certain extent, but the good faith that subsists between landlord and tenant is a sort of relationship in which they stand to each other. They are not bound to observe each other's interest by leases or bonds of parchment; but they are bound by obligations of honour, of mutual interest, and reciprocal advantage. The right of voting at county elections gives the freeholder of forty shillings a high degree of importance and respectability in his own opinion, and in that of his landlord. He confers a favour on his superiors, and he has at least once in seven years the power of showing his independence, and of chastising the insolence or oppression of the rich. At a late county election, the popular candidate of a northern county waited on a shoemaker to solicit his vote. 'Get out of my house, Sir,' said the shoemaker: the gentleman walked out accordingly. 'You turned me out of your estate,' continued the shoemaker, 'and I was determined to turn you out of my house; but, for all that, I will give you my vote.'"

time to the tenants to reap the benefit of their previous exertions.

Much of the want of that spirit for improvement, so much complained of, is owing to the practice of augmenting the rent on any successful exertion or change made by the tenant. On several estates within my knowledge, the rents were augmented *every third and fourth year after the improvements commenced*; but the consequence of the last augmentation was a complete bar to further exertions on the part of the tenants, who then saw no prospect of being allowed any benefit from their labours. Another practice equally incredible is gaining ground, and calculated to excite surprise, in an enlightened age, with the example of Ireland as a warning, were we not accustomed to see many extraordinary things in the management of the poor Highlanders. Landlords and their agents have employed middlemen, to whom they let a tract of country, with power to subset, on a rent of their own fixing, to the small tenants,—a system pregnant with misery and discontent, without one apparent advantage to the landlord, except the saving of trouble by collecting rent from one great middle man instead of thirty or forty small tenants.

But notwithstanding these insulated cases, when we find, that in the southern Highland districts, the natural course of improvements has led to the best results, the same might be expected in more northern counties, if the inhabitants were allowed the additional time rendered necessary by their *greater distance from example*, and suffered to reap the advantage of the new communications opened by the admirable roads, the construction of which does so much credit to the spirit and liberality both of the proprietors and of Government, at whose joint

expense they have been formed.* It is hoped, therefore, that gentlemen will believe that Highlanders may acquire skill by experience, and a capital by their exertions and industry; and that they will also believe, that although a numerous tenantry may consume more produce than one large establishment, humanity, and the poverty, misery, and perhaps crimes, resulting from their removal, ought not to be totally forgotten; nor a plausible theory of feeding a surplus population, at the landlord's expense, be allowed to make them lose sight of the important fact, that their income is never so secure as when their farms are occupied by an economical, industrious, and well-principled people; †—a people who always attach so much

* The amount of this joint expenditure exceeds £460,000. Upwards of 1200 miles of new roads have been made, and about 540 miles of the old military roads completely repaired, with 1436 bridges, of one or more arches, and 11,460 water-courses and covered drains.—See Reports of Parliamentary Commissioners.

† The late Mr Campbell of Achallader, who, as I have already mentioned, was fifty-five years agent or factor to the late Earl of Breadalbane, often stated, that during this long period, a failure of payment was so rare, and so much shame was attached to it, that when, by misfortune or accident, a person happened to be deficient, his friends or neighbours generally assisted him by a loan, or otherwise. The deficiency was never officially known to the chamberlain, except in cases of total bankruptcy, or roguery on the part of the tenant. I have the same good authority for stating, that of these the instances were very rare; and such was the mutual confidence, and such the honourable manner in which business was conducted, that no receipt for rent was ever asked. An account was opened for every tenant, and when the rent was paid, Achallader put the initials of his name below the sum credited. This was sufficient receipt for upwards of eleven hundred sums paid by that number of tenants under his charge. I know not whether this is more honourable to the noble proprietor, to the judicious management of his excellent chamberlain, or to the integrity and industry of the numer-

disgrace to a failure in the payment of rent, that, on a reverse of fortune having befallen a man, he comforted himself with this reflection, "I have one happiness I have paid my rent, and have not lost credit with my landlord."*

ous tenantry. During that period there were several years of severe pressure, and particularly the autumns, from 1770 to 1774, were cold and wet, and very unproductive in the higher grounds, where the corn did not ripen for three successive harvests. I am informed by my friend Mr Stewart of Ardvorlich, a gentleman of the first respectability and intelligence, who succeeded Mr Campbell, that he experienced equal fidelity to their engagements on the part of the tenants, and that he never had a shilling of arrears while he had the management, which he resigned many years ago.

* A young artist, who has raised himself in the first eminence by his talents, painted, a few years ago, two pieces on a subject highly interesting to agriculturists, but, as Mr Wilkie found, not a popular piece of art. These he called Rent-Day, and Distraint for Rent. The latter was little known in the Highlands till introduced with the improvements; and Rent-Day, as it was held in former times, is no longer seen in what are called *the improved districts*. In former times, the collection of rents was a kind of jubilee, when the tenants on great estates attended, and spent several days in feasting and rejoicing at fulfilling their engagements with their landlords, and in offering grateful libations to their honour and prosperity. Perhaps things are differently managed now, and the irregularity of payment renders general meetings impossible. But in Yorkshire, as I am informed by a friend to whom I owe very interesting communications, "The good custom of Rent-Day Dinners still continues to be observed, when all the tenantry on the estate assemble in the hall of the landlord's mansion, and are regaled with roast beef, plum-pudding, and home-brewed ale, and the Squire's health is drunk with affectionate enthusiasm. In ancient families it is still customary for the landlord to preside in person, but in more refined modern establishments, the steward takes the head of the table. The annual appearance at this table is a subject of honest pride. The absence of a tenant is considered ominous of his declining credit. Not to appear at the rent-day is disgraceful. The conversations at

This is a principle worth preserving, and a more honourable security for good payments than distraining for rents, and other modes much too frequent ; for it is no uncommon thing to see a tenant's whole stock under sequestration, without liberty to dispose of an article, unless by consent of the landlord, who orders an examination of the stock and produce at certain periods, and what is marketable to be disposed of for the rent. Will it be credited, that such a system can be pursued, and that men, who thus act towards their tenants, complain of their indolence and want of spirit to improve—*under sequestration, and an annual warning to remove ?*

After so long a disquisition on a most painful subject, I now turn to one of a more agreeable nature,—the exertions made of late years to remedy, or rather to restrain the progress of those evils which press so heavily on the natives of the Highlands. These efforts, and the examples shown by individuals, have done much ; but having avoided the mention of names, either in approbation or the reverse, I shall now follow the same rule, and merely these dinners is on the best breed of cattle, and the best modes of husbandry. They have given rise to agricultural societies. Thus emulation, good neighbourhood, respectful attachment to landlords, and friendly feelings towards each other, are promoted. The man who would offer a higher price for his neighbour's farm, or endeavour to supplant him, could not show his face at the Rent-Day Dinner ; and the landlord who would accept such an offer at the expense of an old and respectable tenant, would be held in contèmp't by many of his own rank, and in abhorrence by his tenantry. Such, I believe, are the implied conditions between landlord and tenant ; and how soon the increasing progress of luxury and extravagance may produce rapacity and extortion, it is impossible to say ; but hitherto the respect paid to good faith, and the value attached to good character, have prevented those melancholy and cruel effects which have been so severely felt in many of the northern parts of the island."

notice public bodies. Among these, the high respectability of the members of the Highland Society of Scotland—the judicious discrimination and spirit with which the objects of this institution are carried into effect—the benefits it has conferred—and the liberal and impartial manner in which its premiums are distributed—justly entitle this patriotic body to high estimation, and render it the most eminently useful of any public association ever connected with the Highlands.

“The Highland Society of Scotland derives its origin from a number of gentlemen, natives of, or connected with the Highlands, assembled at Edinburgh in the year 1784. That meeting ‘conceiving (as the words of their own resolutions express) that the institution of a Highland Society at Edinburgh would be attended with many good consequences to the country, as well as to individuals,’ determined to take the sense of their countrymen on the propriety of such an institution. A numerous meeting of such gentlemen as a residence in or near Edinburgh allowed of being called together, was assembled. They warmly approved of the measure; agreed to become members of such a society; proceeded to the nomination of a President, Vice-Presidents, and Committee; and having thus far embodied themselves, wrote circular letters to such noblemen and gentlemen as birth, property, or connexion qualified, and, as they supposed, might incline, to join in the formation of such an establishment, inviting them to become members of the proposed society.”*

The original objects of the Society were, an inquiry into the present state of the Highlands and adjacent Isles,

* Introduction to the first volume of *Transactions and Essays of the Highland Society* by Henry Mackenzie, Esq., one of the Directors.

with the condition of their inhabitants; the means of their improvement by establishing towns and villages, roads and bridges, advancing agriculture and extending fisheries, introducing useful trades and manufactures, and by an exertion to unite the efforts of the landlords, and to call the attention of Government towards the encouragement and promotion of these useful purposes. The Society also proposed to pay attention to the preservation of the language, poetry, and music of the Highlands. These were the original objects of the institution; but they are now extended so as to embrace a great variety of branches, both of agriculture and the arts. The premiums annually distributed by the Society have raised a spirit of emulation, exertion, and a desire to improve, productive of the greatest advantages. Premiums have been given in every district of the country for improving the breed of horses, cattle, and sheep,—for draining, trenching, clearing, and planting,—for the cultivation of green crops in all their varieties, as well as for many other improvements, more especially applicable to the Highlands. In support of national literature, the Society has been equally liberal; and the amount of the sums expended in preparing and publishing a Gaelic Dictionary is, I believe, almost unexampled in the history of literature. Premiums are also given for various agricultural improvements, etc., in the Lowlands. Much labour, and a considerable portion of the Society's funds, have been expended on the subject of establishing an uniformity of weights and measures, with many other important objects intimately connected with the welfare of the country.

Faithful to the purposes of its institution, the Society has taken every opportunity of encouraging whatever tends to improve the cultivation of the country in general,

and particularly of the remote and mountainous region from which it assumed its name. The premiums, therefore, are not confined to the Highlands, or to such kinds of agriculture or manufactures as are exclusively adapted to that country; they have extended, and continue still farther to extend, to draw forth information, and to stimulate ingenuity in every branch of those departments which may be useful, whether in the Highlands or other parts of the country: and in the eloquent language of one of its first members, who has ever been a constant, zealous, and able conductor of its duties,—“The Highland Society has been, not unaptly, compared to one of our native rivers, which has its rise indeed in the Highlands, but which, increasing as it flows, fertilises and improves Lowland districts, at a distance from those less cultivated regions whence it originally springs.”* In prosecution of these views, the Society has, within the last twelve years, distributed about £1400 annually in premiums.

The subject of emigration did not escape the attention of the Society; but the Directors were too intelligent to attempt to prevent emigration, among a people who, in the language of the Report on the subject, have been “thrown, as it were, loose from their native land,” and left without the means of subsistence. With more humanity they endeavoured to show the cruelty of such measures, and, at the same time, suggested the necessity of establishing regu-

* Introduction to the third volume of the *Transactions of the Highland Society*, by Henry Mackenzie, Esquire. Lord Bannatyne and Mr Mackenzie are now the only surviving members of the Lounger and Mirror Club. For a period of thirty-nine years they have never been absent from a General or Committee Meeting of the Highland Society, except in instances of indisposition, or some indispensable engagement.

lations to preserve the health and lives of the emigrants on their voyage, by preventing vessels from taking more than a certain number of passengers, that there might be proper accommodation and a sufficient supply of provisions, so that emigrants may in future be treated with humanity, "instead of being delivered over, by numberless privations, and the want of comfort and care, to diseases and destruction."* In conformity to these views on this important subject, the Society got a bill brought into Parliament, founded on their suggestions: it passed with little opposition,† so that an emigrant has now the chance of reaching his destination without danger of being doomed to "diseases and destruction." With this humane act, I conclude this short notice of the patriotic Highland Society of Scotland, which has rendered such essential service to that part of the country whose name it bears. It consists of nearly 1500 members.

A few years previous to the institution of the Highland Society of Scotland, a Society was established in London in somewhat similar circumstances. General

* *Report of the Highland Society.*

† Emigration, properly regulated, ought to be encouraged from those districts where the new improvements have sent the people to patches of land, and laid the foundation for realizing the cottage and potato-garden system, and the wretchedness of the Irish peasantry. It is surely better for the mother country that they should emigrate than remain with such deplorable prospects in view. Two years ago some Highland gentlemen, resident in India, lamenting the state to which so many of their countrymen were reduced, subscribed about £1250, and sent home the money to pay for the passage of a certain number of emigrants. About 200 received the benefit of this donation, and have gone to Canada. The humane act of these gentlemen is called the "Demon of Reform" by those who write in praise of the new order of things in the North.

Fraser of Lovat, and several Highland gentlemen, met at the Spring-Garden Coffee-House in the year 1778, and, after a few arrangements, formed themselves into a Society with the same views, and for somewhat similar purposes as those I have detailed of the meeting in Edinburgh. The Society soon increased in numbers, and in the rank and respectability of its members, among whom were not only many of the first nobility and men of talent and property in the kingdom, but several members of the Royal Family; and in 1817, his Majesty, then Prince Regent, was graciously pleased to become "Chief of the Highland Society of London."

The Highland Society of Scotland taking the lead in promoting the agricultural, and indeed the general improvement of the country, that of London confines itself chiefly to the language, music, poetry, and garb of the Highlands, and, along with these, to preserve, perhaps, some of the best traits of the ancient character of the people: and while in Edinburgh, rewards and premiums are given for agricultural improvements, ingenious inventions, and other objects applicable to civil life; in London it was intended to give rewards and honorary marks of distinction for particular instances of courage, distinguished talent, and chivalrous deeds in war, as they might be displayed by Scotchmen and Scotch corps. But in this respect the intentions of the Society have been interrupted by an unfortunate misunderstanding, which will be noticed afterwards. In the encouragement of national music and other objects, it has been most liberal; as is seen at the annual exhibition in Edinburgh of the ancient war and field music of the mountains, and of the Highland garb, which was instituted, and the expense defrayed, by the London Society. But the greatest

and most important benefit which it has conferred, was the institution of the Caledonian Asylum in London, for educating, supporting, and clothing the children of soldiers and sailors of Scotland killed or disabled, or of other destitute Scotchmen resident in London. This institution originated with the Highland Society of London; and having concluded the notice of the Society of Scotland by the act for the protection of the unfortunate emigrants, I finish now this notice of the sister Society, by stating its connexion with the Caledonian Asylum.

Two such dissertations as the foregoing, on the past and present state of the Highlands, may be considered as out of the line of my profession, and not a very suitable preliminary to a military memoir. But as the same people form the subject of both, and as their personal hardihood and moral qualities were such as peculiarly fitted them for the toils and privations of a military life, as will more fully appear in the military narrative; it may not, perhaps, be foreign to the principal subject, to show of what materials the Highland regiments were originally composed, and what were the habits of thinking and acting which, formed and matured within their native mountains, accompanied them in their military progress. And, as much of the happiness of the Highlanders, and no small share of the prosperity of the country, depends on the manner in which they are treated by their natural protectors, in whose hands Providence and the laws have placed so much power to raise or depress their condition; it is surely of importance to remember that this race of people, although poor in circumstances, has been both moral and independent; and as symptoms of a retrograde tendency have recently begun to show themselves, I trust I shall not be thought presumptuous in making this

feeble attempt, founded on long intimacy with the people, both as inhabitants of their native glens, and as soldiers in barracks and in the field, and on some knowledge of the state of the country,—to show what they were, what they now are, and what, under a proper management, they may yet become. The revolution to which I have so often alluded, considering the short space of time in which it has been in operation, has been great. Had it been accomplished in a more gentle manner, its influence on the general disposition and character of the people would have been less evident and more beneficial, and they might have been taught to become more industrious, without any loss of attachment or of moral principle.

In the central Highlands, industry can be employed only in the cultivation of the land. Fuel is too scarce, and all materials, except wool and flax, are too distant for manufactories. This is not to be regretted; there is sufficient space for manufactories in the Low country, and the towns are abundantly populous. Let the Highlanders, therefore, remain a pastoral and agricultural people; the superabundant population filling our military ranks with good recruits, sending out an annual supply of labourers to the Low country when required, and colonizing our distant possessions with a loyal and well-principled race. Although there may be some waste of labour, and some parts of that produce consumed on the spot, which might otherwise be sent to distant markets, still it may be admitted, that the general value of produce does not depend on the difference between a distant and home consumption. It matters little to the general welfare of the State, whether the consumption be on the spot, or at the distance of forty or one hundred miles; and, although on a first view, it may appear a waste of

labour to employ more persons in agriculture than are absolutely necessary to cultivate the soil, yet the morality and the independence of the agricultural population is surely of some, if not of the highest, consideration. It ought not, moreover, to be forgotten, that, if small farmers raise the same quantity of produce as large farmers, the greater consumption on the spot, in the former case, cannot possibly affect the question, or form any solid objection that can be brought into comparison with the advantage the bulk of the people derive from having a share in the cultivation of the soil: seeing that, while these people remain in the country, they are to be fed from its produce, it matters not in what particular place they consume it. It may be further remarked, that the frequent distress of the working classes, is mainly to be ascribed to the too general adoption of the present agricultural system, which forces people from the country to the towns, increases in an inordinate degree the number of competitors for employment, and entails misery on themselves and all who are in similar circumstances. These observations will receive additional force, when it is considered that this agricultural independency is the best security against poor's rates. It is evident that these rates originated in England when the people were driven from the cultivation of the land, and left without any share in the profits of the soil, except as labourers hired by others. It is equally well known, that, in Scotland, people occupying land never apply for charity, except in extreme cases. Numerous examples show, likewise, that the consumption of a few additional mouths will not diminish the rent: therefore, as the population in the Lowlands is already fully adequate for the present state of manufactures in that part of the country, is it prudent or patriotic to overstock

them by depopulating the glens of the Highlands? There, experience has proved, that a man may be poor, yet independent, and innocent, although idle: but how idleness and poverty generate vice in populous towns, the records of the criminal courts sufficiently evince. These show, likewise, how numerous the crimes committed by Highlanders, or, at least, persons with Highland names, and of Highland descent, have become in cities. In their native country, on the contrary, the convicted criminals in seventy years, during periods the most turbulent and lawless, and taken from a population of 394,000 souls, did not exceed 91:* while the number of criminals convicted in one year (1817), at the spring and summer assizes at Lancaster, was 86; and yet the agricultural parts of the neighbouring County of Westmoreland, and some counties in Wales, equal any part of the kingdom in morality and exemption from crime. It may be said, that, to compare the habits, temptations, debauchery, and crimes of cities, with the innocence of an agricultural or pastoral life, cannot be fair and just. Certainly it is not; but is it then consistent with our duty to God, or to humanity, with our love of country, or our patriotism, to drive the people away from the innocent walks of life, and force them into the resorts of immorality and crime?

* Records of the Court of Justiciary.



SECTION V.

Military Character—National Corps advantageous, especially in the Case of Highlanders—Character of Officers fitted to command a Highland Corps.

IN the preceding pages, I have attempted to delineate a sketch of the general character of the Scottish Highlanders, and to assign some of the causes which may have contributed to its formation.

It was a saying of Marshal Turenne, that “Providence for the most part declares in favour of the most numerous battalions.” The success of the British arms has often refuted this observation, and proved that moral force, unyielding fortitude, and regular discipline, frequently make up for inferiority of numbers.

Military character depends both on moral and on physical causes, arising from the various circumstances and situations in which men are placed. Every change in these circumstances tends either to improve or deteriorate that character; and hence we find, that nations which were once distinguished as the bravest in Europe, have sunk into weakness and insignificance, while others have been advancing to power and pre-eminence. The importance of preserving this character is evident. Unless a people be brave, high-spirited, and independent in mind and in principles, they must, in time, yield to their more powerful neighbours. To show how the Highlanders supported their character, both in their native country and when acting abroad, is the principal object which I have now in view.

In forming his military character, the Highlander was not more favoured by nature than by the social system under which he lived. Nursed in poverty, he acquired a hardihood which enabled him to sustain severe privations. As the simplicity of his life gave vigour to his body, so it fortified his mind. Possessing a frame and constitution thus hardened, he was taught to consider courage as the most honourable virtue, cowardice the most disgraceful failing; to venerate and obey his chief, and to devote himself for his native country and clan; and thus prepared to be a soldier, he was ready to follow wherever honour and duty called him. With such principles, and regarding any disgrace he might bring on his clan and district as the most cruel misfortune, the Highland private soldier had a peculiar motive to exertion. The common soldier of many other countries has scarcely any other stimulus to the performance of his duty than the fear of chastisement, or the habit of mechanical obedience to command, produced by the discipline in which he has been trained. With a Highland soldier it is otherwise. When in a national or district corps, he is surrounded by the companions of his youth, and the rivals of his early achievements; he feels the impulse of emulation strengthened by the consciousness that every proof which he displays, either of bravery or cowardice, will find its way to his native home. He thus learns to appreciate the value of a good name; and it is thus, that in a Highland Regiment, consisting of men from the same country, whose kindred and connexions are mutually known, every individual feels that his conduct is the subject of observation, and that, independently of his duty, as a member of a systematic whole, he has to sustain a separate and individual reputation, which will be reflected on his family

and district or glen. Hence he requires no artificial excitements. He acts from motives within himself; his point is fixed, and his aim must terminate either in victory or death. The German soldier considers himself as a part of the military machine and duty marked out in the orders of the day. He moves onward to his destination with a well-trained pace, and with as phlegmatic indifference to the result, as a labourer who works for his daily hire. The courage of the French soldier is supported in the hour of trial, by his high notions of the point of honour; but this display of spirit is not always steady: neither French nor German is confident in himself, if an enemy gain his flank or rear. A Highland soldier faces his enemy, whether in front, rear, or flank; and if he has confidence in his commander, it may be predicted with certainty that he will be victorious, or die on the ground which he maintains. He goes into the field resolved not to disgrace his name. A striking characteristic of the Highlander is, that all his actions seem to flow from sentiment. His endurance of privation and fatigue, his resistance of hostile opposition, his solicitude for the good opinion of his superiors, all originate in this source, whence also proceeds his obedience, which is always most *conspicuous when exhibited under kind treatment*. Hence arises the difference observable between the conduct of one regiment of Highlanders and that of another, and frequently even of the same regiment at different times, and under different management. A Highland regiment, to be orderly and well-disciplined, ought to be commanded by men who are capable of appreciating their character, directing their passions and prejudices, and acquiring their entire confidence and affection. The officer to whom the command

of Highlanders is entrusted, must endeavour to acquire their confidence and good opinion. With this view, he must watch over the propriety of his own conduct.* He must observe the strictest justice and fidelity in his promises to his men, conciliate them by an attention to their dispositions and prejudices, and, at the same time, by preserving a firm and steady authority, without which he will not be respected.

Officers who are accustomed to command Highland soldiers, find it easy to guide and control them when their full confidence has been obtained; but when distrust prevails, severity ensues, with a consequent neglect of duty, and, by a continuance of this unhappy misunderstanding, the men become stubborn, disobedient, and, in the end, mutinous.† The spirit of a Highland soldier revolts at any unnecessary severity; though he may be led to the mouth of a cannon if properly directed, and will rather die than be unfaithful to his trust. But if, instead of leading, his officers attempt to drive him, he may fail in the discharge of the most common duties. A learned and ingenious author, who, though himself a

* In some instances, when the misconduct of officers, particularly in the field, was not publicly censured, the soldiers who served under them made regular representations that they could not and would not remain longer under their command, and that, if they were not relieved from the disgrace of being so commanded, they would lay their complaints before the highest authority. In like manner, when any of the soldiers showed a backwardness in facing an enemy, their comrades brought them forward, calling for punishment on the poltroons, who were a disgrace to their country, their name, and their kindred. With such checks to disgraceful, and such incitements to an honourable line of conduct, the best results might be anticipated, as indeed experience has proved.

† See Appendix, GG.

Lowlander, had ample opportunity, while serving in many campaigns with Highland regiments, of becoming intimately acquainted with their character, thus develops their conduct in the field: "The character of ardour belongs to the Highlander; he acts from an internal sentiment, and possesses a pride of honour, which does not permit him to retire from danger with a confession of inferiority. This is a property of his nature, and as it is so, it becomes the business of officers who command Highland troops to estimate the national character correctly, that they may not, through ignorance, misapply their means, and thereby concert their own ruin.

"If ardour be the characteristic of Highlanders, it is evident that they are not calculated for mechanical manœuvres, nor for demonstrations or encounters with a view to diversion; for unless the purpose be previously explained and understood in its full extent, the Highlander darts on the enemy with impetuosity, rushing into close action, where it was only intended to amuse. He does not brook disappointment, sustain a galling distant fire with coolness, or retire from an enterprise with temper. He may be trusted to cover the most dangerous retreat assigned to him as a duty; a retreat in consequence of his own failure is likely to degenerate into a rout. In action, the Highlander requires to see his object fully: he then feels the impression of his duty, and acts animatedly and consistently, more from impression and sentiment than from external impulse of command; for, when an enemy is before the Highlander, the authority of the officer may be said to cease. Different nations have different excellencies or defects in war. Some excel in the use of missile weapons: the power of the Highlander lies in close combat. Close charge was

his ancient mode of attack ; and it is probably from impression, ingrafted in his nature in consequence of the national mode of war, that he still sustains the approaching point of a naked weapon with a steadier eye than any other man in Europe. Some nations turn with fear from the countenance of an enraged enemy: the Highlander rushes towards it with ardour; and if he can grasp his foe, as man with man, his courage is secure."

I shall subjoin one other quotation from the same author. After describing their social meetings, at which the enterprises of war were the frequent and usual themes of conversation, he proceeds:—"The Highlanders, in this manner, looking daily on war, and the enterprise of war, with interest and animation, acquire radical ideas of the military art. Without design, or formal intention, this germ of military education, planted in the first years of life, assumes a fair growth among these northern Scots ; for, as objects of war, and warlike enterprise, command more than other objects the exertions of the thinking faculty, the Highlanders, formed with sound minds, and susceptible of good impressions, discover more natural sagacity than any other class of people in the kingdom, perhaps than any other people in Europe. The Highlanders, in relation with their southern neighbours, were considered as freebooters, barbarians, given to spoil and plunder. In former times, the charge had some appearance of truth ; for the Lowlanders were considered as a hostile or strange people. But though they drove the cattle of a hostile tribe, or ravaged a Lowland district, with which they had no connexion or bond of amity, their conduct in the year 1745 proves that they are neither a ferocious nor a cruel people ; for no troops probably ever traversed a country which might be esteemed hostile with fewer

traces of outrage. They are now better known: their character is conspicuous for honesty and fidelity. They possess the most exalted notions of honour, the warmest friendships, and the highest portion of mental pride, of any people perhaps in Europe. Their ideas are few but their sentiments are strong; their virtues, principles in their nature.”*

** Jackson's Systematic View of the Formation, Discipline, and Economy of European Armies.*



APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A, Page 15.

THE country traditions are filled with anecdotes of the hunting expeditions of the Alpine kings. From these traditional authorities, the names of many remarkable objects in the neighbourhood of their ancient residence, particularly in Glenroy and Glenspean, are derived. Ossian, and the heroes celebrated in song, seem in a manner overlooked in the recollection of the later warriors and Nimrods. Since strangers and men of science have traversed these long-deserted regions, an irreconcilable feud of opinions has arisen between the Geologists and the Highlanders, regarding an uncommon conformation in Glenroy, a glen in Lochaber, remarkable for the height and perpendicularity of its sides, particularly of one of them. On the north side, at a considerable elevation above the stream, which flows along the bottom of the glen, there is a flat, or terrace, about seventy feet broad, having the appearance of a road formed on the side of the mountain, and running along, on a perfect level, to the extremity of the glen. Five hundred feet above this, there is another of these terraces, and still higher a third, all parallel, and of similar form. In English they are called Parallel Roads: the inhabitants know them by the name of the King's Hunting Roads. Geologists say that the glen was once full of water, up to the level of the highest parallel, which must have been formed by the action of the waters of this lake on the side of the hill. By some violence, however, an opening was made in the lower end of the glen that confined the water, in consequence of which it

immediately fell as low as the second parallel, and formed it in the same manner as the first. Another opening of the same kind brought down the surface of the water to the third parallel, when, at length, that which confined the water giving way entirely, it subsided to the bottom of the glen, where it now runs, in a rapid stream, without obstruction. To this opinion the Highlanders object, that it is not probable that water, after the first declension, would remain so perfectly stationary as to form a second parallel of the same dimensions as the first, or that the second declension would be so regular in time, and the water so equal in its action, as to form a third terrace in every respect perfectly similar to the two others; that the glen is too narrow to allow the waves to act with sufficient force to form these broad levels; that, in the centre of the glen, which is narrow, the levels are the broadest and most perfect, whereas, on the upper end, which opens to a wide extent, allowing a large space for the wind and waves to act with superior force, the levels are contracted and less perfect; that on one side of the glen these terraces are broad, and of perfectly regular formation, while, on the other, they are narrow, and not so well formed; and that, unless the wind blew always from the same quarter, waves would not roll with more force to one side of a piece of water than to another. In Glenspean, which is in the immediate neighbourhood, and in which similar appearances present themselves, the hills recede several miles from each other, leaving a wide expanse, on the sides of which, if the valley or strath had been filled with water, the waves would have acted with considerable force, and yet these roads, or terraces, are by no means so distinctly formed, and continuous, as in Glenroy. The Highlanders also urge the impossibility of water having ever been confined in Glenspean, without an improbable convulsion of nature, the lower end being of great width, and open to the ocean. After stating these reasons, they triumphantly conclude by a query, Why do not other glens and straths in the Highlands exhibit natural appearances similar to those in the vicinity of the ancient resid-

ence of the Alpine kings? Their own account, which they believe as firmly as they do their creed, is, that these roads were made for the hunting of the kings when at Inverlochay; that they were palisadoed on each side; and that the game was driven through, affording the Royal Hunters time to destroy numbers before they could get to the end. As a confirmation of this account, they quote the names of the circumjacent places, which all bear an analogy to these huntings.

To these opinions, so opposite and difficult to reconcile, it is probable that each party will adhere.

B, Page 17.

Tradition states, that, in honour of this ancient alliance, and in compliment to the Lilies of France, one of the succeeding Kings of Scotland surmounted the lion on his arms with the double tressure, which has, ever since, continued to be the arms of Scotland. In consequence of a requisition from Charles VII. of France, founded, as it is said, on this treaty, the Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, in the year 1419, sent his son, John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, with 7000 men, to assist him in his wars against the English. The Earl of Buchan, as a reward for the eminent service rendered by his army, was made Constable of France, which is the only instance of a foreigner receiving this distinction.

The late Lord Hailes was so remarkable for his accuracy and precision, that, on one occasion, it is said, he proposed to reject a law-paper, because the word *justice* was improperly spelt, the last letter having been omitted. The severity of criticism he carried through all his labours. In his remarks on the History of Scotland, he doubts the reality of this alliance, because it has been variously related by authors, and particularly by Hector Boece, a Scotch historian (of a character very different from that of the accurate, honourable, and learned judge,) who indulges himself in detailing many improbable and fabulous events. Though doubts may reasonably be entertained

concerning the authenticity of this alliance, it is evident that our ancient historians and chroniclers, when they thought it probable that such a treaty had really existed, must have believed that the Alpine kings had numerous and warlike subjects; and hence we may conjecture, that the country was able to support a numerous population, which has been denied by modern economists. With regard to the credit due to traditions, it may be observed, that, in the absence of written documents, they may be so unvarying in their tenor, and so confirmed by collateral circumstances, as to be entitled to a considerable degree of importance. Traditions, thus preserved and confirmed, are certainly preferable to the mere conjectures and hypothesis of modern authors, which are not so much founded on any authentic documents, as on the absence of them, and which often vary with the peculiar opinions and preconceived notions of each individual speculatist. The want of written proof may, in many cases, be a good legal objection; but are we warranted, merely from the absence of proof to the contrary, in refusing all credit to what has, for ages, been handed down as the firm belief of our ancestors? These observations I have thought it necessary to offer, as I shall have occasion to refer to many traditions, for which I have neither written nor printed proofs, but which I have every reason to believe are founded on facts, although there may be some little difference in the relation,—not more, perhaps, than we have met with in the accounts given of the same work by the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews.

There is hardly any point of history, far less tradition, in which all men are agreed. Recent as the events are, we have contradictory accounts of the Peninsular campaigns, and of the battle of Waterloo. When, therefore, we every day hear discordant reports and versions of events that occurred within our own memory, can it be matter of surprise that the affairs of remote ages should be variously related, and can it furnish good grounds for rejecting the whole as fabulous? Many parts of our own national history, which we receive with implicit credence,

will not perhaps bear that strictness of criticism which calls for present and written proofs. In the same manner, therefore, as I believe that there was a great and overwhelming victory gained at Waterloo, notwithstanding the discrepancy of minute details, so I am likewise willing to give credit to many parts of our traditional story, when these are not opposed to the principles of reason and well-authenticated facts.

Whatever may be thought of the treaty with Charlemagne, the connexion between France and Scotland must be allowed to be of high antiquity, since it is noticed as the "Ancient League," as far back as the reigns of Baliol, Bruce, and Robert, the first of the Stewarts, upwards of five hundred years ago. Now, as it is not disputed that an amicable communication subsisted thus early, those who disbelieve the alliance between Charlemagne and Achaius ought to fix the period of the commencement of that friendly intercourse, which continued uninterrupted till the kings of Scotland removed to England, and united the rival kingdoms under one Crown. It should also be stated how far back the League must have extended, to have entitled it to the term of "Ancient" bestowed on it in the days of John Baliol, who was declared King of Scotland in the year 1292.

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The Memorial begins with Argyleshire, "the country of the Campbells."

"*Campbells*.—In Gaelic they are called Clan Guin, or O Duine. The Duke of Argyle is their Chief. He is called in the Highlands MacCailean Mor. On his own property, and on his kinsmen's lands, he can raise above 3000 men; the Earl of Breadalbane, more than 1000; and the Barons of the names of Campbell, Ardkinglass, Auchinbreck, Lochnell, Inveraw, and others, 1000; so that this clan could bring into the field above 5000 men, besides those barons and gentlemen of the name in Dumbarton, Stirling, and Perthshire, and the Laird of Calder

in Nairn. They are at present the richest and most numerous clan in Scotland; their countries and bounds most extensive; their superiorities, jurisdictions, and other dependencies, by far the greatest in the kingdom, which makes the family of the greatest importance in North Britain, and has been so since the decline of the Douglasses, the total fall of the Cummins, the extinction of the Earl of Ross's family, and of the Macdonalds of the Isles.

“Maclean.—In Gaelic called Clan Lein. Sir Hector Maclean of Dowart is their Chief. He is called in the Highlands Mac-il-Lein. This was a very potent clan 200 years ago, and could have raised 800 men; but now that the Campbells are possessed of their Chief's estate, they will hardly make 500, and even many of that number must be brought out of the Duke of Argyle's estate.

“Maclachlan.—In Gaelic called Clan Lachlin. The Laird of Maclachlan is their Chief. He can raise 300 men.

Stewart of Appin.—The Laird of Appin is their Chieftain. He holds his lands of the Crown, and can raise 300 followers.

“Macdougall of Lorn.—In Gaelic called Clanvickuil. Their Chief is the Laird of Macdougall. He is called in the Highlands Mackuil Laurin. This was a more potent family of old, but is now much diminished by the Campbells; they can still (I believe) bring out 200 men.

“Macdonalds of Sleat.—Proceeding northward by the coast and Isles, we come to the Macdonalds. Sir Alexander Macdonald is their Chieftain. In Gaelic he is called Mac Connel nan Eilean, simply by way of pre-eminence; he has a very large estate which he holds of the Crown. It lies in the isles of Skye and Uist. He can bring out 700 men.

“Macdonald of Clanranald.—In Gaelic this Chieftain is called Mack vic Allian, and in English Captain of Clanranald. He has a very handsome estate, holding most of it from the Crown. It lies in Moidart and Arisaig on the Continent, and in the Isles of Uist, Benbecula, and Rum. He can bring out 700 men.

“*Macdonell of Glengarry*.—The Laird of Glengarry is their Chieftain. In Gaelic he is called Mac-vic-Alistair. He has a good estate, which he holds of the Crown. It lies in Glengarry and Knoidart. He can bring out 500 men.

“*Macdonell of Keppoch*.—Keppoch is their Chieftain. In Gaelic he is called Mac-vic-Raonuil. He is not proprietor of one ridge of land, but himself, kindred, and followers, are only tacksman and tenants, holding the most of their possessions from the Laird of Mackintosh, and the rest from the Duke of Gordon, all being in Lochaber. He can raise and bring out 300 followers.

“*Macdonald of Glenco*.—The Laird of Glenco is their Chieftain: In Gaelic he is called Mac-vic-Ian. He holds his lands of Stewart of Appin, and can raise 150 men.

“These five Chieftains of the Macdonalds all claim a lineal descent from Alexander Macdonald Earl of Ross, successor and representative of the Macdonalds of the Isles; but none of them have any clear document to vouch the same, so that that great and aspiring family, who waged frequent wars with our Scotch Kings, and who acted as sovereigns themselves, and obliged most of the clans to swear fealty to them, is now utterly extinct. The last Earl of Ross had no sons, nor any near male relation to succeed him.

“*Cameron*.—A very potent clan in Lochaber. The Laird of Lochiel, called in the Gaelic Maconnel Dui, is their Chief. He has a good estate, but none of it holds of the Crown; the most of it holds of the Duke of Argyle, and the rest of the Duke of Gordon. He can bring out 800 men. Of old there were several tribes in that country, viz., Macmartin of Letterfinlay, and others, branches of the Camerons, who faithfully followed their chief.

“*Macleods*—Were two distinct and very potent families of old, viz., Macleod of Lewis, and Macleod of Harris, but they are both utterly extinct, and their lands possessed by the Mackenzies. The present Laird of Macleod is Chief of the name. He is called in Gaelic, Macleoid. He has a very considerable estate, all holden of the Crown,

lying in Glenelg, on the Continent, and in the Isle of Skye. He can bring out 700 men.

“*Mackinnons*.—The Laird of Mackinnon is their Chief; he holds his lands of the Crown, both in the Isles of Skye and Mull, and can raise 200 men.

“I again pass to the south to give an account of the inland Chiefs, beginning again in Argyleshire, and proceeding from thence northward. There are several persons of rank, as well as gentlemen, who are chieftains, and who have the command of many Highlanders in Argyle, Monteith, Dumbarton, Stirling, and Perth shires; such as the Duke of Montrose, the Earls of Moray and Bute, also the Macfarlanes, Macneil of Barra, Macnab of Macnab, Buchanans and Colquhouns of Luss, Macnaughtons, Lamont of Lamont, etc. They can raise among them 5400 men. Besides these there are several border families, those of Kilravock, Brodie of Brodie, Innes of Innes, Irvine of Drum, Lord Forbes, and the Earl of Airley, all of whom are loyal, except the Ogilvies. Few or none of them have any followers, except Lord Airley, from his Highland estate.

“*Duke of Perth*—Is no clan family, although the Duke is Chief of a considerable number of barons and gentlemen of the name of Drummond in the Low country. He is brought in here allennarly on account of his command of about 300 Highlanders in Glenartnie and other glens in the County of Perth.

“*Robertsons*.—The Laird of Strowan is their Chief. They are called in Gaelic, Clan Donachie. His lands hold of the Crown, and lie in Rannoch, and in the Braes of Athole in Perthshire. On his own estate he can raise about 200 men. There are 500 men more of the Robertsons in Athole who never follow their chief, being part of the followers of the Duke of Athole.

“*Menzies*.—Sir Robert Menzies of Weem is the Chief. In Gaelic he is called Menairich. He has a very handsome estate, all holding of the Crown, lying in Rannoch, and Appin Dull in Athole, and can raise 300 men.

“*Stewart of Grandtully*.—Has a handsome estate in

Strathbrane and Strathtay in Athole, all holding of the Crown, out of which he can raise 300 followers.

“*Clan Gregor*.—This name was called down by Act of Parliament. They are now dispersed under the different names of Drummond, Murray, Graham, and Campbell, and live in the counties of Perth, Stirling, Dumbarton, etc., etc. They have no present Chief, that being elective, and continuing no longer than the current expedition. He is chosen on the principle of *detur digniori*. They can raise among them 700 men.

“*Duke of Atholl*.—The Murrays is no clan family, though the Duke of Atholl is Chief, and head of a number of barons and gentlemen of the name of Murray in the Lowlands; but he is deservedly placed here on account of his extensive following of about 3000 Highlanders, a good many of them out of his own property, but most of them from the estates of the barons and gentlemen who hold their land of him on account of his great superiorities in Athole, Glenalmond, and Balquidder. The most numerous of these, and the readiest to turn out on all occasions, are the Stewarts of Athole, in number more than 1000 men, as also 500 Robertsons, who do not follow their chief; likewise the Fergussons, Smalls, Spaldings, Rattrays, Mackintoshes in Athole, and Maclarens in Balquidder, with other broken names in Athole, are all followers of the Duke of Atholl.

“Crossing the Grampian mountains to Braemar.

“*Farquharsons*.—The only clan family in Aberdeenshire. In Gaelic called Clan Ianla. They can bring out about 500 men. The Laird of Invercauld is their Chief. He has a very handsome estate holden of the Crown, both in Perthshire and Braemar. There are several other barons of the same name that have competent fortunes, such as Monaltrie, Inverey, Finzean, etc.

“*Duke of Gordon*.—The Gordons is no clan family, although the Duke is Chief of a very powerful name in the Lowlands. He has a great posse of cavalry and gentlemen on horseback in Enzie and Strathbogie, but he is only placed here on account of his Highland followings

in Strathavon and Glenlivet, which are about 300 men ; his extensive jurisdictions and superiorities in the centre Highlands, viz., Badenoch, Lochaber, and Strathspey, do not yield him any followers. The tenants on his own property, as well as those who hold their lands of him in feu, follow their natural-born Chief, of whom they are descended, and pay no regard either to the master or superior of their lands. Thus the Camerons follow Lochiel, the Macphersons follow Cluny, and other chiefs followed and obeyed in the same manner from respect, family attachment, and consanguinity.

“ *Grant*.—A considerable name and family in Strathspey. The Laird of Grant is their Chief. He has a handsome and large estate both in Strathspey and Urquhart, in the County of Inverness, all holden of the Crown, except Abernethy, which he holds of the Earl of Moray. He can raise out of Strathspey 700 men, and out of Urquhart 150. He has several barons of his name both in Inverness, Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen shires, such as Dalvey, Ballindalloch, Rothiemurchus, Cullen, etc.

“ *Mackintoshes*.—This was one of the most potent clans in Scotland when their residence was at Tor Castle in Lochaber, the ancient seat of their family (of which country they are still heritable stewards), but the Camerons having purchased the said estate, their power is much diminished. The Laird of Mackintosh is their Chief ; in Gaelic he is called Mackintoshach, and in English Captain of Clan Chattan. He can bring out 800 men, including the small neighbouring clans of Macgillivray, Macqueen, Macbean, etc., who all own themselves his kinsmen. His countries are Brae Lochaber, Badenoch, and Strathnairn, in Inverness-shire. He still retains a very competent estate. He holds Brae Lochaber, Moy, and Largs, of the Crown, Badenoch of the Duke of Gordon, and most of his kinsmen hold Strathnairn of the Earl of Moray.

“ *Macphersons*.—Called in Gaelic Clan Vurrich. Their Chief is the Laird of Cluny. He can raise 400 men.

His whole lands, and all his kinsmen's lands, hold of the Duke of Gordon, and lie in Badenoch.

"*Frasers*—Are a considerable clan in the countries of Aird and Stratherrick, in Inverness-shire. Their Chief is Lord Lovat: in Gaelic he is called Macimmie. He has a large estate held of the Crown, and can raise 900 men. He has a good number of barons of his name in Inverness and Aberdeen shires.

"*Grant of Glenmoriston*—Is Chieftain of a branch of the Grants, but does not follow his Chief. He brings out 150 men. In Gaelic he is called Macphadrack. His lands hold of the Crown. In armaments he frequently joins with the Laird of Glengarry.

"*Chisholms*.—Their Chief is Chisholm of Strathglass, in Gaelic called Chisallich. His lands are held of the Crown, and he can bring out 200 men.

"*Mackenzies*.—One of the most considerable clans of one name next to the Campbells in the nation. The Earl of Seaforth is their Chief. In Gaelic he is called Mac Coinnich. Out of his countries of Kintail, Lochbroom, Lochcarron, on the Continent, and in the Isles of Lewis, all in Ross-shire, he can raise 1000 men. The Earl of Cromartie, with the Lairds of Gairloch, Scatwell, Killcowie, Redcastle, Comric, etc., etc., can raise among them 1500 men more.

"*Monroes*.—Sir Henry Monro of Fowlis is their Chief. His lands hold of the Crown. He can raise 300 men.

"*Rosses*.—Lord Ross is their Chief. His lands hold of the Crown, and he can raise 500 men.

"*Sutherlands*.—The Earl of Sutherland is their Chief. In Gaelic he is called Morar Chatto. He can raise 2000 men.

"*Mackays*.—The Lord Reay is their Chief. He is called in Gaelic, Macaoi. His estate holds of the Crown, and brings out 800 men.

"*Sinclairs*.—The Earl of Caithness is their Chief. He is called in Gaelic, Morar Gallu. He could raise 1000 men, but many of his followers are now under May, Dunbeath, Ulbster, Freswick, etc., etc.

D, Page 39.

Of the expedients generally adopted by the Chiefs for summoning their friends and followers, it may not be unacceptable to afford the reader some idea. The warlike disposition of the Celtic clans, their jealousy of wrongs, the numerous concurrent causes of irritation and quarrel, and the nature of the country, over a large extent of which they lived scattered and distant from one another, rendered some signal necessary to give the alarm, and assemble the warriors. The principal signal was the Cross Tarie, or Fiery Cross, a piece of wood burnt or burning at one end, with a piece of linen or white cloth stained with blood hanging from the other. This symbol served two purposes. It was sent round the country to call the men to arms, and it was meant also to show what were the intentions of the enemy (that is, to burn and desolate the country), and what would be their own fate if they did not defend their honour, their lives, and their properties. The cross was sent round the country from hand to hand, each person who bore it running at full speed, shouting as he went along the war-cry of the tribe, and naming the place of rendezvous. At each hamlet a fresh man took it up, so that an alarm was given, and the people assembled with a celerity almost incredible. One of the latest instances of the Fiery Cross being used happened in 1745, when, by the orders of Lord Breadalbane, it was sent round Loch-Tay (a distance of thirty-two miles in three hours), to raise the people, and prevent their joining the rebels,—but with less effect than in 1715, when it went the same round, and when five hundred men assembled the same evening under the command of the Laird of Glenlyon, acting under the orders of the Earl of Breadalbane, to join the Earl of Mar.

The war-cry served as a watchword to individuals in the confusion of the combat, in the darkness of the night, or on any sudden alarm, when assistance was necessary. Each tribe had its own war-cry (or *slogan*, as it is called

in Scotch), to which every clansman answered. The war-cry of the Grants was *Craig Eilachie*, from a large rock in the centre of the country of the Grants; that of the Mackenzie, *Tulloch-ard*; of the Macdonalds, *Craig-na-fioch*; of the Macphersons, *Craig-dui*; of the Macgregor, *Ard-Choile*; of the Macfarlanes, *Loch Sloy*; of the Buchanans, *Clairinish*; and of the Farquharsons, *Carna-cuin*. Some families in the border Lowlands employed their names as *slogans* and watchwords. In the case of the Gordons, whenever assistance was necessary, the cry of "A Gordon! a Gordon!" was sure to be effectual. The cry of "A Forbes! a Forbes!" was equally availing with regard to the Forbeses; and as these two war-like families were at feud for more than 200 years, they had frequent occasion for their respective slogans, in their countless strifes and rencounters. Besides these cries, they had other marks by which it could be known to what clan, tribe, or district, individuals belonged. One of these was the particular disposition or set of the different colours of the tartan, in the plaid, kilt, hose, and trews. Another mark of distinction was a tuft of heath, pine, or such plant, stuck in the bonnet, as would not fade or cast the leaf. Thus the Macdonalds wore in their bonnets tufts of heath; the Macgregors and Grants a bunch of pine; the Drummonds and Mackenzie wore the holly, the former the plain, and the latter the variegated;* the Mackintoshes the boxwood, and so on; always taking care, whatever the badge or mark was, that it should be

* The Mackenzies occasionally assumed the deer's grass, in allusion to the armorial bearings of the chief, viz., deer's head and horns. In connexion with these bearings, and with the origin of the clan, is an anecdote which will be found in the account of the Seaforth Regiments. This distribution of the distinguishing badges must have been well understood, otherwise interferences would occur, as our evergreen trees and shrubs are not numerous. The Macgregors and Grants carried the same badge, as being of the same descent. Clans inhabiting countries distant from each other, had sometimes badges somewhat similar, although sufficiently marked to distinguish them, as in the instance of the plain and variegated holly of the Drummonds and Mackenzies.

permanent, and not affected by the change of the season, and thus be equally conspicuous in winter as in summer. This was the practice of all except the Stewarts, who generally wore the oak ; which, from losing the leaf and decaying, many regarded as ominous of the decline of the family and name, who also considered the oak emblematical, as the leaves, though withered and decayed, still hang by the branches till forced off by the new leaves in spring.

E, Page 40.

Of such feuds, many instances might be adduced. I shall select only one, which may serve to exemplify the apparently trival causes from which they sometime arose, in periods when men could not resort to the laws for protection, and the deadly and often fatal animosity with which they were maintained. After the middle of the fifteenth century, a quarrel occurred between Stewart of Garth and a clan named Macivor, who then possessed the greater part of Glenlyon. The Laird of Garth had been nursed by a woman of the clan Macdiarmid, which was then, and is still, pretty numerous in Glenlyon and Breadalbane. This woman had two sons, one of whom, foster-brother to the laird, having been much injured by Macivor in a dispute, threatened to apply for redress to his foster-brother. Accordingly, the two brothers set out for that purpose to the Castle of Garth, twelve or fourteen miles distant. In those days, a foster-brother was regarded as one of the family ; and Macivor, well aware that the quarrel of the Macdiarmids would be espoused by his neighbour, ordered a pursuit. The young men being hard pressed, threw themselves into a deep pool of the River Lyon, where they hoped that their pursuers would not venture to follow them. The foster-brother was, however, desperately wounded with an arrow, and drowned in the pool, which still retains the name of Linne Donnel, or Donald's Pool. The other succeeded in reaching Garth. Resolved to avenge his friend's death,

the laird collected his followers, and marched to Glenlyon. Macivor mustered his men, and met the invaders about the middle of the glen. The chieftains stepped forward between the two bands, in the hope of settling the affair amicably. Garth wore a plaid the one side of which was red, and the other dark-coloured tartan, and, on proceeding to the conference, he told his men, that, if the result was amicable, the darker side of the plaid should remain outward as it was; if otherwise, he would give the signal of attack by turning out the red side. They were still engaged in the conference, when Macivor whistled loud, and a number of armed men started up from the adjoining rocks and bushes, where they had been concealed, while the main body were drawn up in front. "Who are these," said Stewart, "and for what purpose are they there?" "They are only a herd of my roes that are frisking about the rocks," replied Macivor. "In that case," said the other, "it is time for me to call my hounds." Then turning his plaid he rejoined his men, who were watching his motions, and instantly advanced. Both parties rushed forward to the combat; the Macivors gave way, and were pursued eight miles farther up the glen. Here they turned to make a last effort, but were again driven back with great loss. The survivors fled across the mountains to another part of the country, and were for some time not permitted to return. Macivor's land was, in the mean time, seized by the victors, and law confirmed what the sword had won.*

The names of the river and glen still continue memorials of this sanguinary fray. Dhui and Glen Dhui were their former names. When the Stewarts were returning from the last pursuit, they washed their swords in the river, which was discoloured a considerable way down on

* Charters under the Great Seal were passed by James III., dated at Edinburgh, 24th January 1477, and addressed "To John Stewart of Garth and Fothergill, and Neil Stewart, his son and heir, of the lands of Fothergill (now Fortingal), Apnadull, Temper, and others in Rannoch; Glenquaich, Wester Strathbrane, and *Glenlioun*, in the County of Perth."—*Records, General Register House.*

one side by the blood. "This stream," exclaimed the chieftain, "shall no longer be called Dhui, but Leiven (leiven is to wipe or lave), and the glen shall be called Glenleiven." Before the combat commenced, Stewart's men pulled off a kind of sandals, bound round the ancles with thongs, and called in Gaelic *cuaran*. These they laid aside, close to a small rock, which to this day is called *Lech-na-cuaran*, the stone or slab of the sandals. The spot where they drew their swords is called *Ruskich*, to uncover or unsheath; the field where the rencounter commenced *Laggan-na-cath*, the field of battle, and the spot where the last stand was made, *Camus-na-carn*, from the cairns or mounds of stones which cover the graves, and which, from their quantity, show the considerable number slain, which, tradition says, amounted to 140 on the part of the Macivors.

In 1816, a sword and battle-axe, now in my possession, were dug up at Laggan-na-cath. The first is in the form of a small sword, and remarkable for its elegance and proportions, being equal to any model of the present day. The blade is long, but, as may be supposed, much destroyed by rust. The axe, more decayed than the sword, is the same as was anciently used by the Highlanders when they closed in the fight. The sword is so far curious, as it shows that the Highlanders of that age had small swords.

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The following are the instances given by Martin: "Captain Jackson of Whitehaven, about sixteen years ago, was obliged to leave his ship, being leaky, in the bay within Island Glass, *alias* Scalpa, in the Isle of Harris, with two men only to take care of her, though loaded with goods. The ship was not within three miles of a house, and separated from the dwelling-houses by mountains. Yet when the captain returned, twelve months afterwards, he found the vessel and his men quite safe. Captain Lotch lost the Dromedary of London, of 600

tons burthen, with all her rich cargo from the Indies, of which he might have saved a great deal, had he embraced the assistance the natives offered him. The captain and his men were kindly entertained in the Isle of Skye, by Sir Norman Macleod; and though, among other valuable goods, they had six boxes of gold dust, there was not the least thing taken from them by the inhabitants.”*

The protection afforded to the lives and property of their fellow-creatures in the calamity of shipwreck, is honourable to a people among whom the restraints of political institutions were few and feeble. To persons who understand the character of the Highlanders, it would be unnecessary to state facts, to prove how generally feelings of humanity, charity, and probity prevail; but it is by relating a succession of characteristic traits and circumstances of different ages and periods, connected with, and illustrating each other, that prejudices, long entertained, can be subdued, and that a proposition, however true in itself, which militates against general opinion, can be fully established. To deny the truth of a general statement, to which, in all cases, exception may be made, is a matter of no difficulty; by it is not so easy to resist a coincident and connected view of the manners and habits of successive generations. I do not mean to apply those observations to the statements which follow, but to the general scope of the whole, as I have had occasion to state facts in opposition to the opinion of many, with regard to the character and dispositions of the Highlanders, as well as with regard to their intelligence and religious and moral principles.

Without referring to Roman authors, Ossian's Poems, or the traditional history of the ancient Caledonians, for the firmness and spirit of independence with which they maintained their freedom from a foreign yoke; I shall only notice a few extracts from authors, whose works were printed soon after they were composed. Amongst the earliest of these is Hollingshed, who wrote previous

* *Martin's Description of the Western Isles.* London, printed 1703.

to 1560, and who thus speaks of the Highlanders: "Hereby, in like sort, it cometh to pass, that they are more hard of constitution and bodie, to beare off the cold blasts, to watch better, and abstaine longer; whereinto also it appeareth, that they are *kind, bold, nimble,* and thereto more skillfull in the warres. As for their faith and promise, *they hold it with great constancie.*" The author of "Certayne Matters Concerning Scotland," printed in 1597, describes the Highlanders of his day in the following manner: "Their drink is the broth of sodden flesh *; they love very well the drinks made of whey and certayne yerbs, drinking the same at feasts; but the most part of *them only drink water*; their custom is to make their bread of oats and barley, which are the only kinds of grain that grow in those parts; experience with tyme hath taught them to make it of such sort that it is not unpleasant to eat; they take a little of it in the morning, and passing to the hunting or any other busynis, content themselves without any other kind of meat till even." The following extract is from an author of great learning and research, who wrote upwards of a century after the preceding: "But what contributes above all things to their health and longevity, *is constant temperance.* They rather satisfy than oppress nature. Their meals are two a-day, water being their ordinary drink; they are strangers to many of the distempers, as they are to most of the vices, of other nations, for some of which they have not so much as a name. They owe everything to nature. They cure all disorders of the body by simples of their own growth, and by proper diet or labour. Hence, they are stout and active, dexterous in all their exercises, as they are withal remarkably sagacious, choleric, but easily appeased, *sociable, good natured, ever cheerful,* and having a strong *inclination to poetry and music.* They are hospitable beyond expression, entertaining all strangers of what-

* This beef-soup has gone out of fashion, as many cannot now indulge in animal food. It was called *inerich*, and considered so nourishing, that, even in my own time, it was given to delicate persons who required strengthening food.

ever condition gratis. They have no lawyers or attorneys. The men and women plead their own causes, and every decision is made by the proprietor, who is perpetual president in their courts; or by his bailiff as his substitute. In a word, they are equally void of the two chief curses of mankind, luxury and ambition. They are not *only rigid observers of justice*, but show less propensity than *any people to tumult*, except what they may be led into by the extraordinary deference they pay to their chiefs and leaders, who are accountable for the mischiefs they sometimes bring on these well-meaning men, by their feuds and quarrels with their neighbours.”†

The next quotation is from a valuable work lately published. The author, although born in the Lowlands, and at a distance from the people he describes, was latterly much among them, and had every opportunity of ascertaining the truth of what he states. “The natives of the Highlands and Isles possess a degree of civilisation, that, by those who had never been amongst them, would hardly be believed. Attention to the great laws of morality, as confirmed and supported by religion, is nowhere more complete; in no part of the world is property more secure. A stranger in these regions, behaving inoffensively, will not only travel in perfect safety, but be kindly received, and welcomed with affectionate hospitality. On these unknown coasts, shipwrecks must sometimes happen; and, in all cases of that nature, the mariners are not only saved, where it possibly can be done, and kindly entertained, but their property is secured and preserved, with a degree of care that reflects the highest honour on the natives. During the winter of 1784-5, a vessel, navigated by Danish seamen, having struck on a rock west of Icolmkill, the men, afraid of sinking, took to their boat, and made for that island, leaving the vessel, with the sails set, to drive with the wind and tide. Some of the natives, seeing the vessel rolling, without being under proper management, put off to the ship, and, finding nobody on board, took

† *Toland's History of the Druids*. London, printed 1709.

possession of her, and carried her into Loch Scridan in Mull. The mariners, seeing their vessel safely moored, went and claimed her, and, without hesitation or dispute, obtained full possession, without any salvage or other charge being made, save a few shillings to the men who brought her in. The ship and cargo were then entrusted to the farmer of the land adjoining the port in which she lay, who, for a very trifling consideration, insured the whole cargo to the owners, and delivered it over to them some months afterwards, complete, and in good order. Another vessel was put ashore about the same time in the Island of Coll, the cargo of which was, in like manner, saved by Mr Maclean, the respectable chief and laird of the island.

“About the same time, two large vessels, belonging to Clyde, went ashore in the Island of Islay; one of them contained on board ten thousand pounds in specie. As these vessels were not under management merely because of the sickness and lassitude of the crew, as often happens from a long voyage, although the weather was not tempestuous, the cargoes were taken out, and placed along the shores in the best way they could. The vessels were then got off, and when the articles of the two cargoes were collected together, there was not one thing missing, save one barrel of tar, which had probably been hove overboard, or lost through carelessness. But the most singular instance of the kind I met with was the following. A vessel from Ireland, laden with linen yarn, was stranded in Islay. The weather happened to become easy, and the cargo was got out; but as it was drenched in salt water, it became necessary to have the whole washed in fresh water. This was done in a river that was near, and the yarn spread about along some extensive fields near the shore. Several hundred persons were employed in this work for several weeks. Yarn is the staple manufacture of the island, so that the temptation for embezzlement was very great, as a discovery in these circumstances would have been extremely difficult. Yet when the whole was collected together, to the utter astonishment of the parties concerned,

only a very few hanks of the yarn, (about five or six to the best of my recollection), value about two or three shillings, were wanting.

“I gladly record these instances of honesty and friendly care of the unfortunate. How different from what I have been witness to on the coast of England and Ireland!”*

In a recent scientific work, the author speaks of the hospitality of the Highlanders, as forming a striking contrast to their exorbitant demands, when payment is expected. These demands (as stated by Dr Macculloch) are much at variance with Mr Fraser’s statement. Both are substantially correct. “This habitual extortion,” says the Doctor, “presents an amusing, but not an inexplicable contrast to the hospitality, which every one who has travelled in this country must also have experienced. The milk is given with the utmost generosity, but if purchased, even from the same individual, ten times the value is required.”† This inconsistency, as the Geologist justly observes, is not inexplicable. Hospitality and kindness to strangers proceed from the natural disposition; the exorbitant demand for that which, under other circumstances, would be presented with cheerfulness, proceeds from the trafficking spirit which has now reached the Highlands, and is gradually superseding all gratuitous kindness and disinterested hospitality. Men who are not in the habit of demanding payment for hospitality or for accidental personal services, know not what to ask. The man who would ask two shillings for a quart of milk, would work a whole day for a shilling, or run ten miles with a letter or message without any payment. A Highland lad will enlist to serve for life, along with a friend, for a trifling or nominal bounty; but if an attempt be made to bargain with the same lad, no sum, perhaps, will tempt him to enlist; or if he do listen to proposals,

* See Letter to the Right Honourable Charles Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons, on the best Means of Improvement of the Coasts and Western Isles of Scotland, and the extension of the White Fisheries, by Robert Fraser, Esq.

† *Dr Macculloch’s Description of the Western Isles.*

he will demand a sum out of all reason. I have seen Highland soldiers spring forward to cover their officers from the shot of the enemy ; I have seen them endeavouring to restrain their officers, and to keep them under cover, while they fully exposed themselves, in the expectation of diverting the attention of the enemy from their commanders ; I have seen the same soldiers disputing a penny in their accounts with the same officers, and, this perhaps, only a few days after this voluntary hazard of their lives to shelter them.

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The most noted of these was the celebrated Robert Macgregor Campbell, or Rob Roy, well known in his own and after times, as the most daring freebooter of his day, and latterly celebrated by the great and faithful delineator of the character and manners of our countrymen, who has recalled to the recollection of the aged, scenes and circumstances which they had almost forgotten,—showed to the young what their forefathers saw in their days,—and taught all to appreciate the blessing of living under the laws which protect their persons and property, and which forbid the injured or the turbulent to redress their grievances by the sword. Much, perhaps too much, has already been said about this man ; but as his actions have formed the subject of one of the most popular works of the age, it may be desirable to state a few particulars explanatory of his birth, character, and conduct, and also of the primary cause of his adopting the lawless course of life which he led for many years. The few notices which follow may be considered as perfectly authentic, being communicated by men who were either sharers in his different exploits, or were perfectly acquainted with the leader and many of his followers.

The father of the present Mr Stewart of Ardvorlich knew Rob Roy intimately, and attended his funeral in 1736, the last at which a piper officiated in the Highlands

of Perthshire.* The late Mr Stewart of Bohallie, Mr Macnab of Inchewan, and several gentlemen of my acquaintance, also knew Rob Roy and his family. Alexander Stewart, one of his followers, afterwards enlisted in the Black Watch. He was wounded at Fontenoy, and discharged with a pension in 1748. Some time after this period, he was engaged by my grandmother, then a widow, as a *grieve* or overseer to direct and take charge of the farm-servants. In this situation he proved a faithful trustworthy servant, and was by my father continued in his situation till his death. He told many anecdotes of Rob Roy and his party, among whom he was distinguished by the name of the Bailie, a title which he ever after retained. It was before him that people were sworn, when it was necessary to bind them to secrecy.

Robert Macgregor Campbell † was a younger son of Donald Macgregor of Glengyle, in Perthshire, by a daughter of Campbell of Glenlyon, sister of the individual who commanded at Glencoe.‡ He was born some time between

* The pipers on these occasions played a solemn dirge, which served the same purpose as bells in towns, organs in churches, and bands of music at military funerals or executions. The difference was only in the instruments used: the principle and effect were the same in all. This ancient custom was revived three years ago at the funeral of a most exemplary, patriarchal, and honourable Chief-tain, the late Sir John Murray Macgregor of Lanrick, Baronet.

† After the name of Macgregor was suppressed by Act of Parliament in 1622, individuals of the clan assumed the names of the chiefs or landlords on whose estates they lived, or adopted the names of such men of rank and power as could afford them protection. Thus, Rob Roy, took the name of his friend and protector the Duke of Argyll, while his son James, putting himself under the protection of the family of Perth, took the name of Drummond. This cruel and degrading Act was repealed in 1775. Now the clan Macgregor may assume and sign their own names to bonds and deeds (formerly no document signed by a Macgregor was legal), but numbers do not avail themselves of this indulgence. Many Macgregors have not assumed their original name.

‡ In a contract of amity and *maurent* between this Donald Macgregor and John Buchanan of Arnprior, he is called Colonel. In this contract, which is dated 24th May 1693, Colonel Macgregor becomes bound for himself, and for all those descended of his family,

1657 and 1660, and married Helen Campbell of the family of Glenfalloch. As cattle was at that period the principal marketable produce of the hills, the younger sons of gentlemen had few other means of procuring an independent subsistence, than by engaging in this sort of traffic. At an early period Rob Roy was one of the most respectable and successful *drovers* in his district. Before the year 1707 he had purchased of the family of Montrose the lands of Craigrostande, on the banks of Lochlomond, and had relieved some heavy debts on his nephew's estate of Glengyle. While in this prosperous state, he continued respected for his honourable dealings both in the Lowlands and Highlands. Previous to the Union no cattle had been permitted to pass the English border. As a boon or encouragement, however, to conciliate the people to that measure, a free intercourse was allowed. The Marquis of Montrose, created Duke the same year, and one of the most zealous partisans of the Union, was the first to take advantage of this privilege, and immediately entered into partnership with Rob Roy, who was to purchase the cattle and drive them to England for sale; the Duke and he advancing an equal sum, (10,000 merks each, a sum which would have purchased 500 head of cattle in those days, when the price of the best ox or cow was seldom twenty shillings), all transactions beyond this amount to be on credit. The purchases having been completed, Macgregor drove them to England; but so many people had entered into a similar speculation, that the market was completely overstocked, and the cattle sold for much less than prime cost. Macgregor returned home, and went to the Duke to settle the account of their partnership, and to pay the money advanced with the deduction of the loss. The Duke, who had taken Macgregor's bond for the money, it is said, would consent to no deduction, but in-

or "Clan Duil Cheire," to support Arnprior in all difficulties and against all aggressors. This "Clan Duil Cheire" have lately been brought to notice, as the "Children of the Mist" of a celebrated and popular work.

sisted on principal and interest. "In that case, my Lord," said Macgregor, "if these be your principles, I shall not make it my principle to pay the interest, nor my interest to pay the principal; so if your Grace do not stand your share of the loss, you shall have no money from me." On this they separated. No settlement of accounts followed, the one insisting on retaining the money unless the other would consent to bear his share of the loss. Nothing decisive was done till the Rebellion of 1715, when Rob Roy "was out," his nephew Glengyle commanding a numerous body of the Macgregors, but under the control of his uncle's superior judgment and experience. On this occasion the Duke of Montrose's share of the cattle speculation was expended. The next year his Grace took legal means to recover his money, and got possession of the lands of Craigrostone on account of his bond. This rendered Macgregor desperate. Determined that his Grace should not enjoy his lands with impunity, he collected a band of about twenty followers, declared open war against him, and gave up his old course of regular droving, declaring that the estate of Montrose should, in future, supply him with cattle, and that he would make the Duke rue the day on which he had quarrelled with him. He kept his word; and for nearly thirty years, that is, till the day of his death, levied regular contributions on the Duke and his tenants, not by nightly depredations and robberies, but in broad day, and in a systematic manner; at an appointed time making a complete sweep of all the cattle of a district; always passing over those not belonging to the Duke's estate, as well as the estates of his friends and adherents: and having previously given notice where he was to be by a certain day with his cattle, he was met there by people from all parts of the country, to whom he sold them publicly. These meetings, or trysts, as they were called, were held in different parts of the country; sometimes the cattle were driven south, but oftener to the north and west, where the influence of his friend the Duke of Argyll protected him.

When the cattle were in this manner driven away, the

tenants paid no rent, so that the Duke was the ultimate sufferer. But he was made to suffer in every way. The rents of the lower or cultivated farms were partly paid in grain and meal, which was generally lodged in a store-house or granary called a *girnal*, near the Loch of Monteith. When Macgregor required a supply of meal, he sent notice to a certain number of the Duke's tenants to meet him at the *girnal*, on a certain day, with their horses to carry home his meal. They met accordingly, when he ordered the horses to be loaded, and, giving a regular receipt to his Grace's storekeeper for the quantity taken, he marched away, always entertaining the people very handsomely, and careful never to take the meal till it had been lodged in the Duke's store-house, in payment of rent. When the money rents were paid, Macgregor frequently attended. On one occasion, when Mr Graham of Killearn (the factor) had collected the tenants to receive their rents, all Rob Roy's men happened to be absent except Alexander Stewart, "the Bailie," whom I have already mentioned. With this single attendant, he descended to Chapellairoch, where the factor and the tenants were assembled. He reached the house after it was dark, and, looking in at a window, saw Killearn, surrounded by a number of the tenants, with a bag full of money, which he had received, and was in the act of depositing in a press or cupboard; at the same time saying, that he would cheerfully give all in the bag for Rob Roy's head. This notification was not lost on the outside visitor, who instantly gave orders in a loud voice to place two men at each window, two at each corner, and four at each of two doors, thus appearing to have twenty men. Immediately the door opened, and he walked in with his attendant close behind, each armed with a sword in his right and a pistol in his left hand, and with dirks and pistols slung in their belts. The company started up, but he requested them to sit down, as his business was only with Killearn, whom he ordered to hand down the bag and put it on the table. When this was done, he desired the money to be counted and proper receipts to be drawn out, certifying

that he had received the money from the Duke of Montrose's agent, as the Duke's property, the tenants having paid their rents, so that no after demand could be made against them, on account of this transaction ; and finding that some of the people had not obtained receipts, he desired the factor to grant them immediately, "to show his Grace," said he, "that it is from him I take the money, and not from these honest men who have paid him." After the whole was concluded, he ordered supper, saying, that as he had got the purse, it was proper he should pay the bill ; and after they had drank heartily together for several hours, he called his bailie to produce his dirk and lay it naked on the table. Killlearn was then sworn that he would not move from that spot for an hour after the departure of Macgregor, who thus cautioned him : "If you break your oath, you know what you are to expect in the next world and in this," pointing to his dirk. He then walked away, and was beyond pursuit before the hour expired.

At another collection of rents by the same gentleman, Macgregor made his appearance, and carried him away with his servants, to a small island in Loch-Katrine ; and having kept him there for several days, entertaining him in the best manner, as a Duke's representative ought to be, he dismissed him, with the usual receipts and compliments to his Grace. In this manner did this extraordinary man live, in open violation and defiance of the laws, and died peaceably in his bed when nearly eighty years of age. His funeral was attended by all the country round, high and low, the Duke of Montrose and his immediate friends only excepted. How such things could happen at so late a period must appear incredible ; and this, too, within thirty miles of the garrisons of Stirling and Dumbarton, and the populous city of Glasgow ; and, indeed, with a small garrison stationed at Inversnaid, in the heart of the country, and on the estate which had belonged to Macgregor, for the express purpose of checking his depredations. The truth is, the thing could not have happened, had it not been for the peculiarity of the

man's character ; for, with all his lawless spoliations and unremitting acts of vengeance and robbery against the Montrose family, he had not an enemy in the country, beyond the sphere of their influence. He never hurt or meddled with the property of a poor man, and, as I have stated, was always careful that his great enemy should be the principal, if not the only sufferer. Had it been otherwise, it was quite impossible that, notwithstanding all his enterprise, address, intrepidity, and vigilance, he could have long escaped in a populous country, with a warlike people well qualified to execute any daring exploit, such as the seizure of this man, had they been his enemies, and willing to undertake it. Instead of which, he lived socially among them, that is, as socially as an outlaw, always under a certain degree of alarm, could do,—giving the education of gentlemen to his sons,* frequenting the most populous towns, and whether in Edinburgh, Perth, or Glasgow, equally safe ; at the same time that he displayed great and masterly address in avoiding, or calling for public notice.

* One of his sons, who died not many years ago, was very young at his father's death, and did not receive so good an education as his brothers. Another son, James Drummond Macgregor, was implicated with his brother Robert in carrying off by force a rich widow, whom he afterwards married. For this crime they were tried and condemned. Robert was executed in 1753. His execution is thus noticed in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 7th February 1752: "Yesterday Robert Macgregor Campbell, alias Rob Roy Ogg, was executed in the Grass Market, for the forcibly carrying away of the deceased Mrs Jean Keay, heiress of Edenbelly ; he was genteely dressed, and read on a volume of Gother's Works from the prison to the place of execution." James escaped from prison, and fled to France, where he lived in great poverty ; but, being a man of considerable talent and address, he was offered a sum of money for communicating intelligence—in short, to be employed as a spy for the French Government. An idea of his education, and of his principles, may be formed from some letters published in "Blackwood's Magazine" in 1818, and from his rejection of an employment which he considered dishonourable in itself, and detrimental to the good of his country, although banished from it, and having little prospect of being ever permitted to return. He died in France in great poverty, being chiefly supported by some benevolent countrymen.

These instances of his address struck terror into the minds of the troops, whom he often defeated and out-generalled. One of these instances occurred in Breadalbane, in the case of an officer and forty chosen men sent out after him. The party crossed through Glenfalloch to Tyndrum, and Macgregor, who had correct information of all their movements, was with a party in the immediate neighbourhood. He put himself in the disguise of a beggar, with a bag of meal hung on his back (in those days, alms were always bestowed in produce), went to the inn at Tyndrum where the party were quartered, walked into the kitchen with great seeming indifference, and sat down among the soldiers. They soon found the beggar a lively, sarcastic fellow, and began to attempt some practical jokes upon him. He pretended to be very angry, and threatened to inform Rob Roy, who would quickly show them they were not to give, with impunity, such usage to a poor and harmless person. He was immediately asked what he knew of Rob Roy, and if he could tell where he was. On his answering that he knew him well, and where he was, the sergeant informed the officer, who immediately sent for him.

After some conversation, the beggar consented to accompany them to Crianlarich, a few miles distant, where he said Rob Roy and his men were, and that he believed their arms were lodged in one house, while they were sitting in another. He added, that Rob Roy was friendly and sometimes joked with him, and put him at the head of his table; "and when it is dark," said he, "I will go forward, you will follow in half-an-hour, and, when near the house, rush on, place your men at the back of the house, ready to seize on the arms of the Highlanders, while you shall go round to the front with the sergeant and two men, walk in, and call out that the whole are your prisoners; and don't be surprised although you see me at the head of the company." As they marched on, they had to pass a rapid stream at Dalrie, a spot celebrated on account of the defeat of Robert Bruce, by Macdougall of Lorn, in the year 1306. Here the soldiers asked their

merry friend the beggar to carry them through on his back. This he did, sometimes taking two at a time till he took the whole over, demanding a penny from each for his trouble. When it was dark they pushed on (the beggar having gone before), the officer following the directions of his guide, and darting into the house with the sergeant and three soldiers. They had hardly time to look to the end of the table where they saw the beggar standing, when the door was shut behind them, and they were instantly pinioned, two men standing on each side, holding pistols to their ears, and declaring that they were dead men if they uttered a word. The beggar then went out and called in two more men, who were instantly secured, and in the same manner with the whole party. Having been disarmed, they were placed under a strong guard till morning, when he gave them a plentiful breakfast, and released them on parole (the Bailie attending with his dirk, over which the officer gave his parole), to return immediately to their garrison, without attempting anything more at this time. This promise Rob Roy made secure, by keeping their arms and ammunition as lawful prize of war.

Some time after this, the same officer was again sent in pursuit of this noted character, probably to retrieve his former mishap. In this expedition he was more fortunate, for he took two of the freebooters prisoners in the higher parts of Breadalbane, near the scene of the former exploit, but the conclusion was nearly similar. He lost no time in proceeding in the direction of Perth, for the purpose of putting his prisoners in jail; but Rob Roy was equally alert in pursuit. His men marched in a parallel line with the soldiers, who kept along the bottom of the valley on the south side of Loch Tay, while the others kept close up the side of the hill, anxiously looking for an opportunity to dash down and rescue their comrades, if they saw any remissness or want of attention on the part of the soldiers. Nothing of this kind offered, and the party had passed Tay Bridge, near which they halted and slept. Macgregor now saw that something must soon be done or never, as they would speedily gain the Low country and

be out of his reach. In the course of the night he procured a number of goat-skins and cords, with which he dressed himself and his party in the wildest manner possible, and, pushing forward before daylight, took post near the road side, in a thick wood below Grandtully Castle. When the soldiers came in a line with the party in ambush, the Highlanders, with one leap, darted down upon them, uttering such yells and shouts, as, along with their frightful appearance, so confounded the soldiers, that they were overpowered and disarmed without a man being hurt on either side. Rob Roy kept the arms and ammunition, released the soldiers, and marched away in triumph with his rescued men.

The terror of his name was much increased by exploits like these, which, perhaps, lost nothing by the telling, as the soldiers would not probably be inclined to diminish the danger and fatigues of a duty in which they were so often defeated. But it is necessary to repeat the stories preserved and related of this man and his actions, which were always daring and well contrived, often successful, but never directed against the poor, nor prompted by revenge, except against the Duke of Montrose, and without an instance of bloodshed committed by any of his party, except in their own defence.* In his war against the Montrose family he was supported and abetted by the Duke of Argyll, from whom he always received shelter when hard pressed, or, to use a hunting term, when he was in danger of being earthed by the troops.† These two

* It is said that the last rencontre Macgregor had was a duel with Mr Stewart of Ardshiel. They fought with the broadsword. Macgregor being then far advanced in years, and very corpulent, gave up the contest, after receiving a cut in the chin.

† A cave under Craigrostone, and close to Lochlomond, is pointed out as one of his hiding places. If, contrary to the general opinion of the people, he ever lived in caves, it is probable that he would not make choice of such an one as that at Craigrostone, whence an escape would be impossible if an enemy discovered the hiding place, and guarded the entrance. Rob Roy was not a man likely to trust himself in such a place on any emergency, or danger from an enemy.

powerful families were still rivals, although Montrose had left the Tories and joined Argyll and the Whig interest. It is said that Montrose reproached Argyll in the House of Peers with protecting the robber Rob Roy, when the latter, with his usual eloquence and address, parried off the accusation, (which he could not deny), by jocularly answering, that, if he protected a robber, the other supported and fed him.

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This man had been a sergeant in the French service, and came over to Scotland in the year 1745. From his large size he was called Sergeant Mor. Having no settled abode, and dreading the consequence of having served in the army of France, and of being afterwards engaged in the Rebellion, he formed a party of outlaws, and took up his residence among the mountains between the counties of Perth, Inverness, and Argyll. While he plundered the cattle of those whom he called his enemies, he protected the property of his friends, and frequently made people on the borders of the Lowlands purchase his forbearance by the payment of *Black Mail*. Many stories are told of this man. On one occasion he met with an officer of the garrison of Fort-William on the mountains of Lochaber. The officer told him that he suspected he had lost his way, and, having a large sum of money for the garrison, was afraid of meeting the Sergeant Mor; he, therefore, requested that the stranger would accompany him on his road. The other agreed; and, while they walked on, they talked much of the Sergeant and his feats, the officer using much freedom with his name, calling him robber, murderer.—“Stop there,” interrupted his companion, “he does indeed take the cattle of the Whigs and Sassanachs, but neither he nor his kearnachs ever shed innocent blood; except once,” added he, “that I was unfortunate at Braemar, when a man was killed, but I immediately ordered the *creach* (the spoil) to be abandoned, and left to the owners, retreating as fast as we could after such a

misfortune." "You," says the officer, "what had you to do with the affair?" "I am John Dhu Cameron—I am the Sergeant Mor; there is the road to Inverlochy—you cannot now mistake it. You and your money are safe. Tell your governor to send in future a more wary messenger for his gold. Tell him also, that, although an outlaw, and forced to live on the public, I am a soldier as well as himself, and would despise taking his gold from a defenceless man who confided in me." The officer lost no time in reaching the garrison, and never forgot the adventure, which he frequently related.

Some time after this, the Sergeant Mor was betrayed by a treacherous friend, and taken by a party under the command of Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Hector) Munro. This happened at the farm of Dunan, in Rannoch, where he was in the habit of sleeping in safety, till that night, when it is said that his landlord sent notice to Lieutenant Munro, who was stationed two miles distant. Cameron slept in a barn, his arms having, as was supposed, been secretly removed, by his false friend. He was found asleep, and the soldiers rushed in and seized him; but, being a powerful man, he shook them all off, and made his way to the door, where he was overpowered by those on the outside. He threw one of the soldiers with such force against the wall of the barn, that he was long disabled by his bruises. Cameron was carried to Perth, and tried before the Court of Justiciary for the murder in Braemar, and various acts of theft and cattle stealing. One of these acts of theft was stealing from the Duke of Athole's parks at Blair two wedders, which the party killed for food, on their retreat from Braemar. Cameron was executed at Perth on the 23rd of November 1753, and hung in chains.

It was then the practice, in the Court of Justiciary, to call the Doomster (an officer so called) into Court after sentence of death was passed, to place his hand on the head of the criminal, as a token that he was in future to be under his care. A friend of mine, who was present at this trial, informed me, that when the Doomster

approached the Sergeant Mor, he exclaimed, "Keep the caitiff off, let him not touch me;" and stretching his arms as if to strike, the Doomster was so terrified by his look, action, and voice, that he shrunk back; and retired from the Court, without going through the usual ceremony.

I, Page 84.

Beague, in his History of the Scotch Campaigns of 1548 and 1549, describing the Battle of Pinkie, in which the Scots were defeated, says, "The Highlanders, who show their courage on all occasions, gave proof of their conduct at this time, for they kept together in one body, and made a very handsome and orderly retreat. They are armed with broadswords, large bows, and targets."

"The armour," says the author of "Certayne Matters," in 1597, "with which they covered their bodies in times of war, is an iron bonnet, and halberzion side almost even with their heels; the weapons against their enemies are bows and arrows; they fight with broadswords and axes; in place of a drum they use a bagpipe; they delight much in music, but chiefly in harps and clairs-shoes (*clairsach* is the Gaelic for harp) of their own fashion." The author of "Memoirs of a Cavalier," speaking of the Highlanders in the Scotch army under General Leslie in 1640, says, "I confess the soldiers made a very uncouth figure, especially the Highlanders; the oddness and barbarity of their garb and arms seemed to have something in it remarkable. They were generally tall swinging-looking fellows; their swords are extravagantly broad, and they carried large wooden targets, large enough to cover the upper part of their bodies. Their dress was antique as the rest; a flat cap on their head, called by them a bonnet, long hanging sleeves behind, and their doublets, breeches, and stockings, of a stuff they called plaid, stripped across red and yellow, with short cloaks of the same. These fellows looked, when drawn out, like a regiment of Merry Andrews, ready for Bartholomew Fair. They are in companies all of a name, and therefore

call one another by his Christian name, as James, John, Rob, and Allister, that is Alexander, and the like; and they scorn to be commanded but by one of their own clan or family. They are all gentlemen, and proud enough to be kings. The meanest fellow among them is as tenacious of his honour as the best nobleman in the country, and they will fight and cut one another's throats for every trifling affront; but to their own chiefs or lairds they are the willingest and most obedient fellows in nature. To give them their due, were their skill and exercise and discipline proportioned to their courage, they would make the best soldiers in the world. They have large bodies, and prodigious strong, and two qualities above all other nations, viz., hardy to endure fatigue, hunger, cold, and hardships, and wonderfully swift of foot. The latter is such an advantage in the field, that I know none like it, for if they conquer, no enemy can escape them, and if they run, even the horse can hardly overtake them. There were some of them, as I observed before, went out in parties with their horse. There were 3000 or 4000 of these in the Scotch army, armed only with swords and targets, and in their belts some of them had a pistol, but no musquets at that time among them. But there were also a great many Scotch regiments of disciplined men, who, by their carrying their arms, looked as if they understood their business, and by their faces, that they durst see an enemy."

K, Page 85.

Two which occurred in the reign of Charles II. were among the last instances of bowmen being employed in the Highlands. After a long and protracted feud between the Lairds of Mackintosh and Lochiel, commencing in a claim of the former to lands held by the latter, Mackintosh, to enforce his claim, raised his clan, and assisted by the Macphersons, marched to Lochaber with 1500 men. He was met by Lochiel with 1200 men, of whom 300 were Macgregors. About 300 were armed with bows. When

preparing to engage, the Earl of Breadalbane, who was nearly related to both chiefs, came in sight, with 500 men, and sent them notice, that if either of them refused to agree to the terms which he had to propose, he would throw his force into the opposite scale. This was a strong argument, and not easily refuted. After some hesitation, his offer of mediation was accepted, and the feud amicably and finally settled.

The other instance happened about the same time, in a contest between the Macdonalds of Glencoe and the Breadalbane men. The former being on their return from a foray in the low country, attempted to pass through Breadalbane without giving due notice, or paying the accustomed compliment to the Earl, who, a short time previous, had been raised to that rank. A number of his Lordship's followers, and a great many others, who were assembled at the castle of Finlarig to celebrate the marriage of a daughter of the family, enraged at this insult, instantly rushed to arms, and following the Macdonalds, with more ardour than prudence, attacked them on the top of a hill north from the village of Killin, where they had taken post to defend their cattle. The assailants were driven back with great loss, principally caused by the arrows of the Lochaber men. It is said that nineteen young gentlemen of the name of Campbell, immediate descendants of the family, fell on that day. Colonel Menzies of Culdares, who had been an active partisan under the Marquis of Argyll and the Covenanters in the civil wars, and whose prudent advice of attacking in flank the hot-headed youth despised, had nine arrow wounds in his legs and thighs. These wounds he received in retreating across the River Lochy, and when ascending the hill on the opposite side of the valley. Though the arrows were well aimed, they lost much of their force by the distance; consequently the wounds were slight.

The yew was the common material of the bows of the Highlanders,

“ who drew,
And almost joined the horns of the tough yew.”

Within the church-yard of Fortingal, Perthshire, the ruins of an enormous yew-tree still remain. The stem is now separated into two parts; the principal, although only a mere shell, the centre being entirely decayed, measures thirty-two feet in circumference. Colonel Campbell of Glenlyon, and my grandfather, used to say that when they were boys (about the year 1725) the parts now separated were united, when the whole stem measured fifty-six feet in circumference. This venerable relic, which appears so respectable in its decay, has suffered much from delapidations. Tradition says, that warriors, at one time, cut their bows from it; latterly dirk-makers, shoemakers, and others, made handles from it for their dirks, awls, and other instruments; and it has suffered greatly from the curiosity of modern tourists.

In the original charter for building the church of Perone, in Piccardy, dated in the year 684, a clause was inserted, directing the proper preservation of a yew-tree, which was in existence in the year 1790, nearly 1100 years after this notice of it in the charter—a remarkable instance of the durability of this species of wood.

L, Page 94.

Within these few years, an opinion has prevailed that the truis is the ancient garb of the Highlanders, and that the plaid, kilt, and bonnet are of modern invention. This opinion, adopted by many, is supported by a writer in the "Scots Magazine" of 1798. This author endeavours to prove that the plaid and philibeg must be modern, and assigns, as a reason, that they are not mentioned by ancient authors; and that, in all monumental figures and statues of the ancient kings of Ireland, the kilt never appears as part of their garb. But as those authors generally wrote in Latin, the words plaid and kilt could not probably be expressed in appropriate terms; and as the Irish kings were not Highlanders, there appears no good reason for supposing that they should be represented in kilts. The author of "Memoirs of

a Cavalier" says, that a body of 4000 Highlanders, whom he saw with the Scotch army in 1640, wore flat caps on their heads, called by them bonnets, long hanging sleeves behind, and their doublets, *breeches*, and stockings, of a kind of stuff they called plaids, striped across, red, green, and yellow, with short cloaks of the same." Now, as this author mentions neither truis nor kilt, it might be supposed that those articles of dress were not in use so late as the reign of Charles I., that breeches only were worn, and that truis and kilt were adopted since that period; although it is well known that the truis is a very ancient, but not the only ancient, dress of the Caledonians. Beague, in his History of the Campaigns in Scotland in 1548 and 1549, printed in Paris, in 1556, states, that at the siege of Haddington, in 1549, "they (the Scotch army) were followed by the Highlanders, and these last go *almost naked*; they have painted waistcoats, and a sort of wollen covering, variously coloured." As the author wrote in French, perhaps he did not understand the terms tartan, plaid, and kilt, and as the people wore painted waistcoats and *coloured coverings*, it is probable, that, if they had had the addition of truis, they would not have been described as "almost naked." The author of "Certayne Matters" says, that in his days (previous to 1597), they (the Highlanders) delighted much in marbled clothes, specially that has long stripes of sundrie colours; their predecessors used short mantles of divers colours, sundrie ways divided." The author first mentioned states, that plaids and tartan came from Flanders to the Lowlands of Scotland, in the sixteenth century, and thence passed to the Highlands; but is it certain that tartan was known in Flanders, and that tartan and the kilt were worn in the Lowlands, before their supposed passage to the mountains? But allowing, what is very improbable, that the fashion of striped and variegated clothes, or tartan, came from Flanders, it must have been much earlier than the sixteenth century; for we find by the chartularies of the Episcopal See of Aberdeen, lately edited by John Graham Dalyel, Esq., that the statutes or

canons of the Scottish Church, in the year 1242 and 1249, and the ordinances and regulations of the See of Aberdeen, 1256, directs that all ecclesiastics be suitably apparelled, avoiding *red, green, stripped clothing*, and their garments not to be shorter than to the *middle of the leg*. Now, this red, green, stripped clothing must have been tartan, and the forbidden garment worn shorter than to the middle of the leg, the kilt.

But to return to the article in the "Scots Magazine," it is stated that the garb is called "beggarly, *effeminate* (this, I apprehend, is rather an unexpected characteristic), grossly indecent and absurd," to say nothing of the tasteless regularity and "*vulgar glare of tartan.*"* The colours of the tartan do not appear so red and glaring as the peers' robes, the military uniforms, or the royal livery, which therefore cannot with propriety be called vulgar, considering those who wear them. But this author's remarks deserve no attention; and as on the whole it is not probable that a people, at so late a period, would assume a garb totally unknown in the world, and in their cold climate put away the warm breeches, and expose half their body to the blast, there are the better grounds for the undivided opinion of the people themselves, that as far back as they have any tradition, the truis, *breachanna-feal* (the kilted plaid), and philibeg, have ever been the dress of the Highlanders. The truis were used by gentlemen on horseback, and by others as they were inclined, but the common garb of the people was the plaid and kilt. This was the usual dress down till the Act passed for the suppression of the garb. When gentlemen travelled southwards, it was generally on horseback, con-

* One of the most distinguished artists of the age, Mr West, late President of the Royal Academy, differs from this opinion. He has expressed his surprise at the blending and arrangement of the colours, and considers, "that great art (that is to say, much knowledge of the principles of colouring with pleasing effect) has been displayed in the composition of the tartans of several clans, regarding them in general as specimens of natural taste, something analogous to the affecting but artless strains of the native music of Scotland."

sequently they wore the truis, and were often in armour ; of course the Lowlanders would the more readily notice the former as a prominent part of the mountain garb, and describe it accordingly.†

M, Page 103.

The weddings were the delight of all ages. Persons from ten years of age to four score attended them. Some weeks previous to the marriage-day, the bride and bridegroom went round their respective friends, to the distance of many miles, for the purpose of inviting them to the wedding. To repay this courtesy, the matrons of the invited families returned the visit within a few days, always well supplied with presents of beef, hams, butter, cheese, spirits, malt, and whatever they thought necessary for the ensuing feast. These, with what the guests paid for their entertainment, and the gifts presented the day after the marriage, were often so considerable, as to contribute much to the future settlement of the young couple. On the wedding-morning, the bridegroom, escorted by a party of friends, and preceded by a piper, commenced a round of morning calls, to remind their invited friends of their engagements. This circuit sometimes occupied several hours, and as many joined the party, it might perhaps be increased to some hundreds, when they returned to the bridegroom's house. The bride went a similar round among her friends. The bridegroom gave a dinner to his friends, and the bride to hers. During the whole day, the fiddlers and pipers were in constant employment. The fiddlers played to the dancers in the house, and the pipers

† My great-grandfather's portrait is in complete armour, with a full-bottomed wig reaching down nearly to his waist, according to the fashion of King William's and Queen Anne's reigns. This portrait was painted in London, where he never wore the Highland garb. Yet this is given as an instance of the garb not being in use among gentlemen. Had his picture been painted in the Highlands, it would probably have been done in his usual dress, which was the tartan, etc.

to those in the field.* The ceremony was generally performed after dinner. Sometimes the clergyman attended, sometimes they waited on him: the latter was preferred, as the walk to his house with such a numerous attendance added to the eclat of the day. On these occasions the young men supplied themselves with guns and pistols, with which they kept up a constant firing. This was answered from every hamlet as they passed along, so that, with streamers flying, pipers playing, the constant firing from all sides, and the shouts of the young men, the whole had the appearance of a military array passing, with all the noise of warfare, through a hostile country. The young couple never met on the wedding-day till they came before the clergyman, when the marriage rites were performed, with a number of ceremonies too minute to particularize. One of these was to untie all the strings and bindings on the person of the bridegroom; nothing to be bound on that occasion, but the one indissoluble knot, which death only could dissolve. The bride was not included in this injunction. She was supposed to be so pure and true, that infidelity on her part was not contemplated. Such were the peculiar notions and delicacy of thinking among a people esteemed rude and uncultivated. As all these ceremonies, which were very

* Playing the bagpipes within doors is a Lowland and English custom. In the Highlands the piper is always in the open air; and when people wish to dance to his music, it is on the green, if the weather permits; nothing but necessity makes them attempt a pipe dance in the house. The bagpipe was a field instrument intended to call the clans to arms, and animate them in battle, and was no more intended for a house, than a round of six-pounders. A broadside from a first rate, or a round from a battery, has a sublime and impressive effect at a proper distance. In the same manner, the sound of the bagpipe, softened by distance, had an indescribable effect on the minds and actions of the Highlanders. But as few would choose to be under the muzzle of the guns of a ship of the line or of a battery when in full play, so I have seldom seen a Highlander, whose ears were not grated when close to pipes, however much his breast might be warmed, and his feelings roused, by the sounds to which he had been accustomed in his youth, when proceeding from the proper distance.

numerous and very innocent, added much to the cheerfulness and happiness of the young people, I cannot avoid regretting their partial disuse. Nor can I help preferring a Highland wedding, where I have myself been so happy, and seen so many blithe countenances and eyes sparkling with delight, to such weddings as that of the Laird of Drum, ancestor of the Lord Sommerville, when he married a daughter of Sir James Bannatyne of Corhouse. On that occasion, sanctified by the puritanical cant of the times, there was "one marquis, three earls, two lords, sixteen barons, and eight ministers present at the solemnity, but not one musician; they liked yet better the bleating of the calves of Dan and Bethel, the ministers' long-winded, and sometimes nonsensical graces, little to purpose, than all musical instruments of the sanctuaries, at so solemn an occasion, which, if it be lawful at all to have them, certainly it ought to be upon a wedding-day, for divertisement to the guests, that innocent recreation of music and dancing being much more warrantable, and far better exercise than drinking and smoking of tobacco, wherein the holy brethren of the Presbyterian (persuasion) for the most part employed themselves, without any formal health, or remembrance of their friends, a nod with the head, or a sign with the turning up of the white of the eye, served for the ceremony."* Such was a Scotch wedding towards the end of the seventeenth century, and such, I hope, will not be Highland weddings of the nineteenth century, although now seldom countenanced by the presence of chiefs and landlords, as modern manners preserve a greater distance than in former days, when a more cordial communication subsisted between the higher and lower orders.

N, Page 103.

It has often been said that the music of Scotland was borrowed from Italy, and that David Rizzio first gave it the stamp and character which it now bears. If this opinion

* *Memoirs of the Sommerville Family.*

be well founded, it would be desirable to show what part of the Scottish music has been borrowed, what is original, and whether this particular kind of music was ever known in Italy. Bagpipes are common in Italy, particularly among the Tyrolese in the north, and the Calabrese in the south; yet, is it probable that the Highland pibrochs came either from Italy or the Tyrol? The Reel of Tulloch, Rothiemurchus Rant, and Jenny Dang the Weaver, cannot well claim any near connexion with Italian music. Mackintosh's Lament, and Craguana in the north, the Birks of Invermay, in the centre, and the Flowers of the Forest in the south of Scotland, from their melody, bear some resemblance to the Italian; but as there must be a similarity in all melodious sounds, it is probable that the connexion between the softer music of Scotland and of Italy is only to be found in their beauty, and that the Pibroch, Reel, Strathspey, Lament, and Songs are peculiar to the country. The opinion which attributes the melody of the Scotch songs to Rizzio, and the sublime and elevated sentiments of Ossian to Macpherson, seem to be founded more on the ideas entertained of the rude and uncultivated state of Scotland, at an early period, as being perfectly incompatible with the delicacy of taste and feeling which both the poetry and music display, than on any authentic information. But where there is a deficiency of authentic information, there is more room for a diversity of opinion, especially as, on one side, all is tradition, supported by many facts; and on the other, all is assertion, without one fact, except some surmises originating in the vanity of Rizzio and Macpherson. The latter had too much honour to assert that he was the author of the poems, although, as the MSS. of which he got possession have disappeared, perhaps he would not have been sorry if the world had given him credit for talents equal to such compositions. The MSS. would have been clear evidence that he was not the author; but he has himself furnished complete evidence, by his poetical works, and other translations, which unfortunately for his literary reputation he published, as if it were to show how inferior they are to his Gaelic translations.

However, a fine field of disquisition is opened, and national vanity interposes to darken the question. In the South, it cannot be endured, that a people who have always been considered as rude and savage, should compose, preserve for ages, and enjoy with enthusiasm, the beauties of a body of poetry, equal to what the most refined civilization has produced. In the North, again, the people are impatient and irritated at the attempts to accuse them of fraud and falsehood; and of endeavours to palm on the public the patched-up works of a modern author, as the genuine productions of their ancestors. Had the question, when first agitated, been properly managed, it might have been easily decided, when there were such a cloud of witnesses, and so many people were living who had the poems before Macpherson was born, and who knew that the rehearsal and learning of them formed one of the principal winter pastimes of the people. But, even at that period, who were to be the judges? The southern unbelievers could not have understood one word of the poems in dispute, although all the bards in the North had been assembled, and each had recited Macpherson's publication verbatim in the *original*. The Highlanders, the only people who understood the language, and could judge properly, would not have been believed, although they had asserted, that the recitals of the bards and the translation coincided perfectly. In such a determined difference of opinion, how is the point to be settled? All, therefore, who believe that Rizzio did not, in any manner whatever, originate the national music of Scotland, and that the poems ascribed to Ossian are very ancient, and so authentic as to have been handed down from father to son for ages beyond the reach of record, will continue of this belief; while those who are of the contrary opinion must remain so, as there are no proofs such as they require, that is, books or manuscripts. The manuscripts on which so much stress was laid were not many centuries old, and did in no manner prove who was the author. Had they been preserved, they would only have established this point,—certainly of some importance in

the controversy,—that the poems were not the composition of a modern author ; but as I believe it has not yet been ascertained in what MSS. the works of Homer were found and transmitted to posterity, Ossian's poems, whoever may have been the author or authors of them, are in good company when in a similar predicament.

O, Page 106.

While game was in such abundance as to form part of the subsistence of the people, at a time when many had the means of destruction ready, and much liberty was given, it appears remarkable that now, when preserved with such jealous care, it is in many places become so scarce as only to furnish a short pastime to a comparatively few privileged individuals ; a fact which might lead to a belief that too great care defeats its own object, and ensures the evil against which it seeks to guard. It is certain, that in moors which annually afford an apparently inexhaustible supply, and where good marksmen have been known to shoot more than one hundred birds in a forenoon, the game seems to increase instead of diminishing by this periodical destruction, persevered in, as it has been, for weeks, each successive season ; whereas, in other moors strictly preserved, the birds are fewer in number, and becoming very scarce ; at the same time, that I have been assured by men well acquainted with the state of these grounds in past times, that game was as abundant as on those which now furnish the greatest numbers. The mountains of Breadalbane, Athole, Badenoch, and other districts, furnish marked instances of this scarcity of game when protected, and of abundance where the greatest annual destruction prevails. For the singular fact that the periodical killing of game does not diminish the annual increase, various reasons are assigned. It is said, that when the old birds are left, they chase away in spring all the young brood of the preceding season, and that these take shelter on grounds where the old birds had been killed. It is also said,

that in preserved moors, poachers are more frequent, bold, and destructive, in the expectation, as few frequent them, that they will not be discovered. A third assigned cause, and, in appearance, the most destructive of game, is, that the farmers and shepherds who occupy these moors, irritated by severe restrictions, tormented by threats of punishment, and insulted by the arrogance of insolent gamekeepers, instead of being encouraged to preserve the game, and, instead of being allowed to derive from it either benefit or amusement, make a practice, in many cases, of feeding their dogs with the eggs, and when these escape their notice, accustom them to search for and destroy the young brood before they are fledged. Whether any or all of these causes affect the decrease of game, there appears little doubt, that judging from the character of the Highlanders, a kind and liberal indulgence to tenants in a moderate use of the gun on their own grounds, with strict injunction to their shepherds to be careful of the nests and of the young, and not to burn the heather in improper seasons, or in those places most frequented by the game (although burning the heath in moderation is advisable, as the young sprouts furnish their principal food), and along with this indulgence, the offer of small premiums to the shepherds for each covey of eight or more birds they can produce in their pasture, would make it their interest to preserve the game; no person could escape notice; and thus, they would form a better protection against poachers, than prosecutions, fines, and imprisonment.

P, Page 109.

In the common transactions of the people, written obligations were seldom required, and although the bargains were frequently concluded in the most private manner,* there were few instances of a failure in, or

* When their money agreements or other negotiations were to be concluded and confirmed, the contracting parties went out by themselves to the open air, and looking upwards, called Heaven to witness

denial of, their engagements. A gentleman of the name of Stewart agreed to lend a considerable sum of money to a neighbour. When they had met, and the money was already counted down on the table, the borrower offered a receipt. As soon as the lender (grandfather of the late Mr Stewart of Ballachulish) heard this, he immediately took up his money, saying, that a man who could not trust his own word without a bond, should not be trusted by him, and would have none of his money, which he put up in his purse and returned home. An inhabitant of the same district, father of the late Dr Smith, of Campbelton, and of Donald Smith, M.D., eminent for antiquarian learning and research, kept a retail shop for nearly fifty years, and supplied the whole district, then full of people, with all their little merchandise. He neither gave nor asked any receipts. At Martinmas of each year, he collected the amount of his sales, which were always paid to a day. In one of his annual rounds, a customer happened to be from home, consequently, he returned unpaid; but before he was out of bed the following morning, he was awakened by a call from his customer, who came to pay his account. After the business was settled, his neighbour said, "You are now paid; I would not for my best cow* that I should sleep while you wanted your money after your term of payment, and that I should be the last in the country in your debt." Unfortunately, new regulations, new views of Highland statistics, and the novel practice of letting land to the highest bidder, regardless of the fidelity and punctual payment of old occupiers, have occasioned a melancholy

their engagements, at the same time each party repeating the promise of payment, and, by way of seal, putting a mark on some remarkable stone, or other natural object, which had been noticed by those ancestors whose memory they so much respected and loved, and whom from the superstitious notions of the times they believed were permitted to look down upon them and their actions and conduct.

* My longest horned cow, was the literal Gaelic expression. Long and well-shaped horns are considered as marks of health and strength.

change. Few of the late moral population now remain, and that few are mostly reduced to the condition of cottars and day-labourers. The person who now occupies the shop, a son of the former possessor, must not only keep strict accounts, but give short credits, and calculate on an annual reduction of his profits by bad payments; and he is in little danger of being deprived of his morning slumbers by debtors anxious to pay, and ashamed of being in debt. This is now too common to be a reproach, and is one of the many concomitants of modern improvements and civilization, as they have been forced on and practised in the Highlands.

Q, Page 118.

In the Highlands, where so many of the same name live in the same district or glen, some denomination for distinguishing individuals beyond that of the generic name is indispensable. In the late Sutherland Fencible Regiment there were 17 William Mackays in Captain Sackville Sutherland's company, and 104 in the regiment. When the 2nd battalion of the 78th Highlanders was raised in 1804, an ensign from Ross-shire brought 18 men of his own name, of Macrae, as part of his complement of 20, for an ensigncy. On the estates of many noblemen and gentlemen, the number of their own surnames is often beyond all proportion greater than any others. On a part of the estate of Menzies, running four miles along one side of the valley, on the banks of the Tay, there are 502 of the Chief's name, descendants of his family. Many similar instances are still to be met with where gentlemen have retained their ancient tenantry. In Athole, an extensive district of Perthshire, there were, fifty years ago, 36 landholders of the name of Stewart: there are still 23; and in Athole, Strathearn, and Monteith, there are 5000 people of that name, of whom upwards of 1800 are descendants of Neil Stewart of Garth, who died in 1433. In such communities, the want of some distinguishing appellation would lead to confusion. These distinctions

were generally made as follows:—In the case of a chief by using singly, and by way of distinction, the denomination of son of the first founder, or most renowned man of the family; as, for example, the Duke of Argyll, who is styled *Mac Cailean Mor*,* the son of the great Colin; *Mac Connel Dubh*, the son of Donald the Black, the name of the chiefs of the Camerons. Under this head there was another distinction. Chieftains, Ceann-Tays, or great branches of a clan or family, were distinguished as the sons of the first founder. Such as Breadalbane, a great branch of the clan Campbell; *Mac Cailean MacConachie*, the son of Colin the son of Duncan.† Lairds or landholders were often named from their estates, as Stewart of Grandtully, Stewart of Garth, and so on; all others being distinguished by some personal mark which might be either an accidental defect, any natural advantage, or any singularity of colour, figure, or features. The second Marquis of Atholl was known by the name of *Ian a Bheul Mhor*, John with the large mouth; John the first Duke of Atholl being blind of an eye, *Ian Cam*; the first Earl of Breadalbane having a pale countenance, *Ian Glas*; the second Earl, *Ian Bacach*, from his being lame. If a man had no personal mark, or patrimonial distinction, he was known by adding the name of his father, as the son of John. This perhaps ran back for three or four generations. However absurd a long string of names may appear in English, it is not so in Gaelic, from the facility of compounding words in that language.

* Although *Mor* is great, the word does not always mean great power, or superior talent. It was more frequently given to men of large size, or portly persons.

† The people seldom call Lord Breadalbane by his patronymic, but not so the Duke of Argyll, Lord Seafield, Lord Macdonald, and many others. Riding a few years ago through the Duke of Argyll's parks at Inveraray, I observed some young blood horses grazing. A woman happening to pass at that time, I asked her in Gaelic to whom the horses belonged. "To whom should they belong," she answered sharply, "To whom should they belong but to Mac Cailean?" seemingly quite indignant that I should suppose that any man could possess anything there but Mac Cailean Mor.

R, Page 119.

There are four different spellings of this name ; Stewart, Steuart, Stuart, and Steward. The ancient and original name, as spelt by the royal family, is Stewart, taken from the office of Lord High Steward of Scotland, which was hereditary in the family nearly two centuries before the succession of Robert II. to the throne. The original spelling of Stewart continued for several reigns after this succession, till the increased communication between France and Scotland induced so many noblemen, gentlemen, and soldiers, to enter the French army. James Stewart, Earl of Buchan, Constable of France, carried with him on one occasion 7000 men, as auxiliaries in the war with England. The Lords of Darnley and Aubigny were frequent visitors in France, and held extensive military commands and possessions there, and following the idiom of the French language, the W being unknown, several began to use the U, and spelt the name *Stuard* or *Stuart*. Mary Queen of Scots being educated in France, likewise adopted that mode of spelling, on her subsequent marriage with the Dauphin, and out of compliment to her husband's language ; as did her brother the Earl of Murray, and the families of Traquair, Bute, Castlemilk, and several others, which from whim or accident changed their names. How much accident influenced this change of name is evident from the circumstance, that Lord Galloway retains the old spelling of Stewart, while Lord Blantyre and other families of the same descent, as Castlemilk, spell Stuart ; Allanton, Steuart ; Allanbank, a branch of Allanton, Steuart ; Coltness, also a branch of Allanton, Stewart ; and while Traquair is Stuart, Grandtully, of the same descent and family, is Stewart. The Earl of Murray, before his promotion to that title, when Prior of St Andrews, and previous to the return of Queen Mary from France, spelt his name Stewart, as we find by the following document, signed by him and the Earl of Argyle, and Ruthven Earl of Gowrie, authorizing

the Lairds of Airntully and Kinvaid to destroy all images and relics of the Catholic religion in the Cathedral of Dunkeld.

“To our traist friends the Lairds of Airntully and Kinvaid.

“Traist friends, after most hearty commendation, we pray you fail not to pass incontinent to the Kirk of Dunkeilden, and tak doon the hail images thereof, and bring them forth to the kirk yaird and burn them openly. And sicklyke cast doon the alters and purge the kirk of all kind of idolatry. And this ze fail not to do, as ze will do us singular impleasure, and so committeth you to the protection of God.

“From Edinburgh the XII. of August 1560.

“Argyle.

“*James Stewart.*

“William Ruthven.

“Fail not, but ze tak guid heyd that neither the desks, windocks, nor duires, be any way hurt or broken, eyther glassin wark or iron wark.”

S, Page 124.

It is a generally received opinion, that the Highlanders are ignorant and uneducated. It is no doubt true, that previous to the present reign, many could not read, or understand what they read in English, and there were few books in their own language; but they had their Bards and Senachies, who taught them in the manner already mentioned. The middle and higher orders of society were as well educated as the youth of any part of the United Kingdom. The gentlemen farmers and tacksmen were certainly better classical scholars than men holding the same occupation and rank in society, in the South. These observations must be confined to the period which has elapsed since the reign of Charles II., as the prior notices are not in a connected series. But, to judge from

insulated circumstances, the education of the gentry, and the better order of farmers of an earlier period, was not deficient. Of this, the celebrated George Buchanan, the son of a small Highland farmer, was a remarkable instance. On reference to old family charters and papers, it will be found, that the signatures to the former, from and after the year 1500, show a correctness of writing not to be seen in modern times, and not to be acquired without much time and experience. Aware that it might be said that these signatures were written by the notaries and others who drew out these charters, I have compared the signatures of the same persons to different instruments at considerable intervals, and signed in different places, sometimes as principals, at others as witnesses, and I have found them always similar, or in the same hand. Of this I have seen many instances in my own family, as well as in several others. A fair hand is certainly no proof of a classical education; but it is a proof of care having been bestowed on a branch of education which was not then so necessary as it is now, when epistolary communication is so much more frequent. In those days, when there was no public conveyance, and when distant events did not occupy so much of the attention of men, there was not the same inducement to correspond. It may therefore be concluded that they to whose instruction in writing so much attention had been paid, would not be neglected in other branches of education. The fragments of manuscripts and private correspondence which have been preserved in families give evidence of classical attainments, and prove also, that this was not confined to one sex. The following is an instance. There is a manuscript volume preserved in the family of Stewart of Urrard, of 260 pages, consisting of poems, songs, and short tracts, in the Scotch language, written, as is stated on the first page, by Margaret Robertson (daughter of John Robertson of Lude) and wife of Alexander Stewart of Bonskeid, dated 1643. It is written in a beautiful hand, and with such correctness, that it might be sent to the press.

There were eminent grammar schools in Inverness, Fortrose or Chanonry, Dunkeld, etc. The grammar school of Perth was celebrated for ages. From these different seminaries, young men were sent to Aberdeen and St Andrews, and many to Leyden and Douay. The armies of Sweden, Holland, and France, gave employment to the younger sons of the gentry, who were educated abroad; many of these returned with a competent knowledge of modern languages, added to their classical education, often speaking Latin with more purity than Scotch, which these Highlanders sometimes learned after leaving their native homes, where nothing but Gaelic was spoken. The race of Bradwardine is not long extinct. In my own time, several veterans might have sat for the picture, so admirably drawn in Waverley, of that most honourable, brave, learned, and kind-hearted personage, the Baron of Bradwardine. These gentlemen returned from the Continent full of warlike Latin, French phrases, and inveterate broad Scotch (learned, as I have said, by the Highlanders abroad.) One, I believe, of the last of these, Colonel Alexander Robertson, of the Scotch Brigade, uncle of the present Strowan, I well remember.* I also knew several tacksmen of good learn-

* Another of the Bradwardine character is still remembered by the Highlanders, with a degree of admiration bordering on enthusiasm. This was John Stewart of the family of Kincardine, in Strathspey, known in the country by the name of John Roy Stewart, an accomplished gentleman, an elegant scholar, a good poet, a brave soldier, and an able officer. He composed with equal facility in English, Latin, and Gaelic; but it was by his songs, epigrams, and descriptive pieces in the latter language, that he attracted the admiration of his countrymen. He was an active leader in the Rebellion of 1745, and during "his hiding" of many months, he had more leisure to indulge his taste for poetry and song. The country traditions are full of his descriptive pieces, eulogies, and laments on friends, or in allusion to the events of that unfortunate period. He had been long in the service of France and Portugal. He was in Scotland in 1745, and commanded a regiment composed of the tenants of his family, and a considerable number of the followers of Sir George Stewart of Grandtully, who had been placed under him. With these, amounting in all to 400 men, he joined the rebel army, and proved one of its ablest partisans. Had the rebel commanders

ing, who could quote and scan the classics with much ease and rapidity; while the sons of these men are now little better than clowns, knowing nothing beyond English reading and the common rules of arithmetic. When the Hessian troops were quartered in Athole in 1745, the commanding officers, who were accomplished gentlemen, found Latin a ready means of communication at every inn. At Dunkeld, Inver, Blair-Athole, Taybridge, etc., every landlord spoke that language, and I have been informed, by eye-witnesses, of the pleasure expressed by a colonel of the Hessian cavalry, when he halted at the inn in Dunkeld, the landlord of which addressed and welcomed him in Latin, the only language they mutually understood. I knew four of these respectable innkeepers, who, like many other valuable classes in the Highlands, have disappeared. Perhaps the landlords of Dunkeld, Blair-Athole, or indeed any other Highland inn, will not, even in this educated age, agreeably surprise, or make themselves more acceptable to their customers, by addressing them in Latin.

benefited by his judgment and military talents, that deplorable contest would probably have been lengthened, and much additional misery inflicted on the country. Colonel Stewart recommended opposing the passage of the Duke of Cumberland's army across the Spey. Had this advice been acted upon, allowing for the expeditious movements of the rebels, many men must have been lost in forcing the passage of the rapid river. He also opposed fighting on Culloden Moor, which, with a level and hard surface, was well calculated for the cavalry and artillery of the royal army. When this advice was rejected, he proposed to attack before the army was formed in order of battle; this also was disregarded, and the attack delayed till the royal army was formed in two lines. It is said that the Irish officers attached to the rebel army, dreading a lengthened campaign in the mountains, opposed retiring farther north, seeing that, in such a field as Culloden, one-third of the Highlanders being absent, and those present, two days without food, and after a long and harrassing night-march to Nairn and back, with an intention of surprising the Duke's army (as at Preston), the contest would soon be decided, and their lives safe from the laws, whatever was the result. The point was fortunately brought to an issue, and much calamity, the consequence of a lengthened civil war, saved to the country.

But it was in the remotest district of the kingdom, the Isle of Skye, and other islands, that classical education was most general. There the learning of the gentry was quite singular. Few of them went abroad, and except the three lairds, Macdonald, Macleod, and Mackinnon, few of them were proprietors. I believe it is rather unique for the gentry of a remote corner to learn Latin merely to talk to each other; yet so it was in Skye. It was remarked that, for a considerable period, the clergymen of the sixteen parishes of Skye, Harris, Lews, etc., were men of good families, great learning, and consequent influence; their example, therefore, might diffuse and preserve this classical taste. Owing to the same cause, the Isle of Skye songs are sometimes filled with allusions to the heathen deities. While the younger sons of the Highland gentlemen were educated for the church, law, or physic, the elder could not be neglected. The elder brothers of Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Advocate to Charles II. and of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Advocate to George II., could not have been uneducated.

But various causes have contributed to a change of manners, and to remove numbers of the ancient race, and have put an end to all university education, except in a few cases, where young men are intended for the learned professions: consequently the last generation did not give their children the same education which they themselves had received.* Thus we see young men sent

* The average annual salary of the parish schoolmaster was £7. 10s. that is, £5 the lowest and £10 the highest, with school fees, which were equally low, Latin being taught for half a crown the quarter, English and writing for one shilling. When the Lord President Hope was Lord Advocate, he brought a bill into Parliament to increase the salaries of this useful body of men. The bill was passed, and no schoolmaster can now have less than £10 salary, the maximum being £25. The opposition Mr Hope met with showed, that however much people may talk about the value of education, the estimate of its advantages does not appear to stand high in the opinion of those who pay the schoolmasters, or perhaps the value is better understood and more appreciated when cheaply obtained; otherwise why meet so important a measure by an oppo-

into the army and other professions with an education not extending beyond reading and arithmetic, and with manners unformed and as unlike the former race of gentlemen farmers in their general appearance and character, as in their education. Hence, many have been led to observe, that the youth of the second order of Highland gentry have more degenerated, and are more changed in every respect than the Highland peasantry. Many causes have tended to accelerate this change; one of which is, that three-fourths of the old respectable race of gentlemen tacksmen have disappeared, and been supplanted by men totally different in manners, birth, and education. Persons travelling through the Highlands will observe what description of persons the present tacksmen are. The character upheld by the officers of the Highland regiments in the Seven Years' War, and in that with America, show what sort of men the ancient race were. One half of the officers of those corps were the sons of tacksmen. Of these respectable officers I could give many names, but shall mention only a few:—Generals Simon Fraser, killed at Saratoga in 1777, and Thomas M. Fraser, killed at Dieg in 1804; Lieutenant-General Simon Fraser, commanding the British troops in Lisbon; Sir Archibald Campbell, Governor-General of India; Sir Hector Munro; Sir Alexander Munro; Major-Generals John Small, Thomas Fraser, Francis Maclean, J. Stewart, P. Mackenzie, and a numerous list of brave soldiers and officers of talent and acquirements; as well as many accomplished civilians, Sir John Macpherson, Governor-General of India, the translator of Ossian, and many others.

T, Page 128.

There are many traits of the character, manners, and dispositions of the people, which I have not noticed. The

situation which has reduced the scale so low, that even with the increased emoluments, no man of talents will remain a parish school-master except from necessity.

most remarkable of these is that imaginary talent of seeing into futurity, commonly called the "Second Sight." The subject has been frequently discussed; and I shall, therefore, say little of these ideal flights of a warm and vivid imagination. But however ridiculous the belief of the second sight may now appear, it certainly had no small influence on the manners and actions of the people. The predictions of the seers impressed their minds with awe, and as they were generally such as brought to the remembrance death, a future state, retributive justice, the reward of honourable and virtuous conduct, and the punishment of the wicked, they certainly controlled the passions, and, as I have often had occasion to observe, supplied the defect of those laws which now extend to the most distant recesses of the mountains.

The impressions of a warm imagination appear so like realities, and their confirmation is so readily found in subsequent events, that we can scarcely wonder if popular superstitions have long maintained their ground, even against the advances of reason and science. Allowing the possibility of coming events being shadowed forth by supernatural agency to some favoured seers, the question naturally occurs, Why should those revelations be confined to the Highlanders of Scotland? Yet it must be owned, that the coincidences between events and their foreboding have, in many instances, been so curious and remarkable, that credulous minds may be excused for yielding to the impression of their prophetic character. It may not be improper to produce an instance or two for the amusement of the reader.

Late in an autumnal evening in the year 1773, the son of a neighbouring gentleman came to my father's house. He and my mother were from home, but several friends were in the house. The young gentleman spoke little, and seemed absorbed in deep thought. Soon after he arrived he inquired for a boy of the family, then about three years of age. When shown into the nursery, the nurse was trying on a pair of new shoes, and complaining that they did not fit." "They will fit him before he will

have occasion for them," said the young gentleman. This called forth the chidings of the nurse for predicting evil to the child, who was stout and healthy. When he returned to the party he had left in the sitting-room, who had heard his observations on the shoes, they cautioned him to take care that the nurse did not derange his new talent of the second sight, with some ironical congratulations on his pretended acquirement. This brought on an explanation, when he told them, that, as he approached the end of a wooden bridge thrown across a stream at a short distance from the house, he was astonished to see a crowd of people passing the bridge. Coming nearer he observed a person carrying a small coffin, followed by about twenty gentlemen, all of his acquaintance, his own father and mine being of the number, with a concourse of the country people. He did not attempt to join, but saw them turn off to the right in the direction of the churchyard, which they entered. He then proceeded on his intended visit, much impressed from what he had seen with a feeling of awe, and believing it to have been a representation of the death and funeral of a child of the family. In this apprehension he was the more confirmed, as he knew my father was at Blair-Athole, and that he had left his own father at home an hour before. The whole received perfect confirmation in his mind by the sudden death of the boy the following night, and the consequent funeral, which was exactly similar to that before represented to his imagination.

This gentleman was not a professed seer; this was his first and his last vision; and, as he told me, it was sufficient. No reasoning or argument could convince him that the appearance was an illusion. Now when a man of education and of general knowledge of the world, as this gentleman was, became so bewildered in his imagination, and that even so late as the year 1773, it cannot be matter of surprise that the poetical enthusiasm of the Highlanders, in their days of chivalry and romance, should have predisposed them to credit wonders which so deeply interested them.

The other instance occurred in the year 1775, when a tenant of the late Lord Breadalbane called upon him, bitterly lamenting the loss of his son, who, he said, had been killed in battle on a day he mentioned. His Lordship told him that was impossible, as no accounts had been received of any battle, or even of hostilities having commenced. But the man would not be comforted, saying, that he saw his son lying dead, and many officers and soldiers also dead, around him. Lord Breadalbane, perceiving that the poor man would not be consoled, left him; but when the account of the battle of Bunker's Hill arrived some weeks afterwards, he learnt, with no small surprise, that the young man had been killed at the time and in the manner described by his father.

T*, Page 129.

The notions entertained by the inhabitants of the Low Country in this respect are very excusable, when it is considered that they formed their opinions regarding the natives of the mountains on information received from those who lived nearest the boundary, and who were supposed to be best acquainted with them. This, however, was a very doubtful source of intelligence; because, in the first place, the borderers lived in a state of perpetual contention with their Lowland neighbours, and had thus the worst propensities of their nature called forth and exasperated; and, secondly, because their more powerful neighbours had been, for ages, in the habit of taking deep revenge for petty injuries. No one who knows anything of human nature need be told, that there exists a strong propensity in the minds of those who oppress others by an undue exercise of power, to justify that proceeding to themselves, by exaggerating every provocation given by the objects of their hostility. Prejudice and party hatred are like streams, always enlarging in their progress by petty additions. A man incapable of direct falsehood, willingly and confidently repeats the tales of wonder told by others; and these

seldom lose in the recital. That "oppression," which, we are told from the highest authority, "makes a wise man mad,"* must have produced a similar effect on a proud high-spirited people, who had not even language in which to complain, and who would not have been listened to if they had. "Lions are not painters," as the fable says, and Highlanders are not writers of their own traditions; but if the tales of wrong and injustice preserved in traditions were unfolded, they might then "make justice and indignation start," etc.; but this blazon must not be. It would be visiting the sins of the fathers on the children, who may, perhaps, even on this score, have enough of their own to answer for, when they appear on their last account.

Since the above was written, a new edition of "Letters from a Gentleman in the North" has been published by Mr Jamieson of Edinburgh. This edition has been enlarged, by several tracts and articles on the Highlanders, and the former state of the people. One of these is a kind of statistical report of the state of the Highlands about the year 1747. This paper is a perfect specimen of the spirit of the times, and of the jaundiced eye with which the Highlanders were viewed by their Lowland neighbours, who held them in the greatest contempt for their Jacobite principles, their heathenish belief in ghosts and fairies, their slothful habits, fabulous traditions, poetry and songs. The author was educated beyond the mountains, quite in opposition to the habits and principles of the Highlanders; and at a period when the stream of ribaldry ran strongly against them, and their true character was ill understood, it was difficult to state it in proper colours; the commonly received opinions of the times were, that their fidelity and ready obedience proceeded from a base and servile disposition, and their idle habits from an aversion to industry, when, in fact, they proceeded from want of employment or payment for labour. Had the author given in to the grave

* Of this we have too many instances among the peasantry in Ireland.

discussions which were not infrequent at that period, on the propriety of exterminating the whole race, it might have excited less surprise, than that this mode of improving a people by extirpation and banishment should not only be discussed in more enlightened times, but actually acted upon and enforced, if not with the fury and violence with which those who call themselves the friends of liberty in America treat their free, independent, but unfortunate neighbours the Indians, the original possessors of their country, at least by means sufficiently effectual.

U, Page 133.

Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Lord President of the Court of Session, was one of the most enlightened men of his time. Born in the Highlands, he lived much among his countrymen, gained an intimate knowledge of their habits, and, by his virtue, wisdom, and probity, obtained an influence over them almost incredible. His "pen and ink, and tongue, and some reputation," as he himself expressed it, contributed more than any other means to the suppression of the Rebellion—breaking the union of the clans, overawing some, crossing and checking the intentions of others, and retarding and preventing their rising *en masse*, to which they had every inclination. That such services were neglected and slighted by Government must remain an indelible stain on the memory of the men in power at that period. It is said that when this great and good man was recommending clemency and moderation in the punishment of the misguided men about to suffer for their infatuation, and stating his services as a claim to be heard, he was contemptuously asked, "What were his services, and what they were worth?" "Some think them worth three Crowns," was the answer.

An idea of the importance of his services and of his influence may be formed by looking over his Memorial, already given in the Appendix, of the State and Number of the Clans, whose rising he prevented, or whose exertions he paralyzed. It has been thought by some, parti-

cularly by Jacobites, that those Chiefs who were persuaded by Culloden to relinquish, on the day of trial, the cause to which they were secretly attached, showed duplicity, if not cowardice, in so doing. This was not at all the case. The President knew too well the character of the persons he addressed, to endeavour to change their opinion, or induce them to dissemble. The arguments by which he prevailed on so many to remain neutral, while others risked all in a desperate cause, were drawn from his knowledge of the world, and of the resources and views of the opposite parties. He attempted no sudden conversions, but merely represented the folly of sacrificing their lives, and what was dearer to them, their clans, in a rash and unsupported enterprise, in which they were deceived by their French allies, deserted by many whose courage evaporated in drinking healths, and more particularly by the English Jacobites, who promised everything and performed nothing. It was by a statement of obvious facts, and not by an attack on established principles, that he succeeded in rescuing, by persuasion, so many families from the destruction in which the inconsiderate and rashly brave were so suddenly involved. The sound arguments that prevailed with the Chiefs, who could comprehend them, had no influence on their followers, who were, in this instance, more inclined to follow their feelings than listen to reason. Of this, the behaviour of the clan Grant was an instance. Eleven hundred men pressed forward to offer their services, on condition that their Chief would lead them, to support, what they styled, the cause of their ancient Kings. Afterwards, when it was found necessary to pay a compliment to the Royal General, by meeting him at Aberdeen, all the Chief's influence could only procure ninety-five followers to attend him; a Chief, too, much beloved by his people.

In the Isle of Skye, likewise, Sir Alexander Macdonald (father of Chief Baron Macdonald), and the Lairds of Macleod, Raasay, and others, had 2400 men ready, when expresses arrived from Culloden. Macdonald re-

mained at home with his men; Macleod obeyed the summons of the President, but Raasay indulged the inclination of his people to join the rebels, contrary to the views and injunction of the Chief. Though Macleod is described by this great law officer as the only man of sense and courage he had about him, his influence over his followers failed so completely, when they discovered that his opinion was opposite to their own, that he could not command the obedience of more than 200 men, although upwards of 1500 men, consisting of his own people, the Laird of Raasay's, and other gentlemen, were ready at Dunvegan Castle. These, and many circumstances which occurred at that period, are of themselves sufficient to prove, that the Highlanders were not those slaves to the caprice and power of their Chiefs they have been supposed; and that, on the contrary, as I have already noticed, the latter were obliged to pay court, and yield to the will and independent spirit of their clans. These facts also refute a general opinion, that those who engaged in the Rebellion were forced out by their Chiefs and Lairds, and that indeed on all occasions the principles or caprice of their Chief guided those of the clan, and that, whatever side he took, they followed. In Lord Lovat's correspondence with Culloden, he is full of complaints against his clan, whose eagerness to fly to arms he could not restrain. Although his is not the best authority, I have had sufficient evidence of his correctness in this instance from eye-witnesses. We learn also from the President, that Lord Lovat's eldest son (afterwards General Fraser) "put himself at the head of his clan, who are passionately fond of following him, and who cannot be restrained by my Lord's authority from following the fortunes of the Adventurous Prince, which not only may destroy the Master* and the family, but bring his own grey hairs with sorrow to the grave."†

* In Scotland, the eldest son of a Lord or Baron of the House of Peers was styled Master. Thus, the Master of Gray, the Master of Rollo, the Master of Blantyre, etc.

† *Culloden Papers.*

To this same independent spirit we may ascribe the preference which the people now manifest for emigration to a foreign land to remaining in the degraded state of cottars and day labourers, to which the late changes have reduced such numbers of the once independent tenantry. When they have once resolved to remove to a foreign country, a set of "illiterate peasants," says Mrs Grant, "have gone about it in a systematical manner. They have themselves chartered a ship, and engaged it to come for them to one of their Highland ports, and a whole cluster of kindred of all ages, from four weeks to fourscore years, have gone in mournful procession to the shores; the bagpipes meanwhile playing before them a sad funeral air."

V, Page 136.

A Highlander would fight to the last drop of his blood at the command of his Chief; and if he thought his own honour, or that of his district or clan, insulted, he was equally ready to call for redress, and to seek revenge: yet, with this disposition, and though generally armed, few lives were lost, except in general engagements and skirmishes. This is particularly to be remarked in their personal encounters, duels, and trials of swordsmanship.* The stories detailed of private assassinations,

* A relation of mine, the late Mr Stewart of Bohallie, exhibited an instance of this. He was one of the gentlemen soldiers in the Black Watch (but left them before the march to England), and one of the best swordsmen of his time. Latterly he was of a mild disposition, but in his youth he had been hot and impetuous; and as in those days the country was full of young men equally ready to take fire, persons of this description had ample opportunity of proving the temper of their swords, and their dexterity in the use of them. Bohallie often spoke of many contests and trials of skill, but they always avoided, he said, coming to extremities, and were in general satisfied when blood was drawn, and "I had the good fortune never to kill my man." His swords and targets gave evidence of the service they had seen. On one occasion he was passing from Breadalbane to Lochlomond through Glenfalloch, in company with James Macgregor, one of Rob Roy's sons. As they came to a certain spot,

murders, and conflagration, deserve no credit, as is well known to every man of intelligence in the country, at least when reported to have occurred within the last century-and-a-half. In earlier times, there were murders in the Highlands, as there were in the streets of Edinburgh in mid-day, but much of these may be attributed to the weakness of the laws, and a high spirited turbulence. The character of the Highlanders will be better understood by their actions than by collecting anecdotes two and three hundred years old, and giving them as specimens of what was supposed to have occurred within the fifty years preceding the Rebellion of 1745. In this Rebellion did they display any blood-thirsty atrocity? It were as just to take the character of the people of Scotland from the period and scenes described by Pitscottie in the extract I have quoted, as thus to collect all the revolting anecdotes and repetitions of centuries, and give them as specimens of the Highland character in the days of Rob Roy Macgregor. Even in the seventeenth century, when turbulence was at its height, less atrocity was shown by the Highlanders than has been exhibited by enlightened nations of modern times when living at free quarters in an enemy's country. Spain, Portugal, Germany, Russia, Italy, and Egypt, have ample reason to remember the murders, conflagrations, and spoliation of the armies of France. The following statement shows the manner in which the Highlanders comported themselves, when ordered from their mountains,

Macgregor said, "It was here I tried the mettle of one of your kinsmen." Some miles further on, he continued, "Here I made another of your blood feel the superiority of my sword; and here," said he, when in sight of Benlomond, in the country of the Macgregors, "I made a third of your royal clan yield to Clan Gregor." My old friend's blood was set in motion by the first remark: the second, as he said, made it boil; however, he restrained himself till the third, when he exclaimed, "You have said and done enough; now stand, defend yourself, and see if the fourth defeat of a Stewart will give victory to a Gregarach." As they were both good swordsmen, it was some time before Macgregor received a cut in the sword arm, when, dropping his target, he gave up the contest.

for the special purpose of keeping down the Republican spirit in the south-west of Scotland, and of living at free quarters on the Covenanters, and others inimical to the measures of Government. This was in 1678, when the "Highland Host" (as they were called), of 8000 men, were ordered south, to "eat up" the Covenanters. In what manner they obeyed these instructions we learn from an eye-witness, whose account is preserved in Wodrow's MS. in the Advocates' Library. This writer, who evinces no friendship for this "Heathen and Unholy Host," describes their parties sent out for provisions, and the sufferings of the inhabitants, who were beaten and driven out of their houses if they refused to give what they demanded. After a detail of outrages, which, indeed, were to be expected, as it was for this very purpose that they were sent on the duty, he concludes, in a manner hardly to be expected, and certainly very different from the accounts we read of the proceedings of the modern Vandals when overrunning the Continent, and who, if they had forced their way into this country, and had, like the Highlanders, been ordered to live at free quarters, "to eat up," harass, and keep down the people, would not perhaps have left the country with such a report of the proceedings as the following. "Yet I hear not," says the writer in Wodrow's MS., "of any *having been killed*, though many were hurt; but I would not have you think that all the Highlanders behave after the same manner" (going about in parties to collect provision and plunder.) "No, there is a difference both among the men and leaders. The Marquis of Atholl's men are generally commended, both as the best appointed and the best behaved. Neither do I hear of any hurt done by the Earl of Moray's men, but all of them take free quarters, and at their own discretion." Living in this manner, and sent for such a special purpose, none were killed even by the most turbulent. That numbers were hurt in defending their property was to be expected, and it is matter of surprise, that, in such circumstances, lives were not lost.

W, Page 151.

The tenants of Lochiel and Ardsheal supplied these gentlemen with money, after the year 1745, when their estates were forfeited, and they themselves in exile in France. When the Earl of Seaforth was in similar circumstances, after his attainder in 1716, he experienced the same generous and disinterested fidelity;* and Macpherson of Clunie, though an outlaw, and compelled to live for nine years in caves and woods, was in no want of money or anything that could be contributed by his people, who, after his death, continued the same assistance to his widow and family. But it is needless to multiply examples of this attachment, which existed till a late period, without the least prospect of reward or remuneration, all being the free gift of men poor in substance, but of warm affections and liberal minds. Moreover, this generous disposition was not indulged without risk; for while they paid the full rents demanded by Government after the forfeitures, they were threatened with higher rents, and persecuted by the agents for sending the money out of the country. The disputes between the people and the Crown factors, on this subject, ran very high. A respectable gentleman, Mr Campbell of Glenure, factor on the estate of Ardsheal, was shot from behind a rock when riding on the high road. This happened in 1752, and was the second instance of a murder in these troublesome times. The first was that

* When the rents were collected, for the purpose of being sent to Lord Seaforth in France, 400 of his old followers and tenants escorted the money to Edinburgh to see it safely lodged in the bank. Their first appearance there on this errand caused no small surprise, and strong animadversions on Government for allowing such proceedings. The same people, so generous to their chief in his adversity, preserved such control over him when in full power and prosperity, that they interfered and prevented his pulling down his Castle of Brahan, the destruction of which they considered derogatory to the respectability of the family and clan. In the year 1737, the tenants sent Lord Seaforth £800 in one sum, equal to £8000 in the present day, calculating the rents, and the value of the estate.

of Captain Munro of Culcairn in 1746, noticed in the Annals of the 42nd Regiment. He was shot in the same manner as Glenure, while riding at the head of a party of men marching through Lochaber. But this blow was intended for an officer whose party had, some time previously, burned the assassin's house, turned his family out in a storm of snow, and taken away his cattle; while his son, who had resisted, was killed. Considering the state of men's minds, and the disturbed condition of the country for so many years, it may be considered remarkable, that these were the only two instances of premeditated murder. The man who shot Culcairn was known; but, through some unexplained cause, he was not apprehended. It has never been fully ascertained who shot Mr Campbell. Suspicion fell upon a man of the name of Allan Stewart or Allan Breac (as he was called, from the marks of the small-pox), who had been a sergeant in the French service, had come over in the year of the Rebellion, and lived afterwards as an outlaw. He was never seen after the murder, and was supposed to have gone to France. A gentleman of the name of Stewart, a relation of the family of Ardsheal, was taken up, indicted, and tried at Inveraray, on suspicion of being art and part (as the Scotch law terms it), or in the fore-knowledge of the murder. The Duke of Argyll, then Justice-General, sat on the bench, and the Lord-Advocate attended as prosecutor, the only instance of this officer presiding on any criminal trial, or of the Lord-Advocate prosecuting at an assize. Mr Stewart was found guilty, and executed near the spot where the murder was committed, and his body hung in chains. The whole transaction caused a great sensation, and the justice of the verdict and execution was much canvassed. It is now believed that the result would have been different had the trial taken place at a later period. But whether or not Mr Stewart deserved his fate, it were well that all executions made such an impression on the minds of the people as this did, and still continues to make to this day. The talents and respectable character of the person executed, the public

exhibition of his body, a thing hitherto unknown in that country, and the doubtful circumstance of his guilt, are still matters of deep reflection among the people. On Sundays, and at times when they pass in more than ordinary numbers, they assemble on or near the spot where the gibbet stood, and talk with solemn and impressive awe of the whole circumstances.

Turbulent and accustomed to blood as the Highlanders were supposed to be, the terror and awe inspired by public executions is very remarkable. This awe is not confined within the mountains. I have seen soldiers, fearless of death when before an enemy, for days previous to an execution become grave, thoughtful, and seemingly powerfully impressed with a kind of dread, which they could not shake off.

X, Page 155.

It may be curious to notice the similarity of action among men with very different principles in all things, except what concerns their interests. After the new system of managing lands and laying out farms had commenced in the Highlands, the ancient occupiers and cultivators were often overlooked by those who undertook to new-model gentlemen's estates. *Their* future happiness or misery formed no part of the new plans, and seemed as much disregarded as the fate of the ancient breed of horses and sheep. The old Highlanders were considered unfit for the new improvements; the length of time they held their lands gave them no claim; they had possessed them too long already; they must now give place to others. This was the language of many agents employed in these arrangements, and the language also of too many of those who employed them.—At the beginning of the French Revolution, when Dundee, Perth, and other towns, planted the tree of liberty, and the doctrine of equality of property was held out to encourage the partisans of Revolutionary Principles, the late Mr Dempster of Dunichen observed, in

the spring of 1791, that his farm-grieve, or overseer, had paid particular attention to a large field, ploughing and harrowing it twice, and laying down a double allowance of manure. He was preparing a third dressing, when Mr Dempster asked the cause of all this care bestowed upon one field more than the others. After some hesitation, the man answered, that every person had a right to attend to his own interest. Mr Dempster observed, that however true that might be, it could have no concern with that field. To this the grieve replied, that, as he had been a kind and generous master to him, he would explain the whole matter. He then told him that, at a late meeting of Delegates of the Friends of the People, they had discussed much business, and, among other matter, had made a division of all the lands in the district, when this field, and some acres of pasture, fell to his share. His master told him he was happy to find him well provided, and asked what part of the estate they had allotted to him. "Oh, as to you, Sir, and the other Lairds," replied the man, "it was resolved that you should have nothing to do with the land, and that none of the old Lairds or Proprietors were to have any. They and their families had had these lands long enough; their old notions were not fit for the new times; therefore they must all quit, and make way for the new system and new order of things; but as you have been always so good to me, I will propose, at the next meeting, that a portion be left for you."

Y, Page, 167.

On reference to the proceedings of the Court of Justiciary in the northern counties, it will be found that the capital convictions at Inverness, from the year 1747 to 1817, have been fifty-nine. Of these there were—

10 men for murder.

9 women for child-murder.*

* This crime is less frequent since the strictness of church disci-

- 2 men for rape ; one of them rape and murder near Elgin.
- 1 man for fire-raising.
- 12 men for cattle-stealing.*
- 1 man for sheep-stealing.†
- 2 men for house-breaking and theft.
- 9 men for theft.
- 3 men for robbing.

Of these criminals eight were strangers, soldiers quartered in the different garrisons, and others, who committed crimes as they passed through the country, and were apprehended and tried there. This Circuit includes the lowland part of the counties of Moray and Orkney (in the latter crimes of magnitude are very rare), containing a population of 238,681 souls, out of which there were 59 persons (51 natives) convicted in the course of seventy years, making the proportion of one criminal to 283,180 souls. From 1756 to 1761, and from 1767 to 1773, there were no convictions. From 1773 to 1783, there was only

pline has been softened. Only one woman has been condemned since 1763.

* This was at the earlier period, before the nature and danger of "*lifting cattle*," as it was called, was properly understood by the Highlanders. None have been convicted of cattle-stealing since the year 1765. When it was known to be a crime, the practice ceased. Two of the above offenders were in the knowledge of all the Pretender's movements after the battle of Culloden. They gave him information, supplied him with provisions, were taken up on suspicion, threatened with instant execution, if they did not confess what they knew of him, and, at the same time, offered the tempting reward of £30,000. But all in vain. Neither the prospect of immediate death, or the offer of immediate wealth, had any influence over the minds of these poor men, in a case where they thought their honour was concerned. *They were afterwards hanged for stealing a cow!*

† This was at a later period, when the stock graziers got possession of the pasture grounds. Many sheep were stolen at that period. Four men were banished for this crime: one of them from Glengarry is in possession of considerable property in Botany Bay. He was taken up near Perth, where I saw him a prisoner. His appearance was remarkable; six feet three inches, stout, well formed, and with a florid handsome countenance.

one man convicted ; his crime was murder. From 1794 to 1817, there were three convictions for murder, but none for robbery, housebreaking, or any other crime. In May 1817, a woman was condemned for theft.

The feudal powers and jurisdiction of the Duke of Argyll were abolished in the year 1748, and the first assize court was held at Inveraray in May 1749. From that period till 1817, the number of convictions has been eight. The crimes were --

- 3 for murder.
- 1 for cattle-stealing.
- 3 for theft (two women, and one man).
- 1 man for forgery.

This last case happened in the year 1782. The offender's name was Macaffie. The forgery was committed in Dublin, but, attempting to pass his notes in Inveraray, he was apprehended, tried and condemned. On some certified question of law, however, he was taken to Edinburgh, when the point was decided against him, and he was executed there. If we except this conviction of a stranger, and that of James Fullarton for theft in 1783, there were none condemned at Inveraray, for a period of fifty-one years, from 1753 to 1804. There have been two convictions for murder since. One in 1805,* another in 1817. The Inveraray Circuit includes the counties of Argyle and Bute, containing a population of 82,261 persons.

The population of that part of the Aberdeen Circuit, which may be properly called Highland, and which includes portions of the counties of Kincardine and Banff, amounts to 14,596 persons. From 1747 to 1817, there were two men condemned from that part of the country ; one for murder in the year 1770, and another for fire-raising in 1785. From 1770 to 1784, there was no capital conviction in Aberdeen.

* This was a travelling tinker from Athole. He was executed for throwing his wife into a river, where she was found drowned, near the King's House Inn, Glenorchy.

As the Highland parts of Perthshire constitute but a small part of that Circuit, which comprehends Perth, Fife, and Angus, I shall only notice the native Highlanders tried and condemned at Perth, from 1747 to 1817. The number was sixteen, of whom

- 5 men were convicted for murder.
- 4 men for cattle-stealing.
- 4 for theft.
- 2 women for child-murder.
- 1 man for rape.

The population of the Highlands of Perthshire is about 40,130, giving a greater proportion of criminals than either of the other circuits.

Proportion of Convicted Criminals to the Population in the different Districts in the Highlands from 1747 to 1817.

	Population.	Convictions.	Proportions.
Inverness Circuit - - -	238,681	59 in 70 years,	1 to 283,180
Inveraray - - - - -	82,261	8 in 69	1 to 709,501
Perthshire Highlands -	40,130	16 in 70	1 to 175,569
Aberdeen, Banff, etc. -	14,596	2 in 70	1 to 510,860
Highlands of Stirling and Dumbarton - - - -	13,259	5 in 70	1 to 185,626
All the Highlands - -	388,982	90	1 to 301,677
Proportion of England and Wales, for 7 years pre- vious to 1817 - -	10,204,280	4226 in 7 years,	or 1 to 16,898

Z, Page 172.

Of this there are numberless proofs in all parts of the Highlands. I remember many old people, who, in their youth, saw corn growing on fields now covered with heather. Among many traditions on this subject, there is one of a wager between my great grandfather, and four Lowland gentlemen. These were the then Mr Smythe of Methven, Sir David Threipland, Mr Moray of Abercairney, and Sir Thomas Moncrieff. The object of the wager was, who could produce a boll of barley of the best quality, my ancestor to take his specimen

from his highest farm, and Sir David Threipland not to take his specimen from his low farms on the plains of the Carse of Gowrie, but from a farm on the heights. Marshall Wade who was then Commander in Chief, and superintending the formation of the Highland roads, was to be the umpire. Methven produced the best barley, Sir Thomas Moncrieff the second, my relation the third, Abercairney the fourth, and Sir David Threipland the fifth and most inferior quality. This happened in the year 1726 or 1727. It is said that the season was uncommonly favourable for high grounds, being hot and dry. The spot which produced the Highland specimen is at the foot of the mountain Shichallain, and is now totally uncultivated, but of a deep rich soil, only requiring climate and shelter with planting to produce the best crops. Some hundred yards farther up the side of the mountain, and more than 1400 feet above the level of the sea, the traces of the plough are clear and distinct; also the remains of enclosures and mounds of stones, which had been cleared away from the lands, when prepared for cultivation in more ancient times. In the present state of the climate and the country, bare and unsheltered from the mountain blast, those fields, once smiling with verdure, woods (the underground roots of which still exist in vast quantities), and cultivation, now present the aspect of a black desolate waste. This extension of early cultivation was the more necessary from the numerous population, of which there are so many evident traces. Although the more remote ages are called pastoral, the value and importance of cultivation seem to have been well appreciated. Forest trees of large size have flourished on those high mountains, as is fully proved by their remains, which are still found in mosses more than 1500 feet above the sea. Recent experience, in several instances, has shown, that Scotch fir and Alpine larch will prosper in those high regions.* An experiment to try how far their shelter

* The larch is now spreading over the whole kingdom, and has proved a valuable acquisition to the produce of many barren moors

would improve the climate, so as to make the soil productive and cultivable, as in former times, would, in the opinion of many intelligent men, be preferable to the modern system of improving our mountains and glens, by removing the ancient hardy race that have peopled, for so many ages, extensive tracts which are now to be left in the state of nature, never to experience the influence of human industry. These regions might be improved into arable productive soil by humane and considerate proprietors, who retain their people, which are the wealth and capital of the country, and, in the opinion of Sir Humphry Davie, on the Improvement of Moss and Moorland, there is "strong ground to believe that the capital expended (in the Highlands the manual labour of the people is their capital) would, in a very few years, afford a great and increasing interest, and would contribute to the wealth, prosperity, and population of this island."

in the Highlands, where the climate is found more favourable for this species of pine than in the plains. The wood is of an excellent quality. The Athole frigate, built entirely of Athole larch, is expected to show that it will prove a good substitute for oak in ship-building.

The larch was accidentally brought to Scotland by a gentleman whom I have had occasion to mention more than once. Mr Menzies of Culdares was in London in 1737, and hearing of a beautiful pine shrub recently imported from the Alps, procured four plants; he gave two to the Duke of Atholl, which are now in full vigour at Dunkeld, and may be called the parents of all the larch in the kingdom; he gave a third to Mr Campbell of Monzie, and kept the fourth for himself, which unfortunately was cut down forty years ago. It had then been planted 45 years, and had grown to seven feet nine inches in circumference. The Duke of Atholl's plants were placed in a green-house at Dunkeld, where they did not thrive, and were thrown out, when they immediately began to grow, and quickly showed the consequence of being placed in a proper climate.

The Duke of Atholl sold one thousand larch trees of seventy years growth for £5000. If they had been planted and grown regularly, they would not have covered more than nine Scotch acres of the light soil on which they thrive best, allowing 22 feet square for each tree, more than ample space for the larch.

AA, Page 187.

It is said that a man is more comfortable as a day-labourer than as a small farmer. Experience is in opposition to this opinion, in so far as, where we see many thousand labourers become paupers, such is never the case with the occupiers of land. These may be poor and involved in difficulties, but they are never in want of food, or dependent on charitable aid. Ireland is stated as an instance of the misery of small farmers. This is no more a fair example, than that of the people placed on small allotments of moorland in the new mode introduced into the Highlands.

That part of Lord Breadalbane's estate, which is on both sides of Loch Tay, contains nearly 11,000 acres of arable woodland and pasture, in sight of the lake, besides the mountain grazing; the whole supporting a population of about 3120 souls. Were he to divide the 11,000 acres into eight or ten farms, agreeably to the practice now in progress in the Highlands, placing the present population on small lots as day-labourers, would they be so independent as they now are, paying for the lands on the banks of Loch Tay, high as they are, and notwithstanding a backward climate, as good a rent as is paid by many farmers in Kent or Sussex? Lord Breadalbane is sensible of this, and preserves the loyal race of men who occupy his land, without having occasion to establish associations for the suppression of felony, as in the *improved* districts in the North,* or establishing rates for the poor,

* When protecting associations are found necessary in the North Highlands, under the new mode of management, I may notice the state of morals in this great property, maintaining a population of more than 8000 persons in Perthshire, besides 5000 in Argyleshire. From the year 1750 to 1813, there have been only two persons accused of capital crimes in Lord Breadalbane's estate in Perthshire, and both were acquitted. The first was a farmer tried on suspicion of murder.† The second was Ewan Campbell (or Laidir), noticed

† He was a married man, who lived at the foot of Ben Lawres.

as has been done in the fertile and wealthy counties of Roxburgh, Berwick, etc. Should his Sovereign visit Scotland, and pass through the Earl of Breadalbane's territory, his Lordship might assemble, on a few hours' warning, 2000 men, in the prime of life, ready to receive his Prince at any of the great passes or entrances into his property, at Taybridge, Glenorchy, or Glenogle. At the head of this loyal and hardy race of men, Lord Breadalbane may welcome his Sovereign, and, pointing to his followers, may say, such men as these are good supporters of the country and the throne, and, while their loyalty, principles, and ancient spirit are preserved pure and undaunted, they will always be ready to "Follow me" * at the call of their King and Country. †

in Appendix EE. Macalpine, also mentioned in the text, was tried for an illegal act, which would have subjected him to the punishment of felony, namely, for wearing the Highland garb. Some aberrations from the general rule of morality have lately occurred,—the concomitants, as a certain class of political economists say, of the progress of civilization.—*Swindling, fraudulent bankruptcy, and forgery, the consequences of civilization!!!*

* See page 31, Vol. I.

† Since the above was written, a meeting of this kind happened in September 1819, when 1238 men of Lord Breadalbane's tenants, in the prime of life, and in the garb of their ancestors, assembled on the lawn in front of Taymouth Castle, when Prince Leopold honoured his Lordship with a visit. The number could have been doubled.

In autumn 1765, a servant girl in his family suddenly disappeared, and no trace of her could be discovered till the following spring, when the shepherds found her body floating in a small lake, nearly half way up the mountain. Owing to the length of time the body lay in the water, no close examination could be made, and no marks of violence were observed: but after the body was found, a report was spread that an improper intimacy between the deceased and her master had been observed. On this suspicion he was apprehended and tried at the Perth Circuit Court, and acquitted, as there was no evidence beyond this suspicious report. While he lay in jail, it was broke, and several prisoners made their escape, and as he refused to accompany them, saying he was conscious of his innocence, the circumstance acted powerfully in his favour; he, however, never returned to the country. His family followed him to the Low country, where he settled and died.

BB, Page 216.

To offer an agricultural comparison, taken from a Highland glen, may occasion a smile; but I may be permitted to mention the relative state of two glens high up in the Highlands, both of nearly the same extent and quality of pasture and arable land, with no difference of climate. The one is full of people, all of whom are supported by the produce. The other glen was once as populous, but is now laid out in extensive grazings, and the arable land turned into pasture. The population of the latter, compared with the former, is as one to fifteen, and the difference of rent supposed to be about four per cent. in favour of the stock-farming glen. But in the populous district, the surface is cleared, the soil improved, and the produce increased, merely by the strength of many hands, without expense to the landlord either in building houses or otherwise. In the grazing glen the soil remains in a state of nature, and large sums have been expended in building houses for the men of capital. The income-tax being removed, few direct taxes reach them, horses or carts being scarcely at all employed; whereas, in the populous districts, taxes are paid for horses, hearths, dogs, and for the manufactures which the people consume. The stock-farmer ought to send more produce to market than can be spared, where there are so many people to support, but does this additional marketable produce go to the landlord? Perhaps as much of this produce is laid out on the extended mode of living in the family and personal expense of the man of capital, as is consumed by the more numerous but more economical occupiers; but that even they can spare a full proportion, is evident from the rent and taxes they pay, and the money required for their necessary supplies; the land, at the same time, supporting a numerous population who improve the soil, and give nearly as good rents to the landlord, and pay more taxes; consuming manufactures in the same proportion, and adding to the employment of those who prepare

them; and producing from their small spots of land a sufficiency to answer all demands; and, above all, to maintain a robust, active body of men, ready to turn out in defence of the liberty and honour of their country. With all this the earth is cultivated and grain produced, and industry, and the improvements of men, are allowed full play. In the grazing districts, again, with less than one-fifteenth part of this population, few taxes are paid, few manufactures consumed, the soil is left in the state of nature, and the country apparently waste.

Conversing on this point at different times with judicious stock-farmers and graziers of capital, I asked if they could pay a rent equal to that of the small tenants in the populous glens. They answered, "Yes, certainly." Following up this question, I asked if they could pay the rent, still keeping the people, having no cultivation, and turning all the land to pasturage. The answer always was, Certainly not more than half the rent. When further questioned, why then did they turn their own farms to pasturage, when they saw and acknowledged the superior advantage of cultivation? To this the only answer was, That pasturage was more easily managed; that, with ten men and twenty dogs, they would take care of all the sheep and cattle in the glen, which, under cultivation, supported 643 persons. In short, they fully acknowledged, that cultivating the land made this immense difference; but then they could not cultivate the farms without restoring the people, or employing a great many servants. They insisted, at the same time, that pasture is better adapted to wet climates, and more easily managed than cultivated fields, overlooking the strong and acknowledged fact before them, as well as many others of the same tendency. Their concluding argument was, that to improve the soil was the business of the proprietor, not theirs. If gentlemen allowed their lands to remain in a state of nature, without an attempt to improve or continue the cultivation, the loss was the proprietor's, and so long as they got their farms for the rents they

could afford to pay in pasture, they asked for no improvement.*

CC, Page, 223.

The funds for the relief of the poor have been stationary in those districts where the inhabitants hold their lands. In the Highlands of Perthshire, even in 1816 and 1817, years of unprecedented pressure on the poor, when great sums were subscribed for their support in the South, there was no increased demand beyond what private benevolence supplied. The clergymen, who have the management and distribution of the funds for the poor find no clamorous call for charitable aid; on the contrary, they are obliged to search for proper objects, who conceal their wants, suffering every privation, rather than humble themselves to ask for public charity, at the same time that they will gratefully receive private aid from any benevolent or more opulent neighbours. In a letter from a respectable clergyman in Athole on this subject, he says, "I have witnessed many singular instances, and have been astonished and gratified, to see how long poor creatures will struggle with their fate before they submit to that painful degradation. How eminently useful it is to step forward to their aid before the virtuous pride is altogether destroyed, and they are reduced to that last resource which they so justly and greatly dread!"† Another able and zealous clergyman writes: "I must always search for the objects of charity in my parish. When questioning individuals on their state, I have seen

* It may not be irrelevant to state, that, notwithstanding the recent depopulation of the higher glens, their inhabitants have always been more athletic, better limbed, and more independent in their minds, than the inhabitants of the lower glens; the soil in many of the higher glens is deep and rich, and when properly cultivated with lime, manure, and green crops, the corn is strong and productive, failing only in cold and wet autumns. The upper glens on Lord Breadalbane's, as well as those on many other estates, prove the superior appearance of the people and capability of the soil.

† Letter from the Reverend Mr Duff, Minister of Mouline.

a blush of shame and confusion spread over their countenances ; and while they endeavoured to conceal their wants, and pointed out to me others more needful, I knew that they were in great necessity.”*

In the parish of Moulin, containing a population of 1947 souls, there are thirteen poor receiving permanent relief, and eleven occasional assistance, but no itinerant beggars in the parish. Indeed, the fund could not afford much, as the amount has not exceeded £22. 10s. on the average of the last five years. To this may be added the interest of small sums bequeathed by benevolent individuals some years ago. In the parish of Dull, with a population of 4236 persons, the number of poor is sixty-one, assisted by a fund of £92. 15s. annually. Weem parish has no itinerant beggars out of a population of 1484 souls. The amount of the funds is £24. 10s. on an average of five years, and the number of poor on the same average fifteen persons. In the parish of Logierait, the poor have lessened in late years, when there was a great increase of them in the Northern Highlands. The number of inhabitants is 3015, with little variation for several years. In 1812, the paupers were forty-one, and in 1817, the number was thirty-two persons. Dr Smith, in his “General Survey of the County of Argyle, drawn up for the Board of Agriculture,” in speaking of the poor of Argyleshire, says, “The number supported by private or public contributions or otherwise is, in general, very inconsiderable, as they have a modesty and spirit that makes them endure absolute want before they can bring themselves to the mortification of receiving any public aid. This innate disposition keeps them from being anywhere a burden. In the Island of Tyree, in Argyleshire, there are 2446 persons, with fifty paupers. In the Island of Coll, the number is 1193, and thirty-four poor receive aid. The annual distribution to each individual from the poor’s fund is 3s.” With such a fund, it is absurd to speak of the allowance to a pauper as a support.

* Letter from the Reverend Dr Irvine, Little Dunkeld.

DD, Page 226.

The excuse for this manner of letting lands by auction, is, that landlords cannot otherwise ascertain the value of their property. But are those who are thus called upon to offer the proper value the best judges? They are, in general, either the tenant in possession, distracted with the dread of being turned out, and, therefore, ready to give any rent rather than move from the scene of his past happiness; or it may be a speculator, supported by credit, without property to lose, who will risk any rent, in the expectation that fortune and favourable seasons will enable him to work his way; if he fails, he is no worse off than before, nay, perhaps, richer, as part of his creditors' money may remain in his hands; or, lastly, it may be a stranger from a distant country, ignorant of the quality of the soil and of its proper management in an elevated country, and a boisterous uncertain climate. It is said that while people are ready to take farms, the rent cannot be too high, and the landlord is justifiable in taking the best offer. In the same manner, it has been said, that while there are numberless candidates for army commissions, the pay of subalterns is not too small. That the pay of a subaltern is too small, I well know by years of hard experience, and I believe the numberless candidates are rather urged by a predilection for the profession, and by their want of other employment, than tempted by the sufficiency of military emoluments. From the same cause, and from the same desire of obtaining a settlement, candidates are induced to bid for land at whatever rent. Were it the practice to set up commissions to public sale to the highest bidder, or by secret and rival offers, the money to be paid in annual instalments, like the rents, instead of the whole down, thus affording some hope, that the delay would enable them to pay all, there is no doubt that the price of commissions would quickly augment; but what would be the consequence? Certain ruin to the unfor-

tunate purchasers, their spirit broken down by poverty, their morals unhinged, and in the hope of retrieving their difficulties, gambling and other practices, discreditable to themselves and their profession resorted to. But, happily for the honour of the army, the destruction of principle consequent on such proceedings was foreseen and guarded against, and all officers are strictly prohibited from giving more than the price established by regulations for their commissions. A different system would quickly ruin the army; and it is no less destructive and subversive of the best principles of the cultivators of the land, who have hitherto been conspicuous for their primitive manners and integrity.

Although all my observations apply to the Highlands only, I may take examples from the Lowlands, and give that of a nobleman whose character adds lustre to his high rank, and who, after having proved himself one of the most illustrious and able commanders of his country, when fighting her battles, has now, when his services in the field are no longer necessary, shown himself equally great, judicious, and generous, in the management of his almost princely estate, to which he succeeded a few years ago.* The former leases were let by public advertisement and acceptance of the highest offer; accordingly, great rents were promised, but irregularly paid, and sometimes by sequestrations. Tormented and disgusted with these proceedings, and shocked at the distress and deteriorated character and principles of the tenants, who were resorting to discreditable shifts to meet demands they could not fairly answer, he determined to act agreeably to the dictates of his honourable mind. As the term of the leases expired, he called for no secret offer, he employed no land valuator or agent, he did not offer his farms by public advertisements; he examined every farm himself, and calculated the produce, and thus was personally able to ascertain how far the former rents were the cause of the failures and defalcations; he fixed the new rents at a

* This was General the late Earl of Hopetoun.

reduction of the old, on an average of thirty per cent., although some were raised. So injudicious were the former rents, that while some were far beyond their value, others were too low. Every tenant obtained his own farm, except two, who, by their offers, were partly the cause of the former injudicious augmentations. The tenants can now bear up under low prices and taxes, as their moderate rents enable them to meet unfortunate contingencies, and their generous landlord is secured in a regular income, thus making him as independent as he made his tenants.

EE, Page 257.

Instances are common in the Highlands, even to this day, of the influence of public opinion operating as a powerful restraint on crimes, nay, even as a punishment, to the extent of forcing individuals into exile. Of these, two have occurred within my own remembrance. Several years ago, two men, one old and the other young, stepped into a small boat to cross Loch Tay. In the middle of the lake they were seen to stand up, as if struggling, and then quickly to sit or fall down, the people from the distance could not distinguish which. When the boat arrived at the shore, the young man was missing. The account which his aged companion gave was, that the youth was in liquor, and wished to quarrel with him, and got up in the boat to strike him, but his foot slipped and he fell overboard. This story was not believed. The man was sent to Perth jail, tried at the ensuing assizes, and acquitted for want of evidence. The impression of his guilt, however, was not to be effaced from the minds of the people. This belief was farther confirmed by the character of the man, who was quarrelsome and passionate. On his return to Breadalbane no person would speak to him. He was not upbraided for his supposed guilt, nor was any attempt made to insult or maltreat him; but he found every back turned upon him, and every house he entered instantly emptied of its inhabitants. He withstood this for a short

time, when he left the country, and never returned, or was seen afterwards. I was present at this man's trial. His name was Ewan Campbell, or Ewen Laidir, or the Strong, from his great strength. The other instance happened some years afterwards in Strathbrane, the most southern valley in the Perthshire Highlands. The circumstances were in part similar to those which occasioned the late proposed trial by wager of battle in the case of Thornton, accused of the murder of Mary Ashford. A young woman was found drowned in a small pool of water used for steeping flax, having considerable marks of violence on the body, and traces of struggling being discovered on the grass round the pool. There was not a doubt but she had been murdered and forced into the water. Suspicions fell upon a young man supposed to have been her sweetheart. He was sent to Perth jail, tried, and acquitted for want of proof. In the minds of the people, however, there was proof sufficient. He happened to reach home late on a Saturday night, and next morning went to hear Divine service, and took his seat in one end of the church; but in a moment he had it wholly to himself. Every person moved away to a distance, and left the whole range of seats empty. When he came out after service, and stood in the church-yard, all shunned him, and when he walked homewards, those that were in his front hurried on, and those behind walked slow, leaving the road to himself. This was too much to bear, and his resolution not holding out so long as the old man's, he disappeared that night, and, like him, has never since been heard of.

The laws are now sufficiently strong to punish all crimes in the Highlands. When such was not the case, these were the institutions and habits of thinking which these illiterate people established for themselves, to punish and prevent transgressions.

FF, Page 262.

To extend the means of education, a knowledge of

the Scriptures, and a consequent regard to religion and moral duties, great improvements have been lately made by the humane beneficence of individuals, who have raised a fund for the support of Gaelic schools, and have thus enabled the natives to read the Scriptures in a language which they understand. As the best books only are published in that language, the principles of the people will be protected from the contamination of seditious and improper tracts, and the advantages of education will be unmingled with the danger that threatens their best principles, by the abuse of those blessings which ought to be the result. The means of educating the Highlanders in the early part of the last century, and of instructing them in religious knowledge, do not seem to have been well understood or well conducted. The established clergy were directed to preach and exhort in English, and schoolmasters to teach in the same language. Thus, while the parishioners were compelled to listen to discourses and prayers of which they did not comprehend one sentence, their children were taught to pronounce and run over their letters with as little instruction. In conformity to this precious system, patrons of Highland parishes have, in many cases, appointed ministers from the Lowlands, totally ignorant of the only language understood by the parishioners.* In the year 1791, the case

* If it were proper to be otherwise than serious on such a subject, the appearance the Lowland clergy make in attempting to preach in Gaelic might occasion more than a smile. The mistakes they constantly commit, their perversion of the language and confounding of the meaning of words, which may be understood in two or more senses, occasion ridiculous scenes, which put the gravity of the aged to the proof, and throw the youthful into fits of laughter not easily controlled. When these are the means by which religious instruction is in so many cases conveyed to the Highlanders, their ignorance may cease to excite wonder; and, instead of seeing men expressing their grief and horror at the want of religion, knowledge of Christianity, and the vices which, they pretend, exist in the Highlands, it were well if a share of their horror and indignation were raised against those who deprive the inhabitants of the means of instruction, and some share of merit and approbation might be shown towards a people who, although under such disadvantages, are not altogether so ignorant as they are called.

of the appointment of a clergyman, ignorant of the Gaelic language, to a Highland parish in Aberdeenshire, came, by appeal, before the General Assembly. But the Assembly, from the members of which, as the fathers of the church and supporters of religion, a different decision might have been expected, *sustained the appointment*; and thus, by giving countenance to an unprincipled practice, by which the very source of Christian instruction is dried up, patrons of parishes are encouraged to persevere in a flagitious system which deprives a whole population of the means of hearing Divine worship performed in an intelligible language. Yet, while religious knowledge was, in these cases, placed beyond the reach of the Highlanders, by those whose bounden duty it was to afford them every facility to acquire it, the state of religion, and the clear notions the people entertain of their religious duties, are very remarkable, particularly when those disadvantages, the scarcity of clergymen, and the general great extent of the parishes, are taken into consideration. The indifference shown to their religious instruction at the Reformation is well known, and looked more like a total extinction, than a reform of religion; for, at that period, two, three, and in some cases four parishes, were united into one; numberless chapels were destroyed,* and tracts of forty or fifty miles in extent were left without a church, or minister of the gospel.

Although there are many thousand unable to read, and many more unable to understand what they read (in English), the advantages of education, when combined with temporal comforts, are well understood, and when

* The churches of the adjoining parishes of Fortingall in Perthshire, and of Lismore in Argyleshire, are 78 miles distant. The parish of Appin was suppressed and annexed to Lismore, and Kilchonnann annexed to Fortingall. Nine chapels in these four parishes were totally suppressed; and thus, where thirteen clergymen were established formerly, the economy of the Reformers allowed only two; and this they called teaching the true gospel, where no teachers were left, no provision for clergymen, nor churches for Divine worship allowed. Four parishes were united under one clergyman at Blair-Athole. Similar instances are frequent in the Highlands and Isles.

allowed to go hand in hand, they have answered the most sanguine expectations. In this manner, we see men, in the lowest situations as cottagers, giving an education to their children, which fits them for any profession. Many men of my intimate acquaintance, educated in this manner, have been, and now are, eminent in different learned professions. Others give equal promise. These men acquire the religious and moral habits, which paved the way to their present eminence, from the poor but well-principled parents. The number of persons thus educated from the poorest class of the people is, I believe, unparalleled. This commendable trait of character may be considered as part of that chivalrous independent spirit which animated the clans, and which, amidst poverty and frequent violations of law and regular government, developed many honourable points of character.

But to return to the subject of religious knowledge. They who suppose that knowledge is only acquired from books, will find some difficulty in believing that in the Highlands, men without any education, or any language but their own, can give a clear account of their faith. With a memory rendered tenacious and accurate, by their inability to read, and the consequent necessity of retaining in their recollection what they hear, they acquire a competent knowledge of the Scriptures, and on reference to any important passage, will readily point out the chapter and verse. Not only can they repeat whole chapters from recollection, but even recollect the greater part of a sermon. Men of this kind were not to be found in every family, but they were frequent; and by free communication of their acquirements, have greatly contributed to considerable intelligence, both civil and religious. But, as education extends, this faculty of a tenacious memory must diminish. When a man can find what he wishes to know by turning up a book, he is apt to think that he need not be at the trouble of retaining it in his memory. As education is becoming so general, it is to be hoped, that moral principles will be preserved and combined with increase of knowledge, and that the people will read

and comprehend the Scriptures with at least the same advantage and instruction as when they were taught and explained by zealous and able clergymen, and by such intelligent persons as I have just noticed.

GG, Page 290.

That Highlanders may be rendered useless, and their best military qualities destroyed, by want of attention to their peculiar habits, was exemplified in the reign of Charles I., when two potent rivals, the Marquis of Montrose and the Marquis of Argyll, taking opposite sides in the Rebellion, each commanded an army of Highlanders. Montrose, whose numbers were on every occasion very inferior, never lost a battle. Argyll, with Highlanders equally brave, was constantly worsted. Haughty and overbearing, although a Republican in principle and a Puritan in religion, he kept aloof from his people (who honoured him as their Chief, but could not love him as a man), and disregarded those courtesies by which a Highlander can be so easily managed. Montrose, on the contrary, knew every soldier in his army, and, while he flattered them by his attention to their songs, genealogies, and traditions, and by sharing in all their fatigues and privations, he roused them to exertions almost incredible. So extraordinary were the marches which he performed, that on many occasions, the appearance of his army was the first notice the enemy had of his approach; and of his retreats, the first intelligence was, that he was beyond their reach. Before the battle of Inverlochy in February 1645, when the Marquis of Argyll had 3000 men, and Montrose only 1600, the latter marched thirty miles by an unfrequented route across the mountains of Lochaber, during a heavy fall of snow, and came at night in front of the enemy, when they believed him in another part of the country. "The moon shone so clear that it was almost as light as day; they lay upon their arms the whole night, and, with the assistance of the light, they so

harassed each other with slight alarms and skirmishes, that neither gave the other time to repose. They all earnestly wished for day, only Argyll, more intent on his own safety, conveyed himself away about the middle of the night, and having very opportunely got a boat, escaped the hazard of a battle, choosing rather to be a spectator of the prowess of his men, than share in the danger himself. Nevertheless the chiefs of the Campbells, who were indeed a set of very brave men, and worthy of a better chief, and a better cause, began the battle with great courage. But their first ranks discharging their muskets only once, Montrose's men fell in upon them furiously sword in hand, with a great shout, and advanced with such great impetuosity, that they routed the whole army, and put them to flight, and pursued them for about nine miles, making dreadful slaughter all the way. There were fifteen hundred of the enemy slain, among whom were several gentlemen of distinction of the name of Campbell, who led on the clan, and fell on the field of battle too gallantly for their dastardly chief. Montrose, though an enemy, pitied their fate, and used his authority to save and give quarter to as many as he could. In this battle Montrose had several wounded, but he had none killed but three privates, and Sir Thomas Ogilvie, son of the Earl of Airlie, while Argyll lost the Lairds of Auchenbreck, Glensaddell, and Lochnell, with his son and brother, and Barbreck, Inveraw, Lamont, Silvercraigs, and many others taken prisoners."*

Spalding, in his "History of the Troubles," states, that "there came direct from the Committee of Edinburgh certain men to see Argyll's forwardness in following Montrose, but they saw his flight in manner foresaid. It is to be considered that few of this army had escaped if Montrose had not marched the day before the fight twenty-three miles (Scotch miles), on little food, and crossed sundry waters, wet and weary, and standing in wet and cold the hail night before the fight." Similar

* *Bishop Wishart's Memoirs.*

to this were six successive battles fought by Montrose, the loss on his side being equally small, and that on the side of the Covenanters proportionably great.* In those instances we find a body of men very inferior in numbers, of whom the Highlanders constituted the main strength, carry all before it, when commanded by a man of great military genius, to which he united, in a very eminent degree, the useful talent for properly understanding the character of those he commanded, and accommodating himself to their peculiar habits.

At the battle of Auldearn, a few weeks after that of Inverlochy, Campbell, Laird of Lawers, although upwards of seventy years of age, fought on the side of the Covenanters with a two-handed broadsword, till himself, and four out of six sons who were with him in the field, fell on the ground on which they stood. Such was the enemy which the genius and talents of Montrose overcame.

On that occasion the left wing of Montrose's army was commanded by his able auxiliary Macdonell, or Mac-coull (as he is called in Gaelic), still celebrated in Highland tradition and song for his chivalry and courage. An elevation of the ground separated the wings. Montrose received a report that Macdonell's wing had given way, and was retreating. He instantly ran along the ranks, and called out to his men that Macdonell was driving the enemy before him, and unless they did the same, the other wing would carry away all the glory of the day. His men instantly rushed forward, and charged the enemy off the field, while he hastened with his reserve to the relief of his friend, and recovered the fortune of the day.

* These battles were those of Auldearn, Alford, Tippermuir, Killyth, etc.

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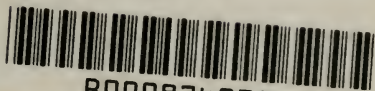
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