

The changing status of the Scottish Highland military class, as evidenced by examination of events of the Interregnum.

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of the fortunes of members of the Scottish Highland military elite during the seventeenth century Interregnum. During the seventeenth century, many members of chiefly military retinues were forced from a position of prestige to that of 'broken men'. This study has sought to demonstrate that perpetrators of violence during the Interregnum were members of a privileged class who were struggling to maintain this position of privilege. The principal qualification for the subjects of this thesis is that they were of noble lineage. They have been classified as 'tories' in order to capture the change that their social group was experiencing. Throughout the thesis, their involvement in military expeditions against the invading Cromwellian army has been discussed and an attempt has been made to discern their motivations for alliance with the royalist cause. Their involvement in other lawless activity that posed a threat to the security of the Cromwellian administration has also been discussed.

The policies implemented by Oliver Cromwell, General George Monck and other Cromwellian administrators in order to contain toryism have been analysed. It has been shown that Cromwellian policy tended to the isolation of tories from their chief and accelerated their move from the status of privileged members of the clan gentry to that of outlaws.

This thesis also involves analysis of the cultural environment in which tories lived in order to show that the incentive to continue with a violent lifestyle was great. This conclusion has been reached by means of study of Gaelic literary sources. Literary sources have also provided the key to understanding the manner in which Scottish Gaelic society treated tories and have served to highlight their declining public image. To conclude, this thesis is an analysis of change as it affected a certain class of Highland society. Focussing on tories serves to assert the importance of the warrior class to Highland society and to show that the decline of the warrior society was a difficult process that involved great social dislocation. Concentration on the Cromwellian regime serves to highlight the importance of a brief period of government to this seventeenth century process.



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DECLARATION OF OWN WORK

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Table of Contents

Abstract	2
Declaration of own work	3
Conventions and Abbreviations	5
Introduction	6
Chapter One The terminology used to treat of the Highland warrior class in the historical literature and primary sources of the seventeenth century	17
Chapter Two The distinctive character of toryism during the Interregnum and its changing relationship with the clan chiefs and British politics	35
Chapter Three English government policy and the suppression of toryism	51
Chapter Four Gaelic panegyric and the maintenance of the Highland social order	62
Chapter Five Gaelic folk literature and the insights it provides into toryism	74
Conclusion	84
Bibliography	87

Conventions

Gaelic place-names have been rendered in their anglicised form. Personal names have been rendered in the language in which they predominantly appeared in the documents studied. Thus, the chief of Clan Campbell is ‘Archibald Campbell’ and not ‘Gilleasbuig MacCailein’. His poet, on the other hand, is ‘Niall MacEoghain’ and not ‘Neil MacEwen’. However, where two forms appear frequently, one may appear in parenthesis on first mention.

Many Gaelic sources, such as the poetry of Iain Lom, have been taken from editions with an English translation. While an intellectual debt to editors of Gaelic works must be acknowledged, translations are those of the author unless otherwise indicated. My thanks to Professor William Gillies for saving me from some errors.

Abbreviations

Early English Books Online	EEBO
Eighteenth Century Collections Online	ECCO
Firth, C.H., ed. <i>Scotland and the Protectorate: Letters and Papers Relating to the Military Government of Scotland from January 1654 to June 1659</i> , Scottish History Society 1st Ser., 31. Edinburgh, 1899.	S&P
National Archives of Scotland	NAS
Macinnes, Allan I. <i>Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788</i> . East Linton: Tuckwell, 1996.	<i>Clanship</i>
<i>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</i>	<i>RSCHS</i>
School of Scottish Studies Folklore Archive	SSFA
<i>Scottish Gaelic Studies</i>	<i>SGS</i>
<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>	<i>SHR</i>
<i>Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness</i>	<i>TGSI</i>

Introduction

A topic of perennial interest to historians of Scotland is the changing relationship of the Scottish Highlands with the Stuart crown and the Lowlands. The early modern period provides great scope for the exploration of this theme. Further, these centuries provide commentators with events and dates that have gained iconic status as foci for the understanding of Highland history.¹ Study of the changing relationship between the Scottish Highlands and Lowlands is dominated by awareness of the end of the events of the early modern period of Scottish history, i.e., assimilation of Highland society and culture into that of Scotland and Britain.² Thus the study of change in Highland society in the sixteenth, eighteenth, and especially seventeenth, centuries is essentially the study of the process of Highland gravitation towards the Lowlands and ultimate Scottish integration.

This gravitation towards the Lowlands has been analysed from many angles by historians who follow this trend in early modern Scottish historiography. The clan chiefs' abandonment of Gaelic law in favour of the utilisation of Scots law is the subject of Douglas Watt's doctoral thesis.³ Jane Dawson has provided a framework by which to conceptualise the process of eastern and western Highland cohesion and its subsequent unity with the Lowlands. Her conclusions impinge upon both economic and political developments in the Highlands during the sixteenth century.⁴ More often, political developments have been treated of from the perspective of the Edinburgh

¹ Julian Goodare, 'The Statutes of Iona in Context,' *SHR* 77, no. 203 (1998): 31.

² Murray G.H. Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester, 1999), 25.

³ Douglas A. Watt, 'Chiefs, Lawyers and Debt: A Study of the Relationship between Highland Elite and Legal Profession in Scotland, C.1550 to 1700,' (University of Edinburgh PhD Thesis, 1998).

⁴ Jane E. A. Dawson, 'The Origins of The "Road to the Isles": Trade, Communications and Campbell Power in Early Modern Scotland,' in *People and Power in Scotland*, ed. Roger A. Mason and Norman MacDougall (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992).

government.⁵ Robert Dodgshon's work is dedicated to the analysis of the changing relationship of Gaelic chiefs to their landholdings. Dodgshon has demonstrated the chiefs' abandonment of the principle that land should be valued for its social use in favour of its exploitation for economic gain.⁶ He has also outlined the process by which the Highland economy evolved from one based upon subsistence, to a cash economy.⁷ 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland' is a survey of Highland integration into Lowland protestantism, though with the retention of a distinctive Gaelic character.⁸ David Stevenson has asserted that the royalist campaign of Alasdair MacColla in the Highlands between 1644 and 1647 was the catalyst for the orientation of Highland military and political energies towards Scottish and British affairs.⁹ He has also argued that MacColla's campaign set in motion the absorption of Highland culture by that of the Lowlands.¹⁰

Thus, Highland integration into Scotland and Britain has been discussed with regard to legal, political, economic, religious and military affairs. It is correct to chart the transformation of Highland society during the early modern period. The Highlands certainly were undergoing great alterations. However, the preoccupation with the ends of this change has led to the creation of a body of work in which the outcome of historical events has pre-empted analysis of the occurrences themselves. This in turn has led to a related problem. It has resulted in concentration upon the class of Highland society that was most rapidly integrated into Lowland and British society:

⁵ Julian Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1999), 254-5, 69; Michael Lynch, 'James VI and The "Highland Problem,"' in *The Reign of James VI* ed. Julian Goodare and Michael Lynch (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000), 214-17.

⁶ R. A. Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords: Social and Economic Change in the Western Highlands and Islands, c.1493-1820* (Edinburgh, 1998), 94, 115.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 58-71.

⁸ Jane E. A. Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland,' in *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620*, ed. Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke, and Gillian Lewis (Cambridge, 1994), 232-3.

⁹ David Stevenson, *Alasdair MacColla and the Highland Problem in the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1980), 267-8.

the clan chiefs. This aspect of Scottish historical writing has also been conditioned by dependency upon official historical records, which treat mainly of the chiefly class and rarely of any class below that of the tenants.¹¹ The overall effect is that of a history of only one class of person in the Highlands in their relationships with other Scottish politicians.

The study of Highland culture can provide an insight into the experiences of social groups other than the chiefly class. Martin MacGregor's scrutiny of the growth in popularity of clan genealogies, and the languages in which they were compiled between the mid-seventeenth century and c.1720, can highlight social change as it affected several social groups.¹² This use of cultural sources in history has demonstrated the insecurity felt by Highland magnates with regard to their property holdings;¹³ their assimilation into the British nobility;¹⁴ and the decline of the *aos dána*.¹⁵ The term '*aos dána*' refers to the hereditary learned orders of medieval Gaelic Scotland and Ireland. Moreover, this article has tentatively created potential for further research into the cultural interaction between higher and lower social orders of the Scottish *Gaidhealtachd*.¹⁶ The growth of genealogical histories of the Scottish Gaelic clans has been exploited to illustrate the social dynamics of several groups of Highland society. Thus, it stands out as an example of scholarship that eschews concentration upon Highland chiefs alone. While the incorporation of these elite into British society is an integral aspect of the discussion, it does not disproportionately characterise it and instead, we have been presented with a considered evaluation of

¹⁰ Ibid., 299.

¹¹ Ian Whyte, *Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979), 5.

¹² Martin MacGregor, 'The Genealogical Histories of Scotland,' in *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain 1500-1800*, ed. Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (Manchester, 2002), 203-4.

¹³ Ibid., 204.

¹⁴ Ibid., 222.

¹⁵ Ibid., 197, 220-2.

the fluidity of social and cultural relations within the context of pressure from the Lowlands and Britain. Prominent among the traits that differentiate this work from other pieces concerning the history of the Highlands are the emphasis upon Highland culture and the willingness to embrace orally composed and transmitted sources for the study of Highland history.¹⁷ However, historians have rarely shown themselves willing to use Gaelic sources, making MacGregor's work unique.

The value of according due weight to Gaelic culture when analysing Highland history lies in the opportunity it affords to extract information about several aspects of Highland life. Scholars of other disciplines concerned with the historical Highlands have regularly capitalised upon this opportunity. Some examples include Derick Thomson's literary analysis of Gaelic poetry which has led to interesting hypotheses concerning Highland mentality.¹⁸ A survey of the career of Ruaidhrí MacMhuirich (Roderick Morison) illuminates the changes to secular patronage that were affecting the learned orders in the late seventeenth century.¹⁹ John MacInnes has used Gaelic poetry to good effect in the historico-anthropological study of the Highland warrior class.²⁰ Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart's work in the field of literary and cultural studies illuminates the experiences of broken men and caterans in the Highlands and also, the experiences of their female abettors.²¹ The use of literature as a source for Highland history not only increases the breadth of potential areas for inquiry, but it also serves

¹⁶ Ibid., 214-6.

¹⁷ Ibid., 196-7.

¹⁸ Derick S. Thomson, 'Influences of Medieval Thinking on the Gaelic World in Scotland, in the Sixteenth Century and Later,' in *The Middle Ages after the Middle Ages in the English-Speaking World*, ed. Marie-Françoise Alamichel and Derek Brewer (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997), 17, 25; Derick S. Thomson, *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry* (London: Gollancz, 1974), 64.

¹⁹ Roderick Morison, *The Blind Harper = An Clársair Dall: The Songs of Roderick Morison and His Music* ed. William Matheson (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1970), xlix, lvi, lx.

²⁰ John MacInnes, 'Clan Sagas and Historical Legends,' *TGSI* 57 (1992): 383; John MacInnes, 'The Panegyric Code in Gaelic Poetry and Its Historical Background,' *TGSI* 50 (1976-78): 454-5.

²¹ Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart, 'Highland Rogues and the Roots of Highland Romanticism,' in *Cross-Currents in Eighteenth-Century Scottish Writing. Selected Papers from the 2005 ASLS Annual Conference*, ed. Christopher MacLachlan (Glasgow: 2009), 163-8.

to deepen our understanding of events, by providing a viewpoint not discernible from official documents.²² Hence, scrutiny of Gaelic compositions concerning caterans in the seventeenth century illuminates the fact that the Highlands exported features of its culture to the rest of Britain and was not simply subsumed by a dominant culture.²³ Donald Meek's careful examination of the cultural world of John Carswell indicates that the westward advance of protestantism was envisioned as a pan-Gaelic enterprise. By presenting this insight, Meek has provided an alternative to understanding the growth of Calvinism as an integral aspect of exclusively 'Scottish' affairs.²⁴

Thus the use of literature in the study of Scottish Gaelic history is essential in order to see beyond the chiefly class and to gain a balanced view of Highland history. It also necessarily entails alertness to the importance of the relationship between Gaelic Ireland and Scotland and the commonality of their classical literary tradition. The matter of Gaelic Ireland, if we take it to represent the locus from which the Highlands was withdrawing, represents a problem for historians keen to demonstrate Highland gravitation towards the Lowlands. Military, and hence economic, links between the Highlands and Ulster can be shown to have evaporated by the early seventeenth century.²⁵ However, cultural links remained and classical Gaelic continued to be used into the mid-seventeenth century. The tendency is to simply ignore this connection or else to denigrate the value of courtly culture.²⁶ Apart from Dawson's argument concerning the real divergence between the Gaelic cultures of the

²² Thomson, *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*, 34-5.

²³ Stiùbhart, 'Highland Rogues,' 169.

²⁴ Donald E. Meek, 'The Reformation and Gaelic Culture: Perspectives on Patronage, Language and Literature in John Carswell's Translation Of "The Book of Common Order', in *The Church in the Highlands*, ed. James Kirk (Edinburgh: Scottish Church History Society, 1998), 40.

²⁵ Allan I. Macinnes, *Clanship* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1996), 58-9.

²⁶ William Gillies, 'The Classical Irish Poetic Tradition,' in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies* ed. Ellis D. Evans, John G. Griffith and E. M. Jope, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1986), 108. An example of such denigration occurs in: Macinnes, *Clanship*, 89.

two countries,²⁷ historians have concentrated entirely upon the progress of Scottish cohesion.²⁸

The value of retaining active cognisance of the continuing relationship with Gaelic Ireland in the study of the Highlands is twofold. In the first place, when treated with care and a refusal to succumb to simplistic comparison, it serves to illuminate many aspects of Highland culture and literary output, especially with regard to the productions of the classical orders.²⁹ Secondly, it provides a conceptual anchor for the historian of Highland history. Gaelic Ireland can be understood to represent alternative intellectual and political choices that were available to Highlanders throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and to remind us that the Highlands were not drawn irresistibly into Lowland society. For some writers, the availability of alternative choices has been symbolised by the Clan Donald, which itself emphasised ties to a pan-Gaelic culture.³⁰ In this respect, we can conceptualise the Highlands as existing between two forces in order to allow for study of the intricacies of change in Highland society without the burden of consideration of a foregone conclusion. This is not to say that the Highlands could not function but as an annex of another political or cultural locus. On the contrary, it was a discrete unit that was being drawn into the formation of a larger one and remembrance of its ties to Gaelic Ireland merely serves to remind us that Highland history was a complex

²⁷ Jane Dawson, 'The Gaidhealtachd and the Emergence of the Scottish Highlands,' in *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707*, ed. Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts, (Cambridge, 1998), 261-8.

²⁸ This has been sharply criticised in the following works: Steven G. Ellis, 'The Collapse of the Gaelic World, 1450-1650,' *Irish Historical Studies* 31 (1998-9): 449; MacInnes, 'The Panegyric Code in Gaelic Poetry and Its Historical Background,' 437-8.

²⁹ William Gillies, 'After "The Backward Look": Trials of a Gaelic Historian' in *Literature, Letters and the Canonical in Early Modern Scotland* edited by Theo Van Heijnsbergen and Nicola Royan (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002), 123.

³⁰ Ellis, 'The Collapse of the Gaelic World, 1450-1650,' 450; MacInnes, 'The Panegyric Code in Gaelic Poetry and Its Historical Background,' 442.

process of change. It could not have been recognised in the seventeenth century as a march towards the outcome that is understood by historians today.

This thesis, in common with the other works hitherto discussed, will also treat of change in Highland society. However, it will differ from most of these in that it will shun history of the chiefly class. The subjects of this work are the warrior class of Highland Gaelic society during the Cromwellian Interregnum. The warrior class have been selected as subjects in order to engage with the issue of 'lawlessness' in Highland history which has provoked substantial debate³¹ and which has in some cases become an emotive and polemical issue.³² The debate about the nature of Highland lawlessness often concerns its extent and its exploitation as an excuse for government intervention. It is true that the government itself created the 'Highland problem' by interfering in the region³³ but this aspect of Scottish history is not the only area for analysis. If we accept that interference occurred, then what of the people who were affected by this interference, specifically, the military elite who physically clashed with the government and personified the military strength of the Highlands which the government so abhorred? In this respect, only 'lawlessness' that has been considered to have been carried out or dominated by members of the elite will be studied here and vagrants or caterans have been excluded. This is to allow for examination of change as it affected a class that was formerly entrenched and privileged as it advanced towards dispersal and ruin.

³¹ Dawson, 'The Gaidhealtachd and the Emergence of the Scottish Highlands,' 286-7; Stevenson, *Alasdair MacColla*, 15-6; Macinnes, *Clanship*, 30-1.

³² Macinnes, *Clanship*, 124; Allan I. Macinnes, 'Repression and Conciliation : The Highland Dimension 1660-88,' *SHR* 65 (1986): 168.

³³ Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland*, 285.

Integral to the violent activities of the Highland elite was the ‘*creach*’, or lifting of cattle. It is important to understand the nature of this phenomenon as a preliminary to any study of elite Highland creagh-takers. Allan Macinnes has suggested that the *creach* was a ritualistic occurrence in which younger members of the clan gentry proved that they had gained the athletic prowess necessary to join their chief’s military retinue. By contrast, Macinnes has understood the ‘*spréidh*’ as the theft of cattle for purely economic gain.³⁴ Macinnes has asserted that the end to the Irish mercenary trade in the early seventeenth century rendered the ritualistic *creach* an anachronism, but that the ‘*spréidh*’ continued as ‘an illicit act of private enterprise’.³⁵

However, it seems unlikely that any such distinction between the *creach* and the ‘*spréidh*’ existed. A ‘*creach*’ should be understood as a general term to refer to the activity during which cattle was lifted.³⁶ ‘*Spréidh*’ signifies the goods that were taken. The word means ‘dowry’ or ‘cattle’ and derives from the Middle Irish ‘*préid*’, which in turn derived from the Latin ‘*praeda*’,³⁷ which means ‘prey’. Thus, the *creach* was the activity, while the *spréidh* was its object.³⁸ It is this understanding of both terms which will inform this thesis.

The period here under discussion is that of the Cromwellian Commonwealth and Protectorate regimes and covers the period from 1651 to approximately 1661. Concentration upon the Interregnum period offers relief from analysis of the

³⁴ *Clanship*, 33.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Middle Irish: ‘*crech*’. For references to usages of ‘*crech*’ in Old and Middle Irish, see: E. G. Quin (ed), *Dictionary of the Irish Language: Based Mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials*, (Compact Ed, Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1983), 156.

‘*Creach*’ can also refer to the plunder taken. Dwelly, Edward. *The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary*. (10th ed. Glasgow: Gairm, 1971), 267.

³⁷ Thomas F. O’Rahilly, ‘Etymological Notes – II’ *SGS* II (1927), 29.

³⁸ This understanding of ‘*creach*’ and ‘*spréidh*’ is exemplified in the song entitled ‘*A Cheud Di-luain de’n Ràithe*’ (The First Monday of the Quarter). Roderick Morison, *The Blind Harper = An Clarsair Dall: The Songs of Roderick Morison and His Music*, edited by William Matheson. (Edinburgh: Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, 1970), 32-45.

relationship between the Highlands and the Stuart crown. It also serves to locate Cromwellian policy firmly in the history of the seventeenth century Highlands and highlights the contribution of the regime to change there. Frances Dow remains the principal contributor to the study of Scotland during the Commonwealth and Protectorate regimes. Her focus on political and military history has ultimately shown that removal of the administrative and military machinery of the Cromwellian government from Scotland following the Restoration brought to an end the influence of the regime in political and religious matters.³⁹ With regard to the official policy of the government of Scotland, this is certainly the case. However, by focussing upon one class of the Highland community, this thesis will demonstrate that Cromwellian rule had a lasting impact upon processes which were occurring in the seventeenth century Highlands under the Stuarts as well. In this respect, it bears similarity with the approach of MacInnes, who integrates Interregnum and Covenanting history as they affected the Highlands and has thereby demonstrated that the former is integral to an understanding of Highland history throughout the period covered by his book.⁴⁰

Physically, the Highlands can be differentiated from the Lowlands by the fact that much of it lies over 300 metres above sea level and is located to the west of the 'Highland Boundary Fault'.⁴¹ Geographically, the Highlands have here been understood as the entire region west of the Highland line. However, it is important to recognise that not all areas to the west of the Highland line shared a homogeneous social system or the Gaelic language and culture.⁴² The area of this study is the Gaelic cultural region within the geographical Highlands and so covers the area understood

³⁹ F. D. Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland, 1651-1660*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979, 268-76.

⁴⁰ *Clanship*, 110-15.

⁴¹ Fiona A. MacDonald, 'Ireland and Scotland: Historical Perspectives on the Gaelic Dimension 1560-1760' (University of Glasgow PhD Thesis, 1994), Vol I, part I, 6.

as the *Gaidhealtachd* in 1698, the earliest date for which there is information concerning the extent of Gaelic culture in Scotland.⁴³ This covers the counties of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, Cromarty, Inverness, Argyll, and Dunbarton and most of Nairn and Perth. The Hebridean islands are also included as are south-western Elgin and Banffshire, western Aberdeen-shire and the western extremity of Angus. Incidents of opposition to English rule and lawlessness from this entire region have been discussed but the nature of the sources dictates that the western Highlands, particularly the area around Lochaber, and the north-eastern Highlands, especially Strathspey and the area around Inverness, feature prominently.

Below is a short summary of the principal sources that have been used to study this topic. It is not an exhaustive list. Study of the Cromwellian period suffers from a lack of availability of systematic government records. Nonetheless, certain collections, such as the Thurloe Papers and the Clarke Papers, can provide a substitute for this deficiency. Other government records, primarily intended to record measures of relevance to English and Welsh affairs but which also have a Scottish aspect, have supplemented these papers.⁴⁴ Family papers housed in the National Archives of Scotland, particularly those of the houses of Glencairn and Airlie, have provided material for this work. Published clan records, such as the Mackintosh Muniments and Lochiel Inventory, have been studied as well. A wide variety of literary sources has been utilised. Classical poetry of Clan Mhuirich, Niall MacEoghain and other syllabic poets has been of value, as has the Book of Clan Ranald. The vernacular poetry of Iain Lom has also featured as a source. Folktales of the Fionn Cycle have been

⁴² Charles W.J. Withers, *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region* (London: Routledge, 1988), 3.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 33, 38.

⁴⁴ C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, eds., *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660* 3 vols. (London: Statute Law Committee, 1911); Henry Scobell, *A Collection of Acts and Ordinances of General Use*,

studied, as have folktales stored in the School of Scottish Studies Folklore Archive, University of Edinburgh.

This thesis will commence with a comprehensive discussion of the subjects of inquiry and the names by which they have been recognised during the seventeenth century. This will enable a clear definition of the warrior class here treated of. There will also be an examination of the way in which historians have understood and presented the warrior class in their works. Much confusion has arisen due to a lack of satisfactory definition and denomination of the perpetrators of lawlessness in the Highlands and an attempt will be made to clarify these problems and present a satisfactory term with which to classify the warrior class during the Interregnum. Following this will be an examination of lawless events in which the warrior class were engaged during the Interregnum and, by discerning patterns in their behaviour, possible motivations for their activity will be forwarded. The policy adopted by the Interregnum regime to suppress and contain lawlessness was of great import in altering the long term relationship of the warrior class to their chiefs and to Highland society and this will also be analysed. Analysis of seventeenth century Gaelic poetry can place the warriors in their cultural context which in turn provides an insight into their own intellectual justification for their way of life. The final chapter will be a discussion of Gaelic folk literature which pertains to cattle-raiding and this will be of the utmost importance in demonstrating the process of change and decline experienced by the warrior class during the seventeenth century. It will also enable conclusions to be reached regarding the manner in which the Highland community at large treated of cattle-raiders and the military class.

Made in Parliament... (London: Henry Hills and John Field, 1658).

The terminology used to treat of the Highland warrior class in the historical literature and primary sources of the seventeenth century

The subjects of this dissertation are men who were engaged in violent activity in the Scottish Highlands during the mid-seventeenth century Interregnum. These men resisted the Cromwellian conquest as guerrilla soldiers following the subjugation of Scotland and later, they served as rebels of the Glencairn Rising. With regard to the post-Glencairn period of the Interregnum, perpetrators of lawlessness in the context of feuding activities or creagh-taking are also considered. This is in order to chart the changes to the nature of Highland violent activity that were wrought by Cromwellian policy toward the region. These men regarded themselves as successors to a heroic warrior lifestyle in Scottish Gaelic society.⁴⁵ In order to convincingly pose as heirs to a warrior class they were necessarily members of the clan *fine* or elite and were regarded as the superiors of the peasantry and tillers of the soil.⁴⁶ They also served as members of the chief's military retinue in a professional capacity.⁴⁷ This was the central identity of the group, but its members had very different experiences, determined by various factors. Firstly, the circumstances of the chief determined the character and intensity of a warrior's martial activity. For instance, the clansmen of William Mackintosh of Torcastle, who was heavily in debt and frequently subjected to hornings because of this, regularly engaged in raiding activity.⁴⁸ Geographical location was also an important determinant of the nature of violent activity executed by these men. Certain areas of the Highlands, notably the Lochaber region, witnessed

⁴⁵ Stiùbhart, 'Highland Rogues,' 164.

⁴⁶ John MacInnes, 'Gaelic Poetry' (University of Edinburgh PhD Thesis, 1975), 182-3; MacInnes, 'The Panegyric Code in Gaelic Poetry,' 453.

⁴⁷ R. A. Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords: Social and Economic Change in the Western Highlands and Islands, c.1493-1820* (Edinburgh, 1998), 89.

raiding on a more frequent and organised basis than other regions.⁴⁹ Other clans owed possession of their land to the continuation of inter-clan feuds. For example, the MacMartins of Letterfinlay held their lands in Kylinross on condition that they act as a buffer between Clan Cameron and the Mackintoshes on behalf of the former.⁵⁰

Political changes of the seventeenth century exacerbated the pre-existing differences between members of this class. Chiefs increasingly distanced themselves from the traditional martial activities of their clansmen.⁵¹ The marginalisation of such clansmen entailed that the character of their raiding activity differed from that of counterparts who yet enjoyed the political protection of their chief as they ceased to be privileged members of the community. On a more dramatic scale, the use of instruments of central government by the Clan Campbell could result in a similar change in status of whole clans. Such developments led to the expropriation of Clan Gregor and of Clan Iain of Ardnamurchan in the early seventeenth century. The entire *fine* of each of these clans was forced to subsist on the fringes of other clans' lands.⁵² Nonetheless, these men, regardless of their political status, regarded themselves as hereditary members of the martial *fine* and the maintenance of a sense of social superiority continued on the basis of awareness of an exalted genealogy. This social identity has been taken as the principal qualification for the subjects of research and it allows for the analysis of the changes being wrought on the circumstances of this class, which were occurring at an accelerated pace during the Interregnum.

⁴⁸ H. Paton, ed., *The Mackintosh Muniments, 1442-1820* (1903), 102-6; Jean Munro, ed., *The Lochiel Inventory* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 2000), 103.

⁴⁹ Allan I. MacInnes, 'Lochaber-the Last Bandit Country- c.1600- c.1750,' *TGSI* 64 (2004-6).

⁵⁰ Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, 'Minor Highland Families - No.4. The Camerons of Letterfinlay, Styled "Macmartins",' *TGSI* 17 (1890-1): 39.

⁵¹ Stiùbhart, 'Highland Rogues,' 164.

⁵² A. J. MacDonald & Archibald MacDonald, *The Clan Donald*, III vols. (Inverness: The Northern Counties Publishing Co., 1904), II, 179-89.

An initial discussion of the language used by Highland and Gaelic contemporaries of these men to describe them will serve to vindicate their own understanding of their identity. The difficulty of satisfactorily denominating these men in the context of a study of their experiences arises from the use of incoherent terms by the governments of the Stuarts to denote perpetrators of 'lawlessness' and to propagate a 'Highland problem'. These terms have entered historiographical debate concerning Highland history and have been used by historians in an inconsistent way, with no uniformity of meaning across historical works. John MacInnes has used the term 'warrior class' to describe these members of the clan *fine* whose lifestyle centred upon the exercise of military prowess.⁵³ This amounts to an innovatory attempt to escape the language of biased historical sources and to treat of these warriors as an integral aspect of Highland society and not as an external problem faced by the Edinburgh government. However, it is not entirely suitable, especially for the seventeenth century. 'Warrior class' suggests that the circumstances of the military elite remained static between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, in accordance with traditional privileges based upon a stable relationship with the clan chief. It was in fact a dynamic class, whose members lived in varied circumstances as chiefs' attitudes towards military retinues evolved with political and social pressures. Nonetheless, 'warrior class' will be used to describe the subjects of this dissertation until the argument for a more specific term has been forwarded.

David Stevenson's unsatisfactory description of the warrior class who comprise the subjects of *Alasdair MacColla and the Highland problem in the seventeenth century* serves as an example of the difficulties faced by a historian attempting to use terms of English and antipathetic origin to denote a group

⁵³ John MacInnes, 'Clan Sagas and Historical Legends,' *TGSI* 57 (1992): 383.

undergoing great change. The most common terms used have been ‘cateran’, ‘broken man’ and ‘bandit’. However, various scholars have used the terms in different ways, as will be made apparent by means of a comparison of the terminology used by Allan MacInnes, Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart and Robert Dodgshon. Frances Dow’s somewhat eclectic approach to this problem will also be detailed. The dependency of each of these commentators, apart from John MacInnes, upon Stuart records will be highlighted and the inherent biases of these documents discussed. There will be treatment of the manner in which these warriors were discussed during the Interregnum by the English government. By closely analysing the language of these documents it will be possible to uncover a suitable term for these warriors. It is in these sources that the key to avoidance of confusion with regard to the proper denomination of insurgents in Scotland lies. Unfortunately, Éamonn Ó Ciardha’s failure to recognise the distinctions between ‘lawless’ elements in the different regions of Scotland during the Interregnum has created further difficulties for anyone attempting to understand the identity of the Highland warrior class. Finally, it will be shown that the term provided by English sources has its origins in the Gaelic language and that this original meaning complements the appropriateness of the English form of the term for the subjects of this research.

Niall MacMhuirich, in his contribution to *The Book of Clan Ranald*, referred to the soldiers of the Royalist campaigns of 1644-1647 as ‘*daoine uaisle*’, i.e., ‘gentlemen’. They were not the only men involved in fighting and MacMhuirich subtly differentiated between the ‘*núasle 7 an tsluaig*’⁵⁴ (nobility and crowd). The force sent by Randal MacDonnell to Scotland to assist the king’s cause under the command of Alasdair MacColla in 1644 was considered to be composed of ‘*daoine*

⁵⁴ Alexander Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae*, 2 vols. (Inverness: Northern Chronicle, 1892-94), II, 190.

uaisle'.⁵⁵ Clan Mhuirich of Badenoch, Clan Finlay of Braemar and the followers of Donald Moydartach also enjoyed respectful treatment by MacMhuirich in his history. This was not related to MacMhuirich's sympathy for their cause, as the followers of Campbell of Lawers and MacLeod of Lewis were also discussed with the same language.⁵⁶ The status of '*duine uasal*' ('gentleman') thus referred to a distinct group of people and membership of this group transcended partisan allegiances. Membership of the group seems to have been based upon two qualifications. In the first place, these *daoine uaisle* were inured to fighting.⁵⁷ Gordon awareness of the familiarity of MacColla's men with warfare led them to request an exchange of foot. This ensured that the Gordon regiment was not disproportionately weak compared with that of MacColla.⁵⁸ Secondly, their warrior status was inextricably linked to their relationship with their chief. MacMhuirich saw fit to introduce MacColla and his followers to his readers as men who were acting upon the instructions of their chief. Thereafter, MacColla assumed the role of leadership in the narrative and his followers were understood as 'belonging' to MacColla – '*daoinibh uaisl[e] Alasdair*'⁵⁹ (Alasdair's gentlemen). When John Moydartach sent Donald to Ireland, he ordered that Donald be accompanied by '*cuid dá d[h]aoinibh uaisle*'⁶⁰ (some of his gentlemen), again emphasising the possessive nature of the relationship between chief and clansman. Accordingly, the privileged position of these gentlemen was due to their vocation as fighting men but specifically, as fighting men who belonged to a chief.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 176, 88, 92.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 186-88.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 200.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 186.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 192.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 204.

Conversely, MacMhuirich described the honour of the chiefs in the context of their possession of these military retinues. MacMhuirich emphasised the closeness of this relationship by asserting that the members of these retinues were of the chiefs' own blood. Thus, he described the MacMhuirich chief, Eoghan Óg, as captain and head of the *fine*. The membership of this *fine* amounted to three hundred men and they were of the chief's own blood. Similarly, the chief of Clan Finlay led noblemen of his own blood into battle.⁶¹ The emphasis on blood relationship, whether real or fictional, was a way to further cohesion throughout the clan as a whole,⁶² but these passages of MacMhuirich indicate that the idea of blood ties was particularly pertinent to the relationship between the chief and his military retinue.

'Warrior class' has the benefit of offering a neutral identification for perpetrators of violence in the Highlands without the burden of value judgment upon them. However, this term does not capture the complexity of this social group or indicate the disparity that existed in the experiences of various warriors. It is also a static term, intended primarily to describe the henchmen of a clan chief. Thus, it does not necessarily include warriors marginalised from their chief or the *fine* of dispossessed clans. Furthermore, it cannot indicate the change that was being imposed upon this group, which is central to this discussion of Interregnum history.

Lowland Scottish or English commentators of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not generally recognise the importance of the warrior class. This poses a fundamental problem for historians wishing to use one such term to describe these warriors. Of the available terms, Stevenson's chose 'redshank' to denominate his subjects, Alasdair MacColla and his followers. Sixteenth century English commentators used 'redshank' to describe Scottish Highland mercenaries serving in

⁶¹ Ibid., 178.

Ireland.⁶³ Specifically, redshanks were temporary mercenaries who were usually employed for a single campaigning season. They were thus to be distinguished from the gallowglasses, who also migrated from the Western Isles, but were attached to an Irish Gaelic chief on a long term basis.⁶⁴ Stevenson's use of 'redshank' is an extremely important and beneficial occurrence in Scottish historiography. It represents awareness of the fact that MacColla and his followers were a professional class who merited a distinctive term. Thus, by using 'redshank' in *Alasdair MacColla*, Stevenson constantly reminds his readers of the importance of the military class in Highland society and refuses to allow his subjects to be subsumed into general terms such as 'cateran'.

Some problems do arise from the use of 'redshank' though. By the mid-seventeenth century, both galloglasses and redshanks had become redundant. Stevenson did not re-define 'redshank' in order to render it more accurate to the circumstances of Alasdair MacColla and his usage of the term is compatible with the understanding that it signified a mercenary. To apply this term to men who were acting on the orders of their chief and for whom the outcome of the civil wars of the Three Kingdoms held a personal interest, seems misguided. Stevenson also applies 'redshank' to the followers of Glengarry and Clanranald, a usage that seems equally inappropriate.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, the validity of denominating Highland warriors who participated in the civil wars as 'redshanks' has been accepted uncritically elsewhere.⁶⁶

⁶² Stevenson, *Alasdair MacColla*, 16; *Clanship*, 2-3.

⁶³ Michael Lynch, 'James VI and The "Highland Problem,' in *The Reign of James VI* eds. Julian Goodare and Michael Lynch, (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000), 213.

⁶⁴ Jane E. A. Dawson, 'Two Kingdoms or Three?: Ireland in Anglo-Scottish Relations in the Middle of the Sixteenth Century,' in *Scotland and England: 1286-1815*, ed. Roger A. Mason (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987), 115.

⁶⁵ Stevenson, *Alasdair MacColla*, 248.

⁶⁶ Macinnes, *Clanship*, 114.

The understanding that MacColla and his followers were professional warriors accounts for the decision to define them with a term that had been used for men whose careers were dedicated to military endeavour. However, unease with this identity for the subjects of the book was made apparent at the description of the Battle of Knocknanuss. At this point, Stevenson discarded the redshank identity of MacColla and his followers in favour of that of Lord Taaffe and his soldiers, whom he termed 'the Irish'.⁶⁷ Following the account of the battle, the distinction re-emerged in order to distinguish the subjects of the book from other combatants of the Confederate Catholic army. Stevenson's failure to satisfactorily denominate his subjects was due not only to dependency upon English terms but also to his decision not to re-define 'redshank' and adapt the term to suit the characteristics and social background of MacColla and his men. His fundamental problem though, was the difficulty of defining a group whose origins lay in an earlier period (though not necessarily that of the redshanks) but who were increasingly drawn into changing political circumstances.

'Cateran', 'broken man' and 'bandit' have each been central to the language of scholarly debate concerning Highland 'lawlessness' in the early modern period. Macinnes has most frequently used the term 'cateran band' to describe those responsible for this 'lawlessness' but has also used the other terms synonymously. His attempts to undermine the importance of the warrior class in Highland society have led to the presentation of a confused understanding of these terms. According to Macinnes, these caterans lived outwith the social constraints of clanship and acted as enemies of the clan. His understanding of caterans 'as a perennial feature of a

⁶⁷ Stevenson, *Alasdair MacColla*, 250-1.

traditional rural economy from which surplus pools of landless labour sought subsistence through banditry'⁶⁸ serves to dismiss the complexity of the social origins of members of these cateran bands. This is persistently overlooked despite acknowledgement of the fact that many leaders of cateran bands belonged to the clan gentry. Macinnes also creates a second category of creagh-taker, by discussing clansmen who plundered for personal gain.⁶⁹ However, the distinctions were not so neat in the seventeenth century. In particular, the term 'cateran band' is too vague to convey any meaningful sense of the social and political pressures that led to marauding activity. Thus, the reader is presented with a confused account of lawlessness in the seventeenth century Highlands in *Clanship, Commerce, and the House of Stuart*.

Macinnes' use of 'cateran' 'broken man' and 'bandit' resulted in the presentation of an ill-defined class of person in the Highlands. However, other writers have used the same terms in a specific way. Robert Dodgshon has used 'broken men' to describe warriors who continued with feuding activities without the endorsement of their chief.⁷⁰ This corresponds to his earlier definition of broken men as men without a clan.⁷¹ Clans such as the MacGregors and MacIains were referred to as 'broken clans'.⁷² Dodgshon described the raiding activity in which they engaged in order to continue with the rituals of feasting and chiefly display as 'banditry'.⁷³ He avoided the use of 'cateran' but his use of the other terms, i.e., 'bandit' and 'broken man' was highly specific, as it was understood to refer to former members of the *fine* who lost

⁶⁸ *Clanship*, 32.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁷⁰ Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 88-9.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ R. A. Dodgshon, 'West Highland Chiefdoms 1500-1745: A Study in Redistributive Exchange,' in *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland, 1500-1939* eds. Rosalind Mitchison and Peter Roebuck, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), 34.

their prestigious positions in Highland society. Similarly, Stiùbhart has used ‘cateran’ ‘loose men’ and ‘outlaw’ to refer to Clan Gregor and other men who continued in the traditional warrior role increasingly forsaken by clan chiefs.⁷⁴ Thus, Dodgshon and Stiùbhart have each appropriated vague terms and applied them to distinctive groups of people, to the exclusion of landless labourers or any female vagrants.⁷⁵

Furthermore, their understanding of banditry bears comparison with that of Eric Hobsbawm, who has proposed that the legal definition of a bandit as any person belonging to a group that steals from or attacks others, including organised guerrillas and insurgents, is superficial.⁷⁶ Instead, he has suggested that such bandits emerged in response to the encroachment of external forces upon their way of life⁷⁷ and that they could be considered heroes by the peasantry.⁷⁸ The bandits of Dodgshon and Stiùbhart could be understood as these social bandits, whereas those of Macinnes bear closer resemblance to freebooters, as defined by Hobsbawm, who were not socially motivated.⁷⁹

Dow’s manner of denominating Highland insurgents has differed from that of other historians. While displaying a similar dependency upon English terms, she has not limited herself to static definitions. Rather, she has denominated these insurrectionaries according to the opinion of them professed by members of the royalist elite at a given time and understood their political importance as a function of the strength of their alliance with the noble supporters of Charles II. Dow wrote:

What worried the army commanders most, however, was the dual significance of the lawlessness in the Highlands. As an expression merely of the social and economic instability of the region...it presented a challenge to the army in its

⁷⁴ Stiùbhart, ‘Highland Rogues,’ 164.

⁷⁵ Female vagrants were referred to in: P. Hume Brown, ed., *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, (1545-1689)*, 3rd Series, vol. 1, (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1877-1970), 62.

⁷⁶ E. J. Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (2nd edn., London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2000), 19.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 9, 21.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

role as a police force...But it had also a more serious aspect, for the endemic violence of the Highlands could also provide the substratum of a *politically* inspired revolt, capable of challenging the army in its capacity as defender of an alien system of government and society. Before they could assume this political role, however, the 'broken men' of the Highlands would have to have their activities linked to, and to some extent controlled by, the ambitions of their social superiors...⁸⁰

Throughout the account of the Glencairn Rising, Dow referred to the rebels as 'Royalists' and, with the surrender of the majority of royalist leaders by the summer of 1655, she reverted to referring to headless warrior bands as perpetrators of 'endemic violence'.⁸¹ This denomination of warriors according to their association with royalist political campaigns reflects a major concern of Dow's work, which is to chart the fortunes of the Cromwellian government as it sought to secure its position in Scotland. However, such terminology cannot well serve a study which seeks rather to explore the social background of some of these enemies of the Cromwellians.

The use of terms, the origins of which were in governmental sources, to refer to Highland warriors is laden with difficulties, as illustrated by the problems encountered by Stevenson. The language of these sources was the product of tensions between the Lowlands and Highlands and of the widespread conviction in the former that Highlanders were inherently wicked. Thus Sir Peter Mews sought to apologise for the manners of the Highlanders during the Glencairn Rising in order that the king's cause might not be contaminated by its association with such people.⁸² When the earl of Glencairn sought to persuade Lowlanders to join his rebellion, he addressed Lowland bias against the Highlanders and attempted to reassure them that they need not be associated with their vices:

⁸⁰ Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland*, 68. Emphasis in original.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 141.

⁸² C.H. Firth, ed., *Scotland and the Protectorate: Letters and Papers Relating to the Military Government of Scotland from January 1654 to June 1659*, Scottish History Society 1st Ser., 31 (Edinburgh: 1899), 124.

Or are you so scrupulous, that ye will not join with your fellow-subjects and brethren of the Highlands? Whatever we may pretend, we shall say for them, that loyalty and obedience to lawful magistrates cannot be banished out of their hearts; they cannot endure foreign bondage, which proves them to be descended from the ancient and Scottish race; neither will they easily admit of novelty in matters of religion. So that without hurting your conscience, you may join with them in this cause, separating from their vices, if any appear.⁸³

Glencairn's address is an exceptional example of an attempt to reduce Lowland misgivings about Highlanders. However, the promotion of the discourse of distrust was a political necessity for the House of Argyll, which required that such a view of the Highlands be maintained throughout Britain in order to justify its actions there. Accordingly, when Lord Lorne defended the loyalty of his father and importance of his role in the Highlands to Charles II in 1661, he presented the expansionist policies of the House of Argyll as the destruction and delivery to justice of 'broken men'. Throughout this letter to the king, Lorne exploited and consolidated the popular view of the Highlands as an area plagued by 'notorious malefactors and cruell oppressors'.⁸⁴ The case to avoid these frames of reference is thus strong as it frees the historian from definition of warriors according to the opinions of their detractors. It also allows for escape from terms that need much definition and adaptation to be used credibly in reference to Highland warriors.

With regard to the Interregnum, the case for exclusion of 'cateran' etc. is still stronger, as the language of the Stuart governments was generally eschewed by the Cromwellian administration. General George Monck preferred to refer to those involved in the Glencairn Rising simply as 'rebels'⁸⁵, which corresponded with

⁸³ John Thurloe, ed., *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe Edited by Thomas Birch*, 7 vols. (London: 1742. <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>), I 512.

⁸⁴ 'Letter from Lord Lorne to King Charles II on 23rd July 1661' in Alexander MacDonald ed., *Letters to the Argyll Family, from Elizabeth Queen of England, Mary Queen of Scots, King James VI, King Charles II, and Others. From Originals Preserved in the General Register House* vol. 50 (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1839), 49.

⁸⁵ *S&P*, 93, 94, 97.

Royalist appellations for the Cromwellians.⁸⁶ On other occasions, he referred to them as ‘enemies’, ‘those in arms’ and, interestingly, as ‘those Gentlemen’.⁸⁷ This avoidance of emotive and loaded terminology reflected the administration’s pragmatic approach to treating with insurgents of the Glencairn Rising. This pragmatism extended into the remainder of the Interregnum and creagh-takers were not vilified with any derogatory terms. It also signified recognition of their status as professional warriors.

Colonel Robert Lilburne expressed this particular status when he referred to them as ‘tories’.⁸⁸ The English army officer, Francis Cranwill, writing to the Navy Commissioners in July 1655, also referred to these Highlanders as ‘Tories’.⁸⁹ ‘Tory’ was used in the 1650s as a term of abuse with which to castigate enemies of the regime but it certainly involved recognition of the political character of this opposition.⁹⁰ Interregnum mosstroopers have been defined by Dow as ‘gangs of marauders, many of them ex-soldiers, who roamed throughout Scotland’.⁹¹ They were not accorded the same status as Highland insurgents and were denied quarter during their involvement in the Glencairn Rising.⁹² Despite the presentation of the two phenomena as a single problem by some commentators⁹³, it seems that tories and mosstroopers were understood as distinctive groupings in Interregnum Scotland. Failure to discern that mosstroopers and tories were separate categories of person active during the Interregnum has led to a confused comparison of the problems of

⁸⁶ Ibid., 140.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 94, 137, 13.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 9.

⁸⁹ M. A. E. Green [Wood], ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series [of the Commonwealth]... Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty’s Public Record Office* 13 vols. (London: Longman & Co. and Trubner & Co., 1875-1886), 1655. 511.

⁹⁰ Allan I. Macinnes, ‘The First Scottish Tories?’, *SHR* 67 (1988): 63.

⁹¹ Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland*, 19.

⁹² *S&P*, 113.

⁹³ Thurloe, ed., *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe* edited by Thomas Birch, III. 508.

guerrilla warfare faced by the English governments in Scotland and Ireland. Éamonn Ó Ciardha's work involved a comparison of the Gaelic culture of Ireland and Scotland to indicate a common military culture in each country.⁹⁴ Comparison between the military affairs of Ireland and Scotland during the Interregnum which centred upon possible alliance between Irish royalists and Middleton was certainly valid, as was discussion of the relationship between political dissent and lawlessness in each country.⁹⁵ However, these comparisons were interspersed with mention of measures designed to ensure the containment of lawlessness in the Lowlands.⁹⁶ The lack of distinction between lawlessness in the Highlands and the Lowlands coupled with mention of the similarities between Gaelic Ireland and Scotland, makes for a very confused comparison of Interregnum history in each country. It above all demonstrated the importance of recognising the contemporary distinction between Lowland mossstroopers and Highland tories and of not erroneously applying the former term to Highland fighters.

By the Interregnum, the derogatory meaning of 'tory' had already been established due to its appropriation by the English to castigate Irish people engaged in plunder and pilfering. The term gained a political charge as members of the dispossessed Irish following the Plantation of Ulster came to be associated with these thieves.⁹⁷ The understanding in England of tories as men who were 'popishly affected, outlaws, robbers...fit and ready to be destroyed and knocked on the head by any one

⁹⁴ Éamonn Ó Ciardha, 'Tories and Moss-Troopers in Scotland and Ireland in the Interregnum: A Political Dimension,' in *Celtic Dimensions of the British Civil Wars*, ed. John R. Young (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997), 149.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 149-51.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 150. See: Thurloe, ed., *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe II*. 221.

⁹⁷ Ó Ciardha, 'Tories and Moss-Troopers in Scotland and Ireland in the Interregnum,' 142.

that could meet with them'⁹⁸ derived from the strong association of 'tory' with Irish Catholic Confederates and their guerrilla successors during the 1640s and 1650s. However, its evolution in this manner was the consequence of a need to create invective with which to treat of political opponents in the context of the Exclusion Crisis.⁹⁹ At the time of the Interregnum, 'tory' had not yet been defined as a wholly Irish term and was applied to insurgents in the Scottish Highlands as well as to insurgents in Ireland. The strong and exclusive association of 'tory' with Irish bandits was thus a post-Cromwellian phenomenon and was also encouraged by the use of the torying phenomenon in the creation of Irish nationalist histories.¹⁰⁰ These factors explain the avoidance of 'tory' as a term to denominate Scottish subjects but by no means justify it.

Macinnes' article 'The First Scottish Tories?' displays awareness of the fact that 'tory' should not necessarily be understood in a narrow Irish context for the mid-seventeenth century. Macinnes has recognised that:

By 1651 the label "Tory" had been transplanted to Scotland [from Ireland] as a term of abuse, being applied to the rural guerrillas who resisted Cromwellian occupation.¹⁰¹

The poem, '*An Cobhernandori*' has provided Macinnes with a means by which to claim that this meaning was accepted among the Gaelic speaking peoples of Scotland as well. The editor of the *Highland Monthly* in 1889 understood '*Cobhernandori*' as '*Cobhair nan Tori*', meaning 'The Help to the Tories'.¹⁰² Macinnes has drawn upon this and, by analysing the text of the poem, has asserted that 'the Tories make their

⁹⁸ 'The character of an Honest Man, whether stiled Whig or Tory' (1683) *Somers Tracts* viii (1812) 359, quoted in: Robert Willman, 'The Origins of "Whig" and "Tory" in English Political Language' *The Historical Journal* XVII, no. 2 (June, 1974): 251-2.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 256-8.

¹⁰⁰ Ó Ciardha, 'Tories and Moss-Troopers in Scotland and Ireland in the Interregnum:' 141.

¹⁰¹ Macinnes, 'The First Scottish Tories?,' 57.

¹⁰² *Highland Monthly*, D. Campbell & A. MacBain eds., i, (no. 5, Aug., 1889), (Inverness, 1889-90), 280-82. Referred to in: Macinnes, 'The First Scottish Tories?,' 56.

political debut in Scotland as the Engagers'.¹⁰³ The Engagers were composed of an alliance of moderate Covenanters and royalists who co-operated in order to assist the royalist cause in 1648. The willingness to embrace a less limited understanding of tories is to be welcomed.

However, it seems unlikely that the Engagers were understood as 'tories' among the Gaelic community. William Gillies has raised the suggestion that the word order of '*an cobhair nan tori*' - in light of the rules of Gaelic syntax - renders it unlikely that this line signifies 'the help to the pursuers'. Rather, he has proposed that '*An Cobhernandori*' may mean 'the Covenanters'.¹⁰⁴ Colm Ó Baoill has written of the matter as follows:

The title here has been interpreted as representing *Cobhair nan Tory*, 'the help to the Tories', but this is open to question on various grounds. For one thing, if the word *Tory* really were present it would be the earliest attested use of the word in English as a term of political abuse. Whatever the etymology of 'Cobhernandori', the text of the song allows the suggestion that the word denotes a political group usually known as the 'Engagers'.¹⁰⁵

That the poem concerned the Engagers can be accepted but it does not provide evidence that these Engagers should be understood as tories. To understand Engagers as tories would imply close correspondence with the Irish meaning of the term at the time, as Irish tories were Confederate Catholics and royalists who persisted in the struggle for the Stuart cause in the late 1640s and throughout the 1650s. Aside from issues of etymology, Macinnes' article serves as a warning against the importation of Irish terms and their imposition upon Scottish circumstances.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 58

¹⁰⁴ I am grateful to Professor Gillies for these points. (Personal communication, 3rd August 2009).

¹⁰⁵ Colm Ó Baoill, ed., *Gàir nan Clàrsach = The Harps' Cry*, translated by Meg Bateman. (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1994), 116.

Nonetheless, this should not be considered to negate the validity of the term to a discussion of the mid-seventeenth century Highlands. The above-mentioned evidence demonstrates that tory is yet the most appropriate term to describe Highland insurgents during the Interregnum. However, distinctions must be made between Highland tories, whose origin lay with chiefly military retinues; and Irish tories, who were primarily concerned with the restoration of the House of Stuart. Furthermore, whether or not a Gaelic origin for the term tory can be located in the poem, ‘*An Cobhernandori*’, tory is yet strongly associated with the Gaelic language.

Tory actually originated as a Gaelic term, i.e. ‘*tóraidh*’. The original meaning of ‘*tóiriche*’ in the Gaelic language is ‘pursuer’.¹⁰⁶ The term was used to describe those who gave chase to creagh-takers in order to regain their property.¹⁰⁷ It was then appropriated by the English to describe members of the dispossessed Gaelic Irish who raided along the hinterland of their former territories. This Gaelic meaning refers to an older understanding of cattle-takers as clansmen engaged in the defence of their property and can be considered pertinent to the subjects of this thesis.

It seems reasonable to apply tory to the subjects here analysed. Certainly, its application to Scottish Highlanders by English officials during the Interregnum was borne of recognition of the similarities between continued opponents of English conquest in Scotland and Ireland; but this is not sufficient argument to limit it to denizens of Ireland alone. Furthermore, by taking ‘tory’ as a label for the men studied throughout this thesis, we can marry the English understanding of the word to a revival of its Gaelic meaning as pursuers. The tories of this dissertation straddled the two worlds represented by these two meanings, belonging unambiguously to neither.

¹⁰⁶ Dwelly. *The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary*, 960.

¹⁰⁷ For references to historical uses of the word in the context of cattle-lifting, see: Quin, ed. *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, 600.

The diachronic nature of the term thus admirably reflects the changing condition of the people it will here be considered to represent.

In the context of Scottish Highland history of the Interregnum, tories can be taken to represent members of the warrior class who opposed the English army and engaged in cattle-raiding and feuding throughout the decade. They were a distinctive class whose origins lay in the Gaelic nobility and should be considered as such regardless of the prevalence or otherwise of alliance with the royalist nobility. They were also a class that was bound together by the common warrior identity, but that was experiencing alterations to the nature of their relationship with their chief, which in turn led to the erosion of their traditional prestige.

The distinctive character of Toryism during the Interregnum and its changing relationship with the clan chiefs and British politics

Lawlessness and vagrancy throughout the British Isles was a matter of serious concern to the Cromwellian governments. The Scottish Highlands, in common with other regions, proved a source of vagrants. The Glencairn Rising exacerbated the problem of vagrancy in the Highlands by attracting border mosstroopers to the region.¹⁰⁸ It also provided continued employment for those whose participation in the Montrose campaigns had been coerced and who had since decided to remain at large. It was believed that they took this decision because they preferred the freedom of the campaigning lifestyle to “puire and quhitness”.¹⁰⁹ Economic necessity also formed an important consideration in the decision to continue in the predatory lifestyle, as the Highlands had been laid waste between 1644 and 1652. These cateran bands and mosstroopers had no ties to the society upon which they were subsisting. Such broken persons were the subjects of specific measures to effect their containment or removal, which will be detailed in Chapter Three.

The presence of these disparate groups creates difficulties when trying to isolate the motivations of tories whose activities can at first appear identical to those of the caterans. However, it is not impossible. Members of cateran bands have invariably remained as anonymous marauders in the documentation of the Interregnum, which sometimes simply expressed a general complaint about Highland raiding. Only acknowledged clan members appear as identified raiders in the sources of the Interregnum. They were either denounced in terms of clan affiliation or else a

¹⁰⁸ John Drummond, *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill, Chief of the Clan Cameron: With an Introductory Account of the History and Antiquities of That Family and of the Neighbouring Clans* (Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club, 1842), 98.

responsible chief was later located. Often, heritors were involved in raiding activities as well. Many such Tories demonstrated to the government that they personally possessed the means to go surety for themselves, and so cannot be classified as destitute vagrants.¹¹⁰ These tories also formed the core of martial strength during the Glencairn Rising. This is confirmed by the retrospective evidence of Monck's measures to ensure that no such campaign would recur by holding chiefs responsible for their clan *fine*. This *fine* was held to form the basis of the Glencairn army.

By engaging in raiding activities, tories threatened the Cromwellian regime in two ways. As raiders who did not recognise Cromwellian legal process and enjoyed the protection of the structure of clanship, they posed a fundamental threat to the integrity of the government. However, the menace they posed to the regime also took a more direct form as they deliberately attempted to sabotage the Cromwellian conquest. This opposition was enjoined with the promotion of an alternative form of government when they lent their support to the Glencairn Rising in 1653. This should not necessarily be construed as royalist ideology on the part of Tories as they had been engaged in opposition to the Cromwellian conquest before the rising. The rising marked an imperfect alliance between this resistance movement and the nobility who supported King Charles II. Following the Rising, the regime with which Tories were faced took on a new character. The military government delegated responsibility for the maintenance of peace in the Highlands to clan chiefs. The chiefs were encouraged to accept this role in order to benefit from official patronage (Chapter Four). This led to the effective circumscription of tory activities and an end to direct resistance to English rule. Moreover, it led to a change in the relationship between *fine* and chief. The chief no longer led his clansmen in their desired activities. He thus came to

¹⁰⁹ *Clanship*, 113.

personify Cromwellian rule and provoked considerable resentment. The increasing antagonism between clan and chief will be demonstrated with reference to the cases of MacLeod of Dunvegan, Grant of Freuchie and MacDonald of Keppoch. Despite the effectiveness of Cromwellian measures to limit the threat posed to the government by Tories, they could do little to bring raiding and feuding to an end. The extensive tory networks which served to protect tories engaged in cattle theft continued to function and could not be disabled by the military governors. This can be demonstrated in the case of the earl of Airlie, who ineffectively sought the aid of the garrison at Inverlochry in order to regain goods stolen by tories of various clans.

The Glencairn Rising has usually been understood as a royalist endeavour. Its leadership certainly professed to be fighting for the cause of the House of Stuart. Letters and commissions from Charles justified their campaign as a Royalist movement and their activities were represented as conducive to the king's interest.¹¹¹ Acceptance of the Royalist character of the rebellion coupled with the traditional historiographical concentration on Highland support for the Stuarts poses the danger that the Glencairn Rising might be viewed as further evidence of the inevitable Highland march towards Jacobitism. Such Highland loyalty to the heir of Malcolm III has been described variously as the romantic sentimentality of the heroic Celt¹¹² or as the projection, by clan members, of traditional clan loyalty to their chief on to the Stuart king.¹¹³ Another historian has located the emergence of Jacobitism in the royalist campaigns of the 1640s:

¹¹⁰ Thurloe, ed., *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, II, 533.

¹¹¹ MacDonald & MacDonald, *The Clan Donald*, II, 432.

¹¹² See: Murray G.H. Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 11-12, Murray G.H. Pittock, *Jacobitism* (London: Macmillan, 1998), 4.

¹¹³ Audrey Cunningham, *The Loyal Clans* (Cambridge: CUP, 1932), 3.

Fighting in a loose 'negative' alliance with the Stewart cause, an alliance based on hatred of common enemies, the clans were imperceptibly to develop sentiments of positive loyalty to the monarchy.¹¹⁴

The role of the Interregnum period in this gestation period is unclear and such subtle psychological processes seem an unlikely explanation for the development of political allegiances. The historiographical imperative that Highland history from the mid-seventeenth century onwards must be understood in relation to the fortunes of the House of Stuart leads to a simplification of Highland history. It depends upon the existence of a homogeneous Highland history and the viability of attributing espousal of political or social causes to the 'Highlands' as a unified region. However, as Edward Furgol has shown, no such unity existed. Patterns of loyalty during the civil wars were complex, and many clans declared in favour of the Covenanters.¹¹⁵ This complexity applied equally to the Glencairn Rising. Several chiefs displayed reluctance to assist Glencairn¹¹⁶ and Sir James MacDonald of Sleat attempted to foil the insurrection. In doing so, he was able to prove his loyalty to the Cromwellian regime.¹¹⁷

Historiographical attribution of royalism to all Highlanders on the one hand is juxtaposed against an alternative view, which seeks to deny that the combatants were capable of any political sensibility, while imputing political motivations only to the leadership. According to this thesis, the troops of the rebellion have been conceptualised as the economically motivated products of a traditional Highland instability, whose discontent

¹¹⁴ Stevenson, *Alasdair MacColla*, 267.

¹¹⁵ See: E. M. Furgol, 'The Northern Highland Covenanter Clans, 1639-1651,' *Northern Scotland* 7 (1987).

¹¹⁶ NAS. Airlie Papers GD39/2/51; GD39/2/53.

¹¹⁷ Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland*, 80. MacDonald & MacDonald, *The Clan Donald*, II 62-3.

could not become a serious threat to the security of the English regime unless and until it was subsumed in a more general revolt led by men with clear political objectives.¹¹⁸

A related view is expressed by Macinnes in *Clanship*, according to which, royalism provided a 'political veneer' for the activities of cateran bands following the disintegration of the rising in 1655.¹¹⁹ Frances Dow's thesis is similarly unsuitable. It rests upon the supposition that cateran bands formed the military basis of the rising and neglects consideration of the varied background of the troops. Allan Macinnes' statement that cateran bands utilised the political banner of royalism for their own intellectual justification has no basis in the sources for lawlessness of this period. There is no evidence to suggest that caterans desired any such excuse for their doings. As such, Highland Tories and their aims have either been lost in the simplistic representation of a uniform Highland history or else they have been dismissed as opportunistic robbers.

The view that Tories were already engaged in organised military activities before Glencairn raised the royal standard is as yet unproposed but offers a likely explanation for their patterns of behaviour during the Interregnum. The Glencairn rising, as a royalist movement, merely attached itself to this pre-existing campaign. It did not significantly alter its course, nor did the leadership manage to control the Tories' activities. When studying the fortunes of Tories during the Interregnum period, the importance of the Glencairn Rising lies in the light it sheds on their motivations. Its termination and the peace settlements which followed also had serious implications for many of the clansmen involved.

¹¹⁸ Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland*, 67-8.

¹¹⁹ *Clanship*, 113.

This alliance of Tories with the royalist nobility is not in itself evidence of royalism on their part. Any evidence of such Highland royalism lies in accounts of the Cromwellian regime, composed by Lowland royalists. James Turner treated of Highlanders as trustworthy in the cause of the king and stated that their respect for Glencairn was due to his reputation as a staunch royalist.¹²⁰ In June 1654, Mews wrote that the Highlanders were 'right sett for the ancient government of their Country, and that in his person who only hath a just claime to it'.¹²¹ Drummond wrote that

the only body of men that stood out for the King, and rendered themselves considerable, were those that putt themselves under the command of the Earl of Glencairn, in the Northern parts of the Highlands.¹²²

As measures of Highland Royalism, these are unreliable sources. Turner and Mews both wished to apologise for the presence of 'uncivilised' Highlanders in the royalist army by emphasising a sincere loyalty to Charles. Drummond utilised primary sources when compiling the 'Memoirs' but his principal concern was to promote an image of Highland civility and to present a favourable view of the House of Lochiel in the context of Stuart loyalism.

That the presence of the king was much desired in the Highlands provides some further indication of royalism. Mews demanded that Charles come to Scotland and Glengarry wrote to request his presence too.¹²³ Lilburne reported to Cromwell that letters from the king served to raise the morale of the army.¹²⁴ Conversely, Charles counted on support in the Highlands. He wrote to the tutor of the Clan Gregor, Charles MacGregor, of his faith in Highland royalism and asked Clan Gregor

¹²⁰ Sir James Turner, *Memoirs of His Own Life and Times. MDCXXXIII-MDCLXX*. Bannatyne Club (1829), 109-10.

¹²¹ *S&P*, 123-4.

¹²² Drummond, *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochell*, 97.

¹²³ *S&P*, 126, 29.

to rise in his name.¹²⁵ He also vehemently opposed attempts to levy Highlanders for foreign service as prejudicial to his interest.¹²⁶

As evidence of genuine support for the King of Scotland, these circumstances and testimonies are rather unconvincing. Furthermore the relationship of the royalist nobility with the Tories was fraught with tension. The royalist leadership was highly dissatisfied with the composition of their army. Such intolerance of Highlanders on the part of Sir George Munro led to a duel with Glencairn.¹²⁷ Peter Mews went to great lengths to apologise for the fact that Highland manners did not accord with those of Lowlanders, representing this as the consequence of the disruptions of the civil wars.¹²⁸ The tories were likewise impatient with the royalist leaders, who consistently avoided engagement with the English troops¹²⁹ and who were beset by internal squabbling.¹³⁰ Captain Jonathan Sherwin wrote:

...if they [i.e. the Glencairn leadership] have but a stomach to fight with us as they have one with another, the roguish gang will be dissipated. There is like to be good order and discipline among them when their chiefs fight single hand one with another for superiority'.¹³¹

The Tories were also dissatisfied with the change of leadership from Glencairn to John Middleton.¹³² These factors led to rapid abandonment of the cause. As early as

¹²⁴ Ibid., 42.

¹²⁵ A. G. M. MacGregor, *History of the Clan Gregor, from Public Records and Private Collections* 2vols. (Edinburgh: W. Brown, 1898-1901), II 127.

¹²⁶ *S&P*, 297.

¹²⁷ John Graham of Deuchrie, 'An Account of the Expedition of William the Ninth Earl of Glencairn, as General of His Majesty's Forces in the Highlands of Scotland in the Years 1653-1657,' in *Miscellanea Scotica* (Glasgow: 1818-20), 71-3; MacDonald & MacDonald, *The Clan Donald*, II 433-4.

¹²⁸ *S&P*, 124.

¹²⁹ J. Y. Akerman, ed., *Letters from Roundhead Officers from Scotland to Captain Adam Baynes, 1650-1660*, vol. 101 (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1856), 82; Thurloe, ed., *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, II, 317.

¹³⁰ Drummond, *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill*, 102; Thurloe, ed., *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, I 502.

¹³¹ Green, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series [of the Commonwealth]... Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office 1654*. 102.

¹³² Deuchrie, 'An Account,' 70.

December 1653, the royalist forces were dispersing.¹³³ In July 1654, Middleton was said to have only eight hundred horse and two hundred foot.¹³⁴ Six months later he had fewer than twenty men.¹³⁵

The tories' primary aim was to oppose the English conquerors. Prior to the summer of 1653, tories were to be 'found in every place where there were English troops.'¹³⁶ Oliver Cromwell complained of them in the following letter:

I finding that divers of the army under my command are not only spoiled and robbed, but also sometimes barbarously and inhumanly butchered and slain, by a sort of outlaws and robbers, not under the discipline of any army.¹³⁷

Alexander MacNaughton of Dunderawe had led staunch resistance to the Cromwellians in 1652, who escaped massacre thanks to the assistance of Argyll.¹³⁸ Argyll commanded the inhabitants of the Lowland colony to obey English rule. The obedience of the colonists to the marquis provoked MacNaughton into swearing vengeance on them.¹³⁹ Similarly, the MacDonalds of Glengarry continued in arms against the English following the Battle of Worcester.¹⁴⁰

As such, tory alliance with the royalists was a matter of pragmatism: Charles as ruler of Scotland provided an alternative to the English rule which they opposed. That they were not particularly enthused by the royalist cause is apparent from the independence of action which they displayed and their disregard for the concerns of the royalist leadership. The course of tory military action before and during the Glencairn Rising indicates that tories joined with it in the hope of experiencing battle

¹³³ Thurloe, ed., *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, I 635.

¹³⁴ Akerman, ed., *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, 76.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹³⁶ Deuchrie, 'An Account,' 114.

¹³⁷ S. C Lomas, ed., *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell. With Elucidations by Thomas Carlyle. Introduction by C.H. Firth* (London: Methuen & Co., 1904), 146.

¹³⁸ Andrew McKerral, *Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1948), 100.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*; John Willcock, *The Great Marquess: Life and Times of Archibald, 8th Earl and 1st (and Only) Marquess of Argyll, 1607-1661* (Edinburgh: O. Anderson & Ferrier, 1903), 383.

¹⁴⁰ MacDonald & MacDonald, *The Clan Donald*, II 427.

with the Cromwellians, whom they regarded as their enemies. This accords with what is known of their actions prior to the Glencairn rebellion. Tory dislike of Middleton was also apparent. This may be related to opposition to the Covenanters, for whom Middleton had fought. Lowland acquiescence to English rule added another dimension to the campaign as opposition to the English invaders came to be inextricably linked with bitterness towards the colonists. The Cromwellian regime in the post-Glencairn period saw an increase in this isolation and played a formative and effective role in the process by which chiefs came to distance themselves from toryism.

Following the suppression of royalist rebellion in the Highlands by General George Monck and the military government, clan chiefs came to represent judicial authority. Tory hostility thereby came to be directed towards the Gaelic chiefs. Early evidence of clan divisions was perceptible in the case of the MacLeods of Dunvegan. The chief capitulated on 20th May 1655, but Rory MacLeod, Norman MacLeod and Norman MacLeod of Raasay continued to fight against the English. These members of the clan *fine* were excluded from Dunvegan's treaty with Monck and the chief was set at variance with his clansmen as he was obliged to apprehend them.¹⁴¹ This discord was a new situation for the MacLeods but the fomentation of such division by the government was not innovative and had been practised by the Covenanting regime. James Grant of Freuchie had found himself in a similar situation in 1649. Freuchie's brother had initiated a disturbance at Inverness, which threatened to prove a nuisance to the army of the Engagement. The motivations of Freuchie's clansmen are unclear. According to David Leslie, they acted 'without any shadow of publick

¹⁴¹ *S&P*, 285-7.

pretext¹⁴² but it seems likely that their actions were motivated by resentment of the chief's utilisation of a commission to proscribe their traditional raiding activities. This tension between chief and clansmen continued throughout the Interregnum. An eighteenth century document based upon local tradition detailed anecdotes of strife between Freuchie and his clan during the Cromwellian period.¹⁴³ In the absence of this document or a transcription of it, it is difficult to say how valid this is as evidence. However, the tradition does accord with other proof of strained relations between Freuchie and his clansmen. In July 1658, a Writ of Lawburrows in the name of Oliver Cromwell was issued against Alexander Grant in Auchnarrows, his son Allan, William Grant of Newtown, his son Donald, John Grant of Gorton and fifteen others. It stated that they attacked Freuchie's property on a daily basis; attempted to thwart his policies; and intimidated the chief, 'awoing oppinlie to bereawe him of his lyff'.¹⁴⁴ The attempts of Alexander MacDonald, chief of Keppoch, to restrain Tory activity within his clan led to his murder and also to the murder of his brother, Ranald.¹⁴⁵

The absence of a concerted rising in the Highlands makes it easier to distinguish categories of unrest between 1655 and 1660. The first category concerns recognisably criminal acts, which were perpetrated by members of various social orders. The second concerns racketeering, which thrived due to the activities of Tories and cateran bands. The third category refers to raiding itself, which was often inextricably linked with clan disputes.

¹⁴² William Fraser, *The Chiefs of Grant*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: 1883), II 18-9.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, I, 279. This is referred to in the *Chiefs of Grant*. When William Fraser wrote, the document was lodged at Castle Grant, but I have been unable to locate it.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Annie M. MacKenzie, ed., *Orain Iain Luim* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd for SGTS, 1964), 8-12; John A. MacLean, 'The Sources, Particularly the Celtic Sources, for the History of the Highlands in the Seventeenth Century,' (University of Aberdeen PhD Thesis, 1939), 175.

A recognisably criminal offence which was brought to trial during the Interregnum was the rape of Katherine Cuthbert and the murder of her father's servant, Alexander Davidson, by Lachlan Mackintosh of Daviot and his brother, Alexander.¹⁴⁶ Racketeering was perpetrated by William Farquharson of Inverey. Farquharson was paid by Angus landowners to protect their properties during the summer of 1653.¹⁴⁷ The tutor of Clan Gregor also benefited from state endorsed racketeering. The heritors of the sheriffdom of Stirling, whose property he guarded, were ordered by James Stirling, Clerk of the Peace, to pay him.¹⁴⁸

In June 1653, Thomas Fraser and his followers stole cattle, sheep and horses from Lachlan Mackintosh of Kincaig, John Mackintosh and others.¹⁴⁹ Hugh Fraser was also known to the military authorities as a notorious raider.¹⁵⁰ Mackintosh of Torcastle and his followers broke out in raiding in the summer of 1653 in relation to their dispute with the Clan Cameron.¹⁵¹ On 24th June 1654, William Mackintosh of Kellachie was obliged to sign a bond of security for his son-in-law, Alasdair MacGillivray, who had been raiding the lands of Duncan Forbes of Culloden.¹⁵² On 26th June 1656, Duncan Campbell of Auchinrier took legal action against Patrick Campbell of Auchacha for the theft of his horses.¹⁵³ Neil MacLaughlan, a member of the household of MacLean of Duart, shot a public notary in Argyllshire in 1658.¹⁵⁴ In the same year, the son of the earl of Callendar, Alexander Livingstone, was attacked

¹⁴⁶ Paton, ed., *The Mackintosh Muniments*, No. 422. 102.

¹⁴⁷ *Clanship*, 34.

¹⁴⁸ MacGregor, *History of the Clan Gregor*, II 135.

¹⁴⁹ Paton, ed., *The Mackintosh Muniments*, No.425. 103.

¹⁵⁰ Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland*, 236.

¹⁵¹ Munro, ed., *The Lochiel Inventory*, 103.

¹⁵² Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, 'Minor Highland Families - No. 8 - the Macgillivrays of Dunmaglass,' *TGSI XX* (1894-96): 33.

¹⁵³ Henry Paton, *The Clan Campbell: Abstracts of Entries Relating to Campbells from Various Sources...From the Campbell Collections*, 8 vols., vol. IV (Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace, 1913), 327.

¹⁵⁴ Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland*, 236.

and robbed between Badenoch and Atholl by clansmen of Lochiel.¹⁵⁵ Major John Hill, governor of the fort at Inverlochy, reported in the summer of 1659 that clansmen of Glengarry had ‘broken out in armes and have rob’d and spoyld divers of the country people who have lived peaceable’.¹⁵⁶ The property of the earl of Caithness was consistently plundered throughout the Interregnum and early Restoration period by MacKays and Gordons due to disputes between those clans and the Sinclairs.¹⁵⁷

In August 1657, the earl of Airlie suffered the loss of cattle and horses to Tories. His determination to recover the value of his goods led to the uncovering of an elaborate raiding operation which involved Keppoch MacDonalds, Stewarts of Appin and MacDonalds of Kingairloch, who were to be held accountable to their respective chiefs. Two chapmen, Donald Dubh Mac Chonaill mhic Elbein[?]¹⁵⁸ and Alasdair Rua sought the protection of MacCondoy of Innerall in light of Airlie’s legal proceedings and either Clanranald or Sleat were to be charged with their apprehension. John Baxter, who had served as a guide to the tories, was the servant of John Mackintosh of Forfar. Only three men declared guilty of the theft were not listed as any chief’s clansman. The protracted negotiations and prosecutions that led to the indictment of the tories took over two years and involved frequent correspondence between Airlie, Hill, Monck, and others at the fort of Inverlochy. The case highlights the difficulties of penetrating into tory bands in order to force accountability to the government. These difficulties arose due to the organised nature of the crime; the dangers of provoking the men involved; linguistic barriers; and the impatience of landowners with the legal processes of the government.

¹⁵⁵ Munro, ed., *The Lochiel Inventory*, 45.

¹⁵⁶ MacDonald & MacDonald, *The Clan Donald*, II 439.

¹⁵⁷ *Clanship*, 48-9.

Airlie had been forced to apply to the garrison for assistance in the recovery of his goods in December 1658 because of the difficulty he had encountered in trying to find someone with sufficient knowledge of, and acquaintance in, the ‘farr hielandis’ to accept tascal money¹⁵⁹. The matter was then promoted by Alexander Murray until someone else at the garrison agreed to venture into the Highlands to find a Glencoe MacDonald to accept the tascal money. However, in May 1659, Hill wrote to Airlie that this person ‘dare not adventure’ into Glencoe but that Peter English was willing to conduct the task in his stead. Linguistic barriers formed an obstacle as the sheriff tried to discover the thieves and Gaelic speakers had to be recruited for the purpose of interrogation. Hill made the mistake, in May 1659, of allowing Airlie to question John Baxter. Airlie abused this privilege and had Baxter imprisoned. This led to tensions with Monck in the conduct of the affair as John Mackintosh of Forfar petitioned to the Commander-in-Chief for Baxter’s release from this illegal confinement and removal to one of the garrisons. Prior to a visit of John MacCallendar (i.e., Mac Ailein Dubh) to Airlie, Hill was careful to remind the earl that he must submit to legal process and allow MacCallendar freedom to leave following the interview.¹⁶⁰ Airlie did not receive full compensation. Furthermore, it was not until 1660 that the raiders agreed to make reparation in cows and horses and their delivery was stalled into the Restoration period.¹⁶¹

The Clanranald chief displayed a similar disregard for Cromwellian authority and is exceptional as one who was evidently and overtly complicit in the actions of his clansmen. He displayed a determination to persist in traditional raiding activities during the Interregnum. In 1658 he raided the holding of Martin MacPherson,

¹⁵⁸ This is unclear.

¹⁵⁹ Tascal money was paid to a person who could provide information about a cattle raid.

¹⁶⁰ NAS Airlie Papers. GD16/41/379.

minister of Kilmuir on Skye. The creach taken from MacPherson was considerable. It included fifty-four cows, sixty sheep, twenty-eight lambs, thirteen horses, corn, barley and utensils. MacPherson claimed that their total value was 2632 merks 7d., including 176 merks to cover the expense of pursuing legal recourse against Clanranald.¹⁶² However, this pursuit of legal recourse proved ineffective and four years later the Court of Session ordered Clanranald's apprehension, complaining that he took

no fear or regard, for he daily haunted, and frequented, and repaired to kirk and market, and other public places, as if he were ane free person, in high authority, and in proud contempt of the laws.¹⁶³

Clanranald, along with Glengarry, was clearly unable to reconcile himself to the maintenance of order and submissiveness to government authority, either Cromwellian or Stuart.

In 1658, a band of approximately eighteen tories attempted to subsist by taking to arms and plundering the countryside. These tories were drawn from the clans of Cameron, MacPherson and MacDonald of Glencoe. The chief of Glencoe was ordered to offer a bond of security for those tories of his clan, while MacNaughton was called upon to assist in their apprehension, in return for an unspecified reward.¹⁶⁴ The men of Glengarry's clan also broke out in raiding in 1659.¹⁶⁵ (See below). These incidents were among the more important tory activities in the post-Glencairn period as they involved sustained efforts by clansmen to live the traditional warrior lifestyle. They thereby expressed disdain for the order being imposed by the Cromwellians and could have attracted other tories to join with them, potentially creating the situation that existed immediately prior to the Glencairn Rising.

¹⁶¹ *Clanship*, 36.

¹⁶² Charles MacDonald, *Moidart. Among the Clanranalds* edited by John Watt (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1997), 67-8; Lachlan Macdonald, 'Gleanings from Lord Macdonald's Charter Chest,' *TGSI* 14 (1887-88): 69-70.

¹⁶³ Macdonald, 'Gleanings from Lord Macdonald's Charter Chest,' 70.

The ongoing threat to the integrity of the Cromwellian regime posed by tories was similar to that created by the existence of vagabondage throughout Scotland. However, the threat posed by tories was more serious. Their activities were more efficient and the individuals involved enjoyed a high social standing in the community. As such, the measures, detailed in Chapter Three that were used to contain random acts of theft and violence perpetrated by vagrants were not appropriate to tories. In the early years of the Interregnum, tories amplified their raiding activities and also engaged in direct attacks on the English. The overtly political nature of their activity was later allied to the efforts of the Royalist nobility in the interests of Charles II. The effect of this alliance was to change the tory campaign from one whose immediate end was the extirpation of English rule to one that represented the one of the interests then vying for supremacy in the Three Kingdoms. The tory movement was not overcome by this though, and tories continued to pursue their own agenda and displayed a considerable level of disregard for the concerns of the Glencairn leaders. The defeat of the rising by the summer of 1655 brought about a new political climate for tories and they no longer enjoyed the leadership of their chiefs in their endeavours. As a result, direct attacks on the English ceased. The nuisance they presented to the government as raiders also decreased in scale but did not disappear, as has been seen from the cases presented above. Thus, tories, as a social group distinct from cateran bands, were a politically motivated grouping. Following their alliance with the Royalists, they were faced with changed

¹⁶⁴ *S&P*, xxxvi.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, xxxvi-xxxvii.

circumstances which led to the erosion of their power and capacity for effective political action.

English government policy and the suppression of toryism

In April 1656, Major John Hill, wrote the following:

The businesse prospers soe well in our hands as justices of peace in these Highlands that I hope (in [a] short time) wee may contend for civilitie with the Lowlands; a loose, or broken man or a stranger cannott passe without a testimoniall under the hand of some officer of the armie, or Justice of the peace; fornicators are startled at the punishment some have received, and drunkards begin to looke towards sobriety, and swearers to speak more deliberately; and to conclude this businesse hath the best face uppon itt for good to these countries that ever was exercised amongst them.¹⁶⁶

This was addressed to William Clarke, secretary to General George Monck. Hill's knowledge that the contents of his letter would be conveyed to his superior could explain its enthusiastically optimistic tone. However, Hill does not seem to have been exaggerating to any great extent. In contrast with the quiet maintained by the English government, the Restoration brought about a loss of control over Highland activities and the inability to suppress raiding. This was the subject of a complaint submitted by Lowland landlords to the Privy Council.¹⁶⁷ The English government was anxious to maintain peace and quiet throughout Britain and to remove vagrants from the fringes of society. Several measures were enacted to remove the problem of vagrancy and the Highlands was included in these. However, the Highlands was the subject of special attention by the government. The maintenance of quiet there was treated of as a matter of urgency which merited far greater resources than those expended outwith the region. This was the consequence of recognition of the vehemence of opposition to the government that was professed by Highland tories and which could manifest itself in the form of military opposition to the regime.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 321.

¹⁶⁷ Mackintosh Papers, GD176/475 (Edinburgh), Paton, ed., *The Mackintosh Muniments*, 111-2. The manuscript document is a copy of the petition in draft form and the petition itself is referred to in the Mackintosh Muniments.

The basis for quieting tories was established during the campaign to subdue the Glencairn Rising. The English army used this campaign as an opportunity to sever tories from the support of the country people and from alliance with Lowland royalists. However, the principal reason for English success in suppressing Highland lawlessness was the strong physical presence of the army and the expenditure by the government of vast military resources in order to ensure the quiet of the region. This presence enabled the army to implement strict controls on the movement of people and to ensure that weaponry could not be imported into Scotland by tories. The English army did not act in isolation, though, and sought the active aid of Highland chiefs in the furtherance of their aim of controlling Highland tories. This was achieved by means of coercion, the exaction of bonds of security from chiefs and also, by the selective favouring of certain chiefs, which meant that the concerted alliance of chiefs against the English could be avoided. Hill's letter quoted above hints at the coercive aspect of English policy towards tories by emphasising difficulty of movement within the Highlands. However, Hill also seemed to consider that ecclesiastical law was integral to the maintenance of order. The encouragement of 'civility' by means of the promotion of protestantism was considered by the Lord Protector, but not until 1657. Aspects of this policy towards the Highlands will be considered below but, despite the interest that Hill expressed in the area, the inculcation of 'civility' did not receive serious attention from the government at London and so was ineffective.

The extirpation of vagrancy and lawlessness was a major concern of the Lord Protector and of the Cromwellian government in Scotland. Transportation to the West Indies was regarded as the most effective long term solution to the existence of vagrants and mendicants in Scotland. Until such time as this could be effected, local

parish churches were charged with the maintenance of these poor.¹⁶⁸ Border mosstroopers were specifically targeted by means of proclamations against them.¹⁶⁹ Petty thieves were the subject of the 1656 ‘Act Against Vagrants, and Wandring, Idle, Dissolute Persons’.¹⁷⁰ This act was formulated in order to satisfy the needs of the regime to contain lawlessness in England but was applied to Scotland as well. Incentives in the form of financial rewards were offered to anyone who captured thieves. Thieves themselves could gain a reprieve for past offences in return for the betrayal of their accomplices to the sheriff.¹⁷¹ The suppression of lawlessness was in fact a British concern and the maintenance of order in the Scottish Highlands can be regarded in a pan-British context.

Tory potential to engage in sustained warfare against the English was greatly weakened by the manner in which Monck quelled the Glencairn Rising. A principal concern was to ensure that the country people would be unwilling to support tories. This was important as the English army was convinced that the royalist cause enjoyed popular support.¹⁷² Monck professed that Lord Lorne could not have seized the English army supplies which were landed at Inveraray without the connivance of the country people. He also averred that the people inclined rather to Lorne than to the marquis of Argyll.¹⁷³ Lands were wasted and houses burned in order to ensure that the Highlands could not sustain further rebellion. This indiscriminate wastage tended to the isolation of tories from the support of country people. When campaigning in Kintail, John Baynes described this policy as follows:

¹⁶⁸ Wilbur Cortez Abbott, *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), III. 305.

¹⁶⁹ Henry Scobell, *A Collection of Acts and Ordinances of General Use, Made in Parliament...* (London: Henry Hills and John Field, 1658), 508.

¹⁷⁰ *An Act against Vagrants, and Wandring, Idle, Dissolute Persons. At the Parliament Begun at Westminster the 17th Day of September, An.Dom. 1656*, (Christopher Higgins, 1657).

¹⁷¹ Scobell, *A Collection of Acts and Ordinances of General Use, Made in Parliament...* 268.

¹⁷² Akerman, ed., *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, 71.

We have not found man, woman, or child at their homes, all being either in arms or in remote places with their cattle. At their return they will have new houses to build and corn to seek, which will be a means to quiet them, or nothing.¹⁷⁴

Regions in which rebels were known to have been harboured were deliberately ravaged¹⁷⁵ and Lochaber and Glengarry were wasted for three days by Monck and Colonel Thomas Morgan respectively as retribution for the killing of English soldiers to whom quarter had been granted.¹⁷⁶ Monck also deterred Lowland royalists from joining with the tories by making parents and tutors responsible for the actions of their charges.¹⁷⁷ These measures met with considerable success and the country people refused to support Middleton's campaign.¹⁷⁸ On one occasion, the people of Lochaber fought against tories who were attempting to take their cattle.¹⁷⁹ This was indicative of the extent to which public opinion had turned against tory espousal of the royalist cause. Middleton's refusal to engage with the English forces also facilitated the demise of the movement. The army was aware of the damage that Middleton was doing to the tories by remaining at large with diminishing access to supply. Monck wrote to Cromwell: 'I cannot think what hee [Middleton] is able to doe more then to ruine his friends and the people in the Hills, in which hee will doe us noe disservice'.¹⁸⁰

Following suppression of the rising, the English army maintained a strong presence in the Highlands. Lieutenant Colonel John Roseworthe was commissioned to

¹⁷³ S&P, 176-7.

¹⁷⁴ Akerman, ed., *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, 76.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 79-80.

¹⁷⁷ S&P, 91; George Monck, *By the Commander in Chief of All the Forces in Scotland. The Commonwealth of England Having Used All Means of Tenderness and Affection Towards the People of This Nation, Be Receiving Them (after a Chargeable and Bloody War) into Union with England...* (Leith, 1654).

¹⁷⁸ Akerman, ed., *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, 81.

¹⁷⁹ S&P, 299. Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland*, 135.

¹⁸⁰ S&P, 199.

build garrisons at the head of Loch Tay in 1654.¹⁸¹ One of these garrisons must have been built upon an existing structure, as a fortification at Loch Tay had been taken from the tories in May 1654.¹⁸² The Cromwellian army also occupied Inveraray Castle and Blair Castle.¹⁸³ These strongholds furthered the aim of suppression of Highland toryism and of particular importance was the garrison at Inverness.¹⁸⁴ Monck's intention was to maintain soldiers throughout the Highlands so that any clan that attempted to rise in arms could be quickly and effectively suppressed. The territory of the marquis of Argyll was the only area excepted from this practice, as forces from Ireland were to be landed at Dunstaffnage and Inverlochy in case Argyll and his clansmen should rise against the government.¹⁸⁵ The scale of military presence in the Highlands was vastly ambitious and the Highlands hosted far greater numbers of soldiers than the remainder of Scotland.

This heavy military presence enabled the implementation of limitations to free movement throughout the Highlands. Iain Lom welcomed the Restoration in terms of liberty of movement in the Highlands, compared with the inhibitions on movement that had been imposed by the Cromwellians.¹⁸⁶ In October 1655, Cromwell directed the Council in Scotland to ensure that Monck and the governors of Inverlochy and Inverness employed people to maintain lists of 'idle masterless vagabonds and robbers...to the effect none may be omitted.' Six percent was added to the cess for this purpose.¹⁸⁷ Cromwell originally intended for the lists to be used in order to round up persons for transportation, but this was not proceeded with. Nonetheless, it certainly contributed to the maintenance of strict control over the Highlanders.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 163.

¹⁸² Akerman, ed., *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, 73.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 92, 95.

¹⁸⁴ Drummond, *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill*, 111-2.

¹⁸⁵ *S&P*, 368.

Skippers and seamen were forbidden to transport dissidents and could suffer the loss of their vessel for contravention of this ordinance.¹⁸⁸ They could suffer similar punishment for the importation of unlicensed weaponry into Scotland.¹⁸⁹ Awareness of Charles' efforts to draw Irish royalists into the Scottish Highlands¹⁹⁰ led to prohibitions against travel to Ireland without a license.¹⁹¹ The clans were also being closely watched by Cromwellian spies.¹⁹² It was the physical presence of government in the Highlands that distinguished Cromwellian efforts to contain lawlessness from those of its Stuart predecessors and this military coercion was of the utmost importance in guaranteeing that a large scale rebellion such as that of Glencairn did not recur.

The political machinations employed to control Highlanders were more subtle. By requiring bonds of security from chiefs and demanding the surrender of ammunition upon capitulation following the Glencairn Rising, the government was in a position to harness the chiefs' to its own ends.¹⁹³ Further bonds of security were later demanded in times of political unrest¹⁹⁴ and in 1659, chiefs from whom bonds of security had been taken were forced to sign a parole document.¹⁹⁵ Chiefs were also forced to apprehend tories engaged in creagh-taking, on pain of losing their cattle.¹⁹⁶ Such measures were intended to isolate the chiefs from their clansmen and to erode their personal authority. They were exacerbated by the policy of appointing the tutor

¹⁸⁶ MacKenzie, ed., *Orain Iain Luim*, 76.

¹⁸⁷ Abbott, *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, III, 305.

¹⁸⁸ John Nicoll, *A Diary of Public Transactions and Other Occurrences, Chiefly in Scotland, from January 1650 to 1667*, Edited by David Laing vol. 52 (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1836), 183.

¹⁸⁹ Broghill, *An Order and Declaration of His Highnes Council in Scotland, for the Government Thereof: Prohibiting the Bringing in of Any Arms or Ammunition into Scotland, without Licence 6th June 1656*, (1656).

¹⁹⁰ S&P, 140.

¹⁹¹ Nicoll, *A Diary of Public Transactions*, 173.

¹⁹² MacDonald & MacDonald, *The Clan Donald*, 428-9.

¹⁹³ S&P, 235, 69-71, 73, 77, 80, 85-6.

¹⁹⁴ Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland*, 246.

¹⁹⁵ Munro, ed., *The Lochiel Inventory*, 46.

of the clan or another prominent member - other than the chief - as sheriff. Monck wrote to Major-General John Lambert in April 1654:

‘If his Highnes and Councell would think fitt to give power to appoint Justices of Peace and Constables in Scotland it would much conduce to the settling of the Country, especially the Highlands, where the next to the cheife of the Clan might bee appointed a Justice of Peace, which would probably keepe them in awe or divide them’.¹⁹⁷

By means of political favouritism, Monck succeeded in further isolating potential tory sympathisers and in gaining powerful allies for the government against any chiefs who were dissatisfied with the new status quo. The most noteworthy recipient of favouritism was Lochiel. This aided the expansion of Clan Cameron as members of other clans accepted Lochiel’s authority in order that they might also benefit from this privilege.¹⁹⁸ As an ally of the government, Lochiel enjoyed immunity from prosecution for any offences committed during the ‘late wars’. While Monck could not offer Lochiel protection in civil cases, he was willing to use his personal influence to force third parties to desist from initiating legal proceedings against his client. An example of this was when he ordered the earl of Callendar to abstain from acting against Lochiel in response to the attack upon his son by Lochiel’s followers.¹⁹⁹

However, the Cameron chief was the subject of very close supervision. He was reminded to suppress ‘broken men’ who resided within his territory. He was also ordered to restore MacMartin of Letterfinlay to his estates following MacMartin’s eviction and the theft of his cattle by Lochiel and his followers.²⁰⁰ Lochiel was also obliged to act against other chiefs and their clansmen in the government’s interest. In November 1659, when tories of Clan Donald of Glengarry broke out in raiding, the

¹⁹⁶ Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland*, 188-9. Paton, ed., *The Mackintosh Muniments*, 106.

¹⁹⁷ *S&P*, 98.

¹⁹⁸ Drummond, *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill*, 155.

¹⁹⁹ Munro, ed., *The Lochiel Inventory*, 43-46.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 43-4.

government issued a call to Lochiel and Mackintosh of Conage to suppress these men. Lochiel was also instructed to arrest Donald MacDonald 'in case he [MacDonald] shall abett or countenance the said Robbers'.²⁰¹ Lochiel does not seem to have obeyed this instruction, possibly because of the weakening of the regime by this time. Nonetheless, the importance of this order lies in its expression of the confidence of the English that they could depend upon their clients to arrest a former ally. The interest they showed in the apprehension of Donald MacDonald bespeaks awareness of the conflicts experienced by chiefs who were expected to join with their followers but were aware that this could have damaging results.

Similarly, Sir James MacDonald of Sleat enjoyed autonomy within his bounds on the Isle of Skye as a reward for his loyalty to the regime. He had informed the government of Glengarry's movements in preparation for the Glencairn Rising.²⁰² Sleat also raised a force against Middleton when he attempted to take Skye for the king. This demonstration of loyalty to the Commonwealth resulted in the provision of Sleat with ammunition and, most significantly, guaranteed his freedom to protect his territory without the interference of the Cromwellian army.²⁰³

The policy of selective favouring of certain chiefs was not without opposition. Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, who served as President of the Scottish Council between 1655-56, preferred to grant a general indemnity for offences committed prior to 1655 in the Highlands. After initial reluctance on the part of the English Council, this was permitted.²⁰⁴ This may have weakened the special status of Lochiel but he certainly enjoyed considerable government protection. Moreover, Monck and Broghill were

²⁰¹ *S&P*, xxxvii.

²⁰² Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland*, 80.

²⁰³ Green [Wood], ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series [of the Commonwealth]... Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office 1654*. 367.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 1655-56. 48, 106.

agreed upon the policy of weakening Argyll's power.²⁰⁵ The promotion of Lochiel formed an aspect of this policy, as Lochiel was a feudal dependent of Argyll. The government thus showed itself willing to accept and endorse the traditional authority of certain chiefs and to allow them a degree of authority within their own bounds. This authority was much diminished, though, as the suppression of broken men involved the removal of former supporters of the chief.

The promotion of 'civility' in the Highlands as a possible means by which to eliminate lawlessness was not seriously considered by the government. Not until 1657 did Cromwell take an interest in the support of evangelical efforts in the Highlands. In that year, he held a meeting with Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston at which they discussed plans to strengthen evangelical efforts in the Highlands but these plans were never fulfilled. Their schemes included the establishment of schools and villages in the proximity of the army garrisons. Highlanders would be obliged to dwell in these villages all winter.²⁰⁶ Wariston and Cromwell also conceived of a scheme whereby forty boys would be sent to school in Durham and then returned to the Highlands in order to pursue trades there.²⁰⁷ The Protector directed six hundred pounds sterling per annum to the cause of the kirk in the Highlands following these discussions with Wariston but no further interest was taken in the matter.²⁰⁸ Cromwell's optimism in ordering this money to the cause of protestantism in the Highlands had arisen on hearing a report that Gaelic speaking preachers in areas not previously ministered to had met with an enthusiastic welcome and that people wished to hear the Gospel.²⁰⁹ This report concerned the visit of the presbyterian minister, Dugald Campbell, to

²⁰⁵ Patrick Little, *Lord Broghill and the Cromwellian Union with Ireland and Scotland* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), 116-18.

²⁰⁶ Abbott, *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, IV. 581.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

Lochaber in the summer of 1657.²¹⁰ However, despite this initial eagerness, the people of Lochaber were not willing to provide Dugald Campbell with a manse or a stipend.²¹¹ Nonetheless, the government pressed ahead with its plans to provide protestant ministers for Lochaber, and erected two manses, funded by money from vacant stipends in Leith.²¹² A school was also provided for with money from the same source.²¹³ Apart from the establishment of these churches and school, the Cromwellian government was ineffective at the promotion of protestantism in the Highlands. The maintenance of divinity students who were to serve as ministers in the Highlands upon completion of their training continued to be administered by the Synod of Argyll.²¹⁴ An area in which the government was of great use in the promotion of protestantism was in the provision of resources to the kirk in order to punish excommunicates such as the Captains of Clanranald.²¹⁵ Thus, the contribution of the Cromwellian government to the growth of 'civility' and protestantism in the Highlands was primarily of a military and coercive nature. Despite discussion of plans to plant kirks and villages which would encourage the adoption of Lowland or English manners, no schemes were actually implemented, with the result that the English had no effect upon this area and merely enforced the existing efforts of the Synod of Argyll.

Cromwellian suppression of toryism in the Highlands was effective in the short term. However, as it was of an entirely coercive nature and did not involve

²⁰⁸ Green [Wood], ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series [of the Commonwealth]... Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office 1657-58*. 367.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Duncan C. MacTavish, ed., *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, with an Introduction by James D. Ogilvie* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1944), xiv-xv.

²¹¹ Ibid., xvii-xviii.

²¹² Munro, ed., *The Lochiel Inventory*, 45.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Brown, ed., *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, (1545-1689)*, 21-22; MacTavish, ed., *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, with an Introduction by James D. Ogilvie*, 10-11.

attempts to harness the activities of tories to its own ends, its effects evaporated with the Restoration. Preferential treatment of Lochiel and Sleat did not result in a change to the traditional lifestyle led by these men and their followers, as it actually allowed them to pursue a traditional role, but with the endorsement of the government. The lasting effect of Cromwellian rule was to accelerate the process of isolation between tories and their chiefs. This applied to all chiefs, as each was under close surveillance from the government. It applied especially to those bound by articles of capitulation following the Glencairn Rising, but perhaps the clansmen of Lochiel were the most seriously affected by government Highland policies of the Interregnum, as Lochiel's position with Monck was conditional upon ensuring that tories were not maintained on his estates. Thus, by maintaining coercive pressure against toryism throughout the Interregnum, the Cromwellian government did not alter traditional notions of heroism or encourage the adoption of an alternative lifestyle but it did greatly alter the relationship of increased numbers of tories to their chief, transforming them from henchmen to broken men.

²¹⁵ MacTavish, ed., *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll*, 121-2.

Gaelic panegyric and the maintenance of the Highland social order

The function of Gaelic panegyrists was to promote social control. Gaelic Highland society was founded upon a militaristic basis and this was reflected in Gaelic political poetry. Much of the martial imagery of Gaelic political poetry had its basis in tales of the Fionn Cycle.²¹⁶ By utilising this literary genre, which was extremely popular throughout Gaelic society, the poets could generate sympathy for the political cause they were advocating. Indeed, *Fiannaigheacht* can be understood as essential to the fabric of Gaelic society, a template with which to mould ongoing literary output in response to the events of clan life. The military basis of Highland society and its promotion by the poets guaranteed that members of the military class would occupy a place of privilege in it. A summary of the characteristics of *Fiannaigheacht* will be related in order to demonstrate the reasons for its appropriation to political use. This will be followed by examination of political poetry, both syllabic and vernacular.²¹⁷ Each variety of poetry illustrates the pertinence of warrior ideals to Highland society. They also illustrate the manner in which the warrior class was obliged to behave towards the society that afforded it a position of prestige. This chapter concerns the military ethos in the context of the privileged classes of warriors and poets. The culture of exaltation of military deeds formed the background to the lifestyle led by all tories, regardless of the state of their relationship with their chief. All tories, who considered themselves of noble lineage, were affected by this culture and the militaristic propaganda of the poets.

²¹⁶ 'Fionn Cycle' refers to the stories concerning the exploits of Fionn Mac Cumhaill and the Fianna. It can also be referred to as *Fiannaigheacht*.

²¹⁷ Syllabic poetry was practiced by highly trained poets and involved the use of strict metre. With the decline of syllabic verse, vernacular poets took on the role of clan eulogists. Vernacular praise poetry

The Fionn Cycle is classified in Gaelic literature as ‘oral literary narrative’.²¹⁸ It emerged as a literary genre of pre-eminent stature from folk tradition.²¹⁹ Tales of the *Fèinn* were then adopted by the learned orders from the twelfth century onwards and made compatible with centralising tendencies and notions of a unified Gaelic world. The High King of Tara was promoted as the focus for that unity.²²⁰ The written *Fiannaigheacht* tradition was thereby established to exist alongside that of the folk.²²¹ The popularity of these tales endured into the sixteenth century and beyond while that of the Ulidian and Romantic tale cycles declined.²²² The genre has continued to enjoy a place of prominence into the twentieth century, with the collection of approximately one hundred and fifty Fenian tales by the School of Scottish Studies between 1953 and 1980. As tales of folk tradition, they may have served the purposes of entertainment, but it is important to remember that their emergence into written tradition was effected in order that they might be used for political purposes. This political use of Fionn tales continued into the seventeenth century, as the values of the *Fèinn* and their motifs served as the basis for the syllabic and vernacular verse of clan panegyrists. The use of motifs which were relevant to the practical activity of the clan *fine* and which were appreciated by all orders of society caused these compositions to amount to constant re-assertions of the link binding Highlanders to the Gaelic warrior society in which they lived.

was heavily influenced by its syllabic counterpart, but its metre was less strict and its language more akin to the spoken tongue.

²¹⁸ Alan Bruford, ‘Oral and Literary Fenian Tales,’ in *The Heroic Process: Form, Function and Fantasy in Folk Epic: The Proceedings of the International Folk Epic Conference, University College Dublin, 2-6 September 1985* edited by Bo Almqvist, Seamus Ó Catháin, and Pádraig Ó Héalaí (1985), 26-7.

²¹⁹ Gerard Murphy, *The Ossianic Lore and Romantic Tales of Medieval Ireland* (Dublin: Cultural Relations Committee of Ireland, 1955), 5

²²⁰ Bruford, ‘Oral and Literary Fenian Tales’, 33; Murphy, *Ossianic Lore*, 16.

²²¹ Lord Archibald Campbell, *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition* (London: D. Nutt, 1889). xv

The folklore collector, Lord Archibald Campbell stated that

the mythical and heroic sagas of the Irish Gael, sagas recorded in writing from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries, pre-suppose a background of traditional fancies, beliefs and conceptions of the same *essential* character as those still current.²²³

This notion that appreciation of heroic tales was the result of certain collectively held priorities and tastes was there applied to the Highland community of the late nineteenth century. However, the task here is to amplify that view and apply it to Highland mentality during the Interregnum period, on the understanding that heroic tales formed a staple of Gaelic cultural activity²²⁴ and in light of the fact that the literary output of both panegyrists and folk composers assumed upon respect for heroism and military expertise. That the heroic ballads were venerated and their actors were considered as historical figures²²⁵ indicates the depth of sympathy felt for the characters of the tales and their adventures. So pervasive were *Fèinn* motifs that personal sorrow was conceptualised in terms of the sufferings of Oisín after the *Fèinn*, as in Iain Lom's poem, '*Cumha Aonghais Mhic Raghnaill Óig*' (Lament for Aonghas, son of Young Raghnaill). These heroic ballads centred upon heroism and martial valour. In the Fenian ballads of the Book of the Dean of Lismore, Oisín is made to state his impatience with the peaceful life in which he could always hear the ringing of church bells. He would prefer to make battle and military engagement and to practice swift and agile deeds.²²⁶ Also integral to the Fionn Cycle were notions of territorial defence and of messianism – the idea of Fionn Mac Cumhaill lying in *Tom na h-*

²²² Murphy, *The Ossianic Lore and Romantic Tales of Medieval Ireland*. p. 54

²²³ Campbell, *Waifs and Strays*, xviii. Emphasis in original.

²²⁴ Murphy, *Ossianic Lore*, 5.

²²⁵ John MacInnes, 'Twentieth Century Recordings of Scottish Gaelic Heroic Ballads,' in *The Heroic Process*, ed. Bo Almqvist, Seamus Ó Catháin, and Pádraig Ó Héalaí (Dublin: The Glendale Press, 1987), 105.

²²⁶ Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae*, I. 3.

Iubhraich, currently sleeping but certain to return again.²²⁷ This provides insight into the nature of the Highland conception of martial valour. It indicates that military exploits, in their most exalted form, were linked to defence of territory and of the integrity of the Gaelic world.

The poetic class recognised the centrality of the warrior class to the Highland social order and it was their duty to maintain respect for it by means of tributary verse.²²⁸ It was the warrior class as a whole that demanded respect. However, the chief or his sons, in their capacity as leading warriors, regularly dominated clan panegyric and events of their lives usually occasioned the composition of verse. The eulogy penned in honour of these men was saturated with notions of heroism rooted in *Fiannaigheacht* imagery. The metre of this poem is the *dán díreach* style known as *snéadhbhairdne*. The poet praised MacColla for his martial skill and vindicated his right and that of Clan Donald (the seed of Art) to live by the sword and exact tribute by reason of it:

*Cairt an chloidhimh dhoibh as duthchus
Don droing dhana;
Minic chuirid sios gan sela
cios is cana.*²²⁹

(The charter of the sword is the heritage of the bold race; often without seal do they impose rent and tax).

The bravery of Clan Donald was not simply remarkable compared with that of other Highland clans. Rather, the warriors of Clan Donald were represented as superior to the men of Lowland Scotland:

*Ogradh uaisle aicme Cholla,
cia dar choimes?*

²²⁷ Bruford, 'Oral and Literary Fenian Tales,' 36, MacInnes, 'Twentieth Century Recordings of Scottish Gaelic Heroic Ballads,' 105.

²²⁸ MacInnes, 'Gaelic Poetry', MacInnes, 'The Panegyric Code in Gaelic Poetry,' 454-5.

²²⁹ W. J. Watson, 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry,' *SGS* 2 (1927-8), 76. The Gaelic text has been reproduced as it appears in Watson's article.

*Fir Alban gan chlu mur chinneas
Ni rú roinnes.*²³⁰

(The noble young men of the race of Coll, who can compare with them? The men of Scotland, unfamed as a race, do not share with them).

Thus the importance of warrior prowess was utilised in order to bolster the cohesion and morale of Highland society, in comparison with that of the *Gall*, which was incomparable and scattered from Clan Donald following each conquest.²³¹ Other syllabic poetry of this period by a MacEwen poet treated of the marquis of Argyll in the same way.²³² The poet praised him as follows:

*Neart an fhéinnidh ó Ear Ghaoidheal
Gébhuidh oiléin Innsi Gall;
Bu bheag soin dá chéimibh curadh:
Toil gach éinfhir umhal ann.*²³³

(The might of the warrior of Argyll will seize the islands of the Hebrides; that was small among his feats of heroism: Every man is willing to submit to him).

Argyll as warrior was placed in the context of his class, and the poet asserted that all other warriors should follow his leadership.²³⁴ Thus this poem served to reinforce the leadership of Argyll. It differed from the MacDonald poem above in that it did not involve antagonism with the *Gall*. Rather, *Gael* and *Gall* formed a coherent body under Argyll's leadership, who was the earl of Lowlanders and of the *Gael*.²³⁵ Similarly, a poem in honour of the earl of Antrim, Randal MacDonnell, composed between 1639 and 1644, served to exalt the clan chief as warrior and to emphasise the importance of MacDonnell as protector of his clan.²³⁶ The right of each of these chiefs to allegiance was justified by merit of their heroism, as represented by the *filidh*. For the chief to behave in accordance with this image was essential if he was to retain the

²³⁰ Ibid., 78.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² W. J. Watson, 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry,' *SGS* 3 (1931), 139.

²³³ Ibid., 142.

²³⁴ Ibid.

respect of his followers and MacMhuirich remarked of the MacKenzie chief's escape from the Battle of Inverlochy that: '*do chuaidh mac Coinidh as an each ar call adhaoine agus achlu*'²³⁷ (MacKenzie left the field on horseback, losing his followers and his reputation). These *filidhean* were following a long established literary and polemical tradition which persisted throughout the seventeenth century.

'*Cumha ceathrair do mheasg me*' (The grief of four has stirred me) by Cathal MacMhuirich was composed as an elegy for Donald, son of Allan, chief of Clanranald, who died in 1617. It was also written in honour of Donald's three brothers, Ragnall, Ragnall Óg and Eoghan, who died during the same year. This poem is an excellent example of a tribute to members of the clan *fine* as warriors. Donald was likened to Cú Chulainn, and was represented as having possession of a '*slegh shíodh*'²³⁸ (fairy spear). Cathal related that he engaged in the customary occupations of his class, by participating in the chase and shooting birds.²³⁹ The four brothers were exalted as men who raged in battle and who could be compared with the heroes of Troy.²⁴⁰ Despite the turmoil which was caused by the loss of these leading members of Clanranald, Cathal MacMhuirich's use of warrior imagery and motifs served to strengthen the fundamental source of clan strength and is not so much a hopeless lament as a positive advertisement of the potency of the clan. Almost sixty years later, the same motifs were still being employed in an elegy for Donald, son of John Moidartach. Donald was praised for his brave exploits and it was made known that he was not one to flee from battle.²⁴¹

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Brian Ó Cuív, 'A Poem on the Second Earl of Antrim,' *SGS* 13, part 2 (1981).

²³⁷ Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae*. II p. 192

²³⁸ Ibid., II. 224.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid., II. 246.

The metres of vernacular and syllabic Gaelic poetry co-existed since at least the twelfth century.²⁴² As a vehicle for clan panegyric, vernacular poetry was making its presence felt by at least the first half of the sixteenth century.²⁴³ The increased prominence, in the seventeenth century, of vernacular verse as clan panegyric, is indicative of the decline of the Gaelic order.²⁴⁴ Around 1636, Cathal MacMhuirich commented upon this phenomenon.²⁴⁵ The insecurity of the patronised poetic order was evidenced by the composition of ‘*Rug Eadrain ar iath nAlban*’ (He has intervened on the soil of Scotland) by Niall MacEoghain. This poem in praise of the marquis of Argyll was crafted in an attempt to persuade the chief to restore his poet to his patrimony.²⁴⁶ The decline of the *literati* led to a corresponding weakness in the preservation of learned tradition. Argyll benefited from this as the Campbells were thus able to propound their descent from the Fenian warrior, Diarmaid Ó Duibhne, without the opposition of a learned order to which this theory was unacceptable.²⁴⁷

Despite these changes, the enunciation of the essential values of Highland society continued much as before. The vernacular poets came to dominate the task of emphasising heroism and martial valour. Iain Lom’s ‘*Fógradh Raghnaill Óig*’ (The Exile of Young Raghnaill) entailed praise for Raghnaill’s warrior traits:

’*S e mo ghaol an ceann sluaigh*
Nach bu tais am beart chruaidh,
*Chiteadh rudhadh ‘nad ghruaidh ‘s cha b’fhaiteachas.*²⁴⁸

²⁴² Derick S. Thomson, *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry* (London: Gollancz, 1974), 129.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 106

²⁴⁴ Stevenson has argued that the emergence of vernacular poetry “was a sign of life, not of decline.” (Stevenson, *Alasdair MacColla*. pp. 7-8). Such a conclusion ignores the fact that vernacular poetry was already in existence and that it was emerging to fill the vacuum created by the disintegration of the syllabic form.

²⁴⁵ Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae*. II. 240; Thomson, *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*, 41.

²⁴⁶ Watson, ‘Unpublished Gaelic Poetry’, 152-8. (‘*Rug Eadrain*’).

²⁴⁷ William Gillies, ‘Heroes and Ancestors,’ in *The Heroic Process*, ed. Bo Almqvist, Seamus Ó Catháin, and Pádraig Ó Héalaí (Dublin: The Glendale Press, 1987). p. 61

²⁴⁸ MacKenzie, ed., *Orain Iain Luim*, 2.

(The head of hosts is my love, who was not timid in (the performance of) difficult deeds, redness might be seen on your cheeks, but not from fear).

Iain Lom also presumed upon that intimacy with his chief which usually subsisted between patron and filidh: ‘*Cha cheileadh tù pàirt dhe t’aighe orm*’²⁴⁹ (You would not conceal a part of your mind from me); and ‘*dh’innseadh tù sgeul do leapach dhomh*’²⁵⁰ (You would tell me the secrets of your bedchamber). The latter quotation is an allusion to the claim of the *filidh* to be as a wife to his patron.²⁵¹ ‘*Oran do Dhomhnall Gorm Óg*’ (Song to Young Blue Donald) included a customary comment upon the warrior’s physical appearance, which symbolised his general nobility of character:

*Tha seirc ann ad ghruaidh,
Caol mhala gun ghruaim,
Beul meachar o’s suairce grádh.*²⁵²

(There is benevolence on his face, elegant brow without gloominess, a mouth soft from kindly love).

Iain Lom continued to employ such themes and imagery throughout his career. Notwithstanding his lack of training in the syllabic style, he shared fully the priorities and tradition of the hereditary poet and dedicated himself to the promotion of the warrior ideal in Highland society.

The effectiveness of such praise for heroic virtue and reference to ancestors who performed military deeds is inherently linked to the manner in which historical time was understood by Highlanders. It has been stated elsewhere, in reference to Gaelic genealogists, that ‘the kin imperative means that the dead remain embodied in

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ William Gillies, ‘Gaelic: The Classical Tradition,’ 254; Breatnach, Pádraig. ‘The Chief’s Poet.’ *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* C83 (1983): 40-42.

²⁵² MacKenzie, ed., *Orain Iain Luim*. p. 14

the living; that the past is foreshortened, and made present'.²⁵³ This can be taken to apply to a widespread cultural phenomenon in which the past was revered and which certainly applied to panegyric verse, which involved exaltation of dead clan members and of mythical heroes. This sense of history on the part of members of Gaelic society, in which past events were understood to be of immediate relevance, was exhibited by the old man who told stories to John Moydartach when he was spoiling the Angus Mearns. Niall MacMhuirich wrote:

Tarrla senduine onórach dhoibh ⁊ iad ar an chreich sin [i.e. creach na Meairne] do bhi ag insin sgéala ⁊ is senchais doibh accen gc [gach] sgéil eile dar inis doibh a dubhert nar chreachadh an mhaoi[r]ne o náimsir do creachadh le Domhnall a hÍle í an bhliaghain tug se cath garbhtec do diuibche murchadh ⁊ saoilim ógánaigh gur ar shliocht na ndoine atá sibhsi masa sibh chaipdin Chloinn raghnaill.²⁵⁴

(A venerable old man came to them when they were raiding the Mearns and told them stories and historical anecdotes. And among these tales he related that the Mearns had not been spoiled since Donald of the Isles spoiled them in the year in which he gave battle at Harlaw against Duke Murdoch. And I think, young man, that you must be descended from him as you are the captain of Clanranald.)

The immediacy of history to members of Gaelic society was inextricably linked with the effectiveness of panegyric verse and undoubtedly affected Tories who wished to emulate those praised in political poetry.

Mainstream Gaelic literature conspired to extol the virtues of the warrior class. However, membership of this privileged group was not unconditional and warriors were expected to behave in accordance with the heroic standards according to which they were commended. Cathal MacMhuirich, for example, enjoined his clan *fine* to

²⁵³ MacGregor, 'The Genealogical Histories of Scotland', 207.

²⁵⁴ Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae*, II. 196.

lead the itinerant lifestyle associated with the warrior and to shun the comforts enjoyed by those of less exalted occupation.²⁵⁵

The evidence of syllabic and vernacular verse demonstrates that cattle-raiding was integral to this praiseworthy warrior lifestyle. It was referred to by Cathal MacMhuirich²⁵⁶ and also by Iain Lom. Indeed, the lament for the deceased Aonghas, ‘Cumha Aonghais Mhic Raghnaill Óig’, was occasioned by Aonghas’ death in a skirmish with the Breadalbane Campbells. This confrontation had arisen as the Campbells attacked the Keppoch MacDonalds, who were attempting to steal their cattle.²⁵⁷

These men were furthermore subject to the constraints placed upon them by subordination to their chief. The appearance of men such as Alasdair MacColla as the principal object of eulogy is exceptional. Generally, the clan chief and his immediate family members occupied this position of honour. This was not due to mere obsequiousness on the part of the dependent poet but rather, it was instrumental in his conscious effort to ensure the political and social dominance of the chief. Independent activity and decision-making on the part of the *fine* did occur²⁵⁸ but clansmen were not supposed to overthrow the authority of the chief. Iain Lom, by means both of verse and deed, demonstrated his respect for this current social order following the murder of Alexander MacDonald, Chief of Keppoch, and his brother Ranald by clansmen dissatisfied with their chief’s attempts to alter their way of life.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁵ Ibid. II. 226

²⁵⁶ Ibid., II. 228

²⁵⁷ MacKenzie, ed., *Orain Iain Luim*. 10; 233.

²⁵⁸ John MacInnes, ‘Clan Unity and Individual Freedom,’ *TGSI XLVII* (1971-2), 363-8.

²⁵⁹ MacKenzie, ed., *Orain Iain Luim*. pp. 8-12; MacLean, ‘The Sources,’ 175.

The issues expressed in Gaelic poetry throughout the seventeenth century altered with changing social and political circumstances. Nonetheless, the values at the core of Gaelic society enjoyed much continuity. It has elsewhere been stated that ‘Vernacular poetry [as opposed to *filíocht na scol*] accorded priority to political propaganda and social comment over stereotyped artistic standards’.²⁶⁰ It has here been demonstrated that the two political forms were not so far removed from one another. It is also unclear to what exactly the phrase ‘stereotyped artistic standards’ refers. As a reference to the use of strict metre by *filidhean*, it may easily be dismissed. The use of *dán díreach* served to emphasise the seriousness of the subject matter²⁶¹ and the *filidhean* were certainly capable of fashioning their craft according to their immediate aims. Should this comment be understood as pertaining to the typical motifs and imagery of the poetry, then this is to disregard the fact that these themes genuinely resonated with the poets’ audiences. As Derick Thomson has stated: ‘Poetry is perennially saved from esotericism by the need for a public’²⁶² and it is the present writer’s contention that these motifs were neither ‘stereotyped’²⁶³ nor ‘anachronistic’.²⁶⁴

Violence evidently formed an integral part of Highland life in the seventeenth century. Its exaltation when practiced by the warrior class, served to reinforce the integrity of the Gaelic social order. Such exaltation was efficacious due to the esteem in which deeds of heroism were held by a wide spectrum of society. The decline of the hereditary literary order did not lead to an immediate abandonment of traditional values and non-professional poets stepped forward to fulfil the conventional function

²⁶⁰ *Clanship*, 89.

²⁶¹ William Gillies, ‘The Classical Irish Poetic Tradition’, 112.

²⁶² Thomson, *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*. 20.

²⁶³ *Clanship*. 89.

of clan panegyrist. The widespread appreciation of heroic values and the importance of same to Highland mentality led to intellectual conflicts, though, as members of the community, without official endorsement, presented their own affairs in the context of heroism too. It has also been shown that there were two categories of person engaged in cattle-raiding during the Interregnum, as at other periods during *Linn nan Creach*. The first, who may be termed broken men, enjoyed no cultural approval, while the clan *fine*, whose activities were in this respect identical, were figures to be celebrated. The upheaval of the 1640s undoubtedly led to a further blurring of the distinctions between the two groupings, exacerbated by the chiefs' abandonment of their military retinues. Analysis of Gaelic sources highlights the intricacies and complexities of banditry in the Interregnum Highlands, in contrast with governmental sources of the period which display no attempt to explain the various social positions of Tories. With regard to gaining an understanding of Tories from the sources produced by the Highlands, it is now clear, that beyond potential motivations on the plane of Royalist and Scottish politics, the incentive to distinguish oneself in battle must have been great. While it is not intended to deny involvement with wider Scottish and British developments, this must be borne in mind when studying Highland adherence to various military causes during the Interregnum.

²⁶⁴ Allan I. Macinnes, 'Gaelic Culture in the Seventeenth Century: Polarization and Assimilation,' in *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485-1725*, ed. Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (London & New York: Longman, 1995), 168.

Gaelic folk literature and the insights it provides into toryism

An understanding of the reception of tories by the community can be gained by analysing Gaelic folktales that pertain to cattle-raiders. Although these sources were orally composed, the tradition that gave birth to them is one of great continuity. This lends itself to a study that looks beyond the parameters of strict chronological borders and seeks instead to place events, otherwise determined from datable sources, in the context of a longer era. This is particularly pertinent in light of the changing circumstances of tories throughout the seventeenth century. Folk literature dealing with this subject demonstrates the importance of cattle-raiding to Highland life and also hints at conflict between different social orders over the use of violence. Analysis of portrayals of tories in folk literature helps to illustrate the marginalised status. Gaelic folk literature has presented cattle-raiders in the traditional roles of raiders and pursuers and we may infer that these stories pertain to members of the clan *fine*. These tales are the relation of incident and are not burdened with a value judgment. Several folktales, however, have illustrated an antipathy towards tories on the part of the folk. This negative image was not accepted by its subjects without opposition though. Tories such as Domhnall Donn of Bohuntin attempted to represent themselves as romantic figures in order to maintain popular support for their lifestyle. This lack of uniformity in the representation of tories indicates that different types of tory were recognised by the Highland community. The efforts of Domhnall Donn and others to promote a positive self-image tends to the conclusion that tories were unwilling to allow a hostile view of their lifestyle be disseminated without opposition. The tension they created in their battle against this view indicates that, during the seventeenth century, it was becoming more common and was being applied on a more widespread

basis. Methodological considerations concerning the use of oral sources for the study of history will be detailed below. This will be followed by analysis of a selection of folktales from the School of Scottish Studies Folklore Archive. The tales have been separated into each of the three categories mentioned above. Those stories who succeeded in overcoming the negative view of cattle-raiding will also be given special consideration.

The nature of folk songs is such as to cause historians to recoil from their utilisation as historical sources. Folk material is highly vulnerable to charges of tampering and modification, both by collectors and by singers. It is unlikely that collectors have altered the nature of the tradition they transcribed.²⁶⁵ Certainly, they were keen to emphasise as much themselves.²⁶⁶ The principal problem to be borne in mind when analysing folklore collections pertains to the issue of suppression of certain tales by collectors keen to present an image of Highland society that accorded with contemporary notions of morality. This is highly likely given the concern of certain collectors to emphasise Highland civility, both with regard to the content of tales and the character of Gaelic singers.²⁶⁷ This potential loss of material delimits the breadth of uses to which folk literature can be put when studying Highland history. Fortunately however, it does not alter the fact that surviving tales genuinely reflect Highland tradition.

The problem of possible alterations to oral literature by the folk themselves is yet another matter. A certain amount of change in the form and content of songs,

²⁶⁵ MacInnes, 'Gaelic Poetry', 54.

²⁶⁶ Campbell, *Waifs and Strays*, xiii.

An example of blatant disregard for this convention was the decision of Patrick Turner to change verses of the sixteenth century '*Griogal Cridhe*' in order that the content of the poem might conform to his theory of its authorship. See: Martin MacGregor, "'Surely One of the Greatest Poems Ever Made in Britain": The Lament for Griogair Ruadh', in *The Polar Twins*, edited by Edward J. Cowen and Douglas Gifford (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1999), 129-31.

²⁶⁷ Campbell, *Waifs and Strays*, xi, xiii.

transmitted orally over long periods of time, is to be expected. It would be naïve to accept that ballads recited by singers at their various times of transcription are exact copies of the compositions of their forebears. Nonetheless, songs have regularly been attributed to predecessors, or even to Oisín himself.²⁶⁸ The principal changes wrought on oral literature by its conservers involve the process of reduction, i.e., the abandonment by communities of material no longer to its taste.²⁶⁹ This reduction entails the loss of much material and many motifs, and is to be lamented by anyone wishing to utilise oral material for the purpose of studying periods prior to that of collections.

These issues are not necessarily detrimental to present purposes though, and the essentially anonymous nature of songs and their attribution to predecessors is positively useful. The anonymity of ballads serves to emphasise that folklore is a literary property shared by the community. Statements as to the identity of the composer in the form of references to a distant ancestor, or even to Oisín himself,²⁷⁰ neither detract from this nor shift the emphasis of the listener from the community to individual singer. Rather, they serve to illustrate the longevity of the tradition, the inherent respect of singers for such longevity, and the essentially conservative nature of the tradition. These attributes of oral literature are vital considerations if we are to apply its themes to the Interregnum in any meaningful way.

This literary conservatism is closely related to the continuity of oral tales and the stability of oral transmission as a means for the long-term preservation of literature. Technically, this preservation is enabled by the highly disciplined processes

²⁶⁸ Murphy, *Ossianic Lore*, 6.

²⁶⁹ Meg Bateman and Colm Ó Baoill, eds., *Gair Nan Clarsach = The Harp's Cry* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1994), 26.

²⁷⁰ Murphy, *Ossianic Lore*, 6.

of composition and transmission practised by singers.²⁷¹ The opinion is also current that the origin of a folk tale is at least as old as its earliest traceable version,²⁷² which seems to tend to the exclusion of innovatory impulses on the part of singers. Textual stability is facilitated by the presence of features in the songs which serve to aid their memorisation by singers.²⁷³ Such features have prevented the corruption of the tale ‘Caolte and the Animals’.²⁷⁴ The strictly regulated transmission of material could also be the reason for the inability of either singer or collector to understand phrases of tales in the collection, *Carmina Gadelica*.²⁷⁵ An earlier example of the same phenomenon is the appearance, in the Book of the Dean of Lismore, of fifteenth century words and phrases which were obsolete by the sixteenth century.²⁷⁶

Tales of cattle-raiders are certainly based on actual historical events. Many of them contain references to named individuals and often, an approximate date can be ascribed to the events related by singers. Such is the case in ‘A’ Bhanarach is a’ Meirleach’ (The Dairymaid and the Rogue). The dairymaid in question was identified as Janet MacCallum, who died in 1743.²⁷⁷ The events of the tale ‘Fear a mharbh dithis do dhaoine Alasdair MhicCholla’ (The man who killed two followers of Alasdair MacColla) must have occurred between 1644 and 1647.²⁷⁸ ‘Last Cattle Raid in Tiree’ refers to an incident that took place either during, or shortly after, 1745 and Charles

²⁷¹ David Buchan, *The Ballad and the Folk* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1972), 55-8.

²⁷² Sigurd Bernhard Hustvedt, *Ballad Books and Ballad Men. Raids and Rescues in Britain, America and the Scandinavian North since 1800* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press), 15; Thomson, *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*, 100.

²⁷³ Buchan, *The Ballad and the Folk*, 60.

²⁷⁴ Donald Meek, ‘Development and Degeneration in Gaelic Ballad Texts,’ in *The Heroic Process: Form, Function and Fantasy in Folk Epic: The Proceedings of the International Folk Epic Conference, University College Dublin, 2-6 September 1985* ed. Bo Almqvist, Seamus Ó Catháin, and Pádraig Ó Héalaí (1985), 141.

²⁷⁵ Alexander Carmichael, ed., *Carmina Gadelica*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1928), xxxv.

²⁷⁶ Neil Ross, ed., *Heroic Poetry from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd for Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, 1939), xix.

²⁷⁷ ‘A’ Bhanarach Agus a’ Meirleach’, SA1968/247.A Informant: Donald Sinclair, Tiree. Collector: E.R. Cregeen. SSFA, University of Edinburgh (1968).

Campbell was named by the informant as the local minister at the time.²⁷⁹ However, relation of these events is couched in the format of a story designed to entertain according to popular taste. It is to this fact that exaggeration or the presence of supernatural elements in the tales must be attributed. Beyond the issue of factual accuracy, the importance of these stories as historical documents lies in the insight they provide into popular perceptions of tories.

Some folktales concerning raiders simply represent clansmen in the traditional roles of creagh-lifters and their pursuers. The tale in the School of Scottish Studies entitled 'MacLeods pursuing MacDonalds' is one such story. In a similar style is 'Luchd togail chreach agus an t-Slinneag' (the Creagh-takers and the shoulder-blade).²⁸⁰ The creagh-takers and pursuers dominated these tales but there exists also a large number of stories in which the creagh-taker was rendered a marginal figure. In such tales, one or more members of the farming community, who acted as his foil, took on the central role of the tale.

These folktales have represented tories as enemies of the community. They have been portrayed in a dehumanised manner in sharp contrast with the character who thwarted their attempts to lift cattle. In 'A' Bhanarach agus a' Meirleach', Janet MacCallum emerged as a hero for preventing theft from the Duke of Argyll by snapping off the finger of a tory.²⁸¹ The hero of 'Last Cattle Raid in Tiree' was the tanister, Malise Maclean. Maclean preferred to fall in pursuit of those who had plundered his lands rather than to leave the matter unsettled.²⁸² A stranger to the

²⁷⁸ 'Fear a Mharbh Dithis Do Dhaoine Alasdair Mhic Colla', SA/1953/6 Informant: Charles MacInnes, Slatrach, Kerrera, Argyllshire. Collector: C.I. MacLean. SSFA, University of Edinburgh (1953).

²⁷⁹ Campbell, *Waifs and Strays*, V. 29-30.

²⁸⁰ 'Luchd togail chreach Agus an t-Slinneag', Ref: Calum MacLean Notebook 6.I.I.6., 563. Informant: Calum MacLean. Collector: John MacLean (1951), 'Macleods Pursuing Macdonalds', Ref: D.J. MacDonald MS, 6. 542. Informant: Neil MacDonald. Collector: D.J. MacDonald (1953).

²⁸¹ 'A' Bhanarach Agus a' Meirleach'.

²⁸² Campbell, *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*, V. 30.

community utilised his skill with a bow and arrow to kill plotting raiders in ‘Auchterblair Raid Prevented’.²⁸³ Similar skill was displayed by the main protagonist of ‘Fear a mharbh dithis do dhaoine Alasdair MhicCholla’. According to the informant, a man, on learning from his daughter of the proximity of MacColla and his men, followed them for three days. He then gained an opportunity to kill two of MacColla’s followers in order to stop further cattle-raiding on their part.²⁸⁴ The heroes of these tales were drawn from a wide range of social backgrounds and in ‘Atholl Cattle Raiders defeated’, the community as a whole shared in victory over the tories. This tale recounted an incident whereby tories were pursued by the residents of Knapdale who killed all of them in battle.²⁸⁵

A major theme of these tales and the influence of *Fiannaigheacht* is evident in the implicit admiration for those who used military skill to foil tories. However, in contrast with the use of *Fiannaigheacht* by the poets to justify the use of violence by the military class, these tales involve manipulation of heroic themes in order to present the peasantry in a warrior role. Several of the protagonists were shown to be adept at the military arts. Most striking is ‘Atholl Cattle Raiders defeated’ as the community at large usurped the role of the *fine* bytaking it upon themselves to ‘pursue’ the cattle-raiders.

As such, tension existed in Highland society over the use of force by various social orders. This was not merely an intellectual issue and the refusal of Highlanders

²⁸³ ‘Auchterblair Raid Prevented’, Maclagan MSS p. 8989 Informant: Mrs. Blade. Collector: James Maclagan.

²⁸⁴ ‘Fear a Mharbh Dithis Do Dhaoine Alasdair Mhic Colla’.

²⁸⁵ ‘Atholl Cattle Raiders Defeated’, Maclagan MSS p. 2275 Informant: E. Kerr, Islay. Collector: James Maclagan. SSFA, University of Edinburgh (1894).

to be passive victims of raiding accords with documentary evidence.²⁸⁶ Tellingly, the informant of 'Fear a mharbh dithis do dhaoine Alasdair MhicCholla' stated:

'O bhiodh gu leòr naigheachdan mar sin gan innse mu dheaghain togail chreachain',²⁸⁷
(O plenty such occurrences concerning the lifting of cattle, used to be related). Thus, the opposition of the peasantry to tories must have been a widesread phenomenon.

In light of the dominance of the poetic orders, it is possible that these tales represent an alternative cultural voice which satisfied the need to the folk to express their own concerns. However, it was not allowed to interfere with the public image of clan life. In order for this conclusion to be credible, it is necessary to imagine that the tories of the above stories represent a generic cattle-raider, of any social background. However, nuances exist in tales that treat of of raiders who were associated with the clan gentry. Allan nan Creach (Allan of the Spoils) was remembered as an extremely cruel man, given to despoiling his neighbours and to roasting live cats. although Allan was forced to desist from raiding, he was not challenged by any member of the community. Rather, his subjugation was effected by supernatural means.²⁸⁸ The only way to account for this nuance is the fact that Allan was a family member of Cameron of Lochiel. This socio-economic differentiation caused the folk to distance themselves from the challenge to this tory.

This far it has been shown that the claim of the folk to a warrior role was circumscribed according to the status of the raider and the folk were not presented as direct opponents of the raider if he belonged to a higher social order. This indicates that the marginalised and de-humanised raider was of indigent circumstances, as expressed in the following statement:

²⁸⁶ Described on p. 37.

²⁸⁷ 'Fear a Mharbh Dithis Do Dhaoine Alasdair Mhic Colla'.

²⁸⁸ "Allan Nan Creach," *Celtic Magazine* 5 (1879-80).

These freebooters are exceedingly coarse, seldom wearing either shoes or stockings, and it is said they were for the most part without bonnets alas.²⁸⁹

Those tories of more noble lineage such as those of ‘MacLeods pursuing MacDonalds’ were not subjected to dehumanisation and any censure was framed in a subtle way, as in ‘Allan nan Creach’.

The question remains as to whether or not these two images of tory existed simultaneously or if the two types of tale represent a spectrum of opinion that evolved over time, as the circumstances of the military class deteriorated. These two possibilities are not mutually exclusive but an argument in favour of the latter scenario will be made here. Indications that a spectrum of opinion is expressed in folklore collections that changed over time emerge from the fact that the seventeenth century witnessed conflict regarding the image of the Highland tory. Certain tories, notably Alasdair Sgoileir, Domhnall Donn and Cuan of the Spoils²⁹⁰ enjoyed the sympathy of folk singers. Alasdair Sgoileir was the tragic hero of the tale in which he attempted in vain to dissuade a court from implementing a sentence of hanging against him. He based this attempt upon an appeal to a sense of heroism on the part of the court’s members and said:

*Ma bheir sibh dhomh naoi leumanna agus naoi ceumanna chan eil duine ann an siorrachd Rois a bheireas orm.*²⁹¹

(If you give me nine jumps and nine steps, there is no one in the sheriffdom of Ross who will catch me).

This appeal to the court was a way of appealing to the respect for heroism and athletic skill of listeners to the tale and so gain sympathy for Alasdair Sgoileir. Cuan of the

²⁸⁹ ‘Atholl Cattle Raiders Defeated’.

²⁹⁰ Also known as Cuan Mór Eirionnach (Great Irish Cuan) and Cuan Mór na Beinne (Great Cuan of the Hills).

²⁹¹ Maclagan MSS pp. 9083-4 Informant: Miss. Kennedy. Collector: James Maclagan. SSSFA, University of Edinburgh.

Spoils also met a tragic end. He abandoned cattle that he had lifted in a *spreidh* after falling in love with their owner's daughter. Cuan then abducted the woman, whose family attacked his fort and threw him into a chasm.²⁹² Domhnall Donn was also executed following a misadventure with the daughter of the chief of Grant around the year 1691.²⁹³ Each of these tories has maintained a favourable reputation in the folk literature.

The principal characteristic which binds these three tories is their romantic persona. Furthermore Alasdair Sgoieir and Domhnall Donn were poets and so have influenced, if not shaped, their public image.²⁹⁴ Their poems belong to the genre established by outlawed members of Clan Gregor in the early seventeenth century. Songs of this genre represented tories as charismatic figures whose way of life accorded with that of a more traditional, heroic order, in order to gain support for their condition.²⁹⁵ Integral to this self-representation was the image of the lover, which Domhnall Donn assiduously cultivated.²⁹⁶ That tories posed as members of an older order indicates that there was a positive tory portrait to which they could appeal, as opposed to inventing a new image for toryism in the seventeenth century. The necessity they felt to cultivate this image indicates that the conception of the tory as a social parasite was growing at this time.

The purpose of folk literature was to provide the community with a means of expressing matters of concern to it. Tales of cattle-raiding indicate that the phenomenon affected all sectors of society. Its prevalence clearly exercised a strong influence on Highland mentality, giving rise to three main categories of folktale

²⁹² 'Cuan of the Spoils,' *Celtic Monthly* 4 (1895-6): 187-8.

²⁹³ Sorley MacLean, "Domhnall Donn of Bohuntin," *TGSI* xlii (1953-9): 15.

²⁹⁴ Several traditions and poems concerning Domhnall Donn in Lochaber were also attributed to Alasdair Sgoieir in the west of Ross-shire. William Mackenzie, 'Leaves from My Celtic Portfolio, Third Series,' *TGSI* VIII (1878-79): 19.

concerning cattle-raiding. The first category is composed of the simple relation of cattle-lifting by members of various clan *fine*, rendered more memorable by the inclusion of other characters or magical events. A second category of tale involves the defeat of a marginalised and dehumanised tory by various members of the community. These tales also involved the attempt of the folk to adopt a warrior role and so indicate dissatisfaction with the social norm whereby the use of violence was monopolised by the military class. They showed that the folk could resist the violence of tories and defeat them. Nonetheless, members of the clan *fine* were not explicitly challenged in these tales. The third category concerns tories who were treated with sympathy. These tories were generally associated with a romantic persona. The existence of three categories of tale and, by extension, three categories of tory, is testimony to the complexity of the phenomenon. The encouragement by tories such as Domhnall Donn of a romantic character and their evident need to gain popular support indicates an intermediary stage in the history of raiding, during which the hostile view of tories and its application to all those who lived the life of a raider was gaining the ascendancy. As such, the folktales here discussed have illustrated the importance of cattle-raiding and the conflicts that arose in Highland society due to the vulnerable position of the peasantry and their refusal to submit to this vulnerability. They have provided an insight into the complexity of opinion concerning tories and this in turn, has illuminated the social decline of tories.

²⁹⁵ Stiùbhart, 'Highland Rogues,' 163-4.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 164-5, 79-81.

Conclusion

Much of this thesis has been dedicated to the demonstration of the continued existence of an elite warrior class in the mid-seventeenth century. The need to assert that it yet existed - but in a state of transition - has arisen due to the confused histories of lawlessness often presented by historians. It has been necessary to escape the constraints of a narrative which pre-supposes the ends to the political and economic events of the seventeenth century and their effects on Highland society in order to identify and analyse the evidence for this class. This demonstration of the continuation of the warrior class has thus involved the close analysis of a process of change as it affected them during one, easily definable, period in the seventeenth century. Indeed, the principal purpose of this thesis has been to capture and present this dynamic situation.

By examining official records, it has been shown that perpetrators of lawlessness were regularly men of means who were not shunned by society or by their clan chief. Their activities were highly organised, whether they were directed towards cattle raiding or towards the extirpation of an invader. Cultural sources have provided the greatest insight into the reality of the existence of this class by illustrating the importance of warrior ideals and by demonstrating the importance of cattle-raiding to the wider community.

However, by the period of the Cromwellian regime, this class was not in a secure position as Gaelic chiefs had withdrawn favour for the pursuit of a warrior lifestyle since the beginning of the century and were steadily abandoning their military retinues. Thus, the situation of members of the warrior class was confused. Many men who considered themselves to belong to the elite warrior class lived in

strained conditions, while others yet continued in a position of privilege as before. All warriors affected by this process have been labelled as tories in order to promote conception of the unifying identity they shared while emphasising that their individual circumstances could vary greatly. The most important factor that affected the situation of a tory was his relationship with his chief. His status and security depended upon this association between chief and clansman. The Cromwellian regime actually witnessed a superficial revival of tories' fortunes as several chiefs joined with their military campaign against the English in the form of the Glencairn Rising. However, the instability of the relationship between the royalist leaders and the tories highlighted the poverty of this relationship and the dispersal of the Glencairn Rising was emblematic of the severance between chief and clansman that was occurring throughout the seventeenth century.

The military government contributed to this severance by curtailing raiding activities in the Highlands and by using chiefs to aid them in this. By accepting government patronage, chiefs undermined the traditional basis of their own personal authority which was of great importance to maintain the respect of their followers. The achievement of the Cromwellian government in the Highlands was the contribution they made to this erosion of the stability of the relationship between chief and clansmen. They also succeeded in containing raiding activities, but did not manage to direct the energies of tories away from cattle-lifting. As such, this suppression of raiding could only be maintained on the basis of a strong military presence in the Highlands. With the Restoration and withdrawal of English military forces, lawlessness revived.

The military ethos endorsed by the Highland clan poets tended to the perpetuation of the ideology of a previous military class. Tories embraced this culture

in order to justify their continuation of a violent lifestyle. This provided them with a personal, intellectual justification for their manner of subsistence. It also enabled them to gain the support and sympathy of the Highland community. They achieved some success in this endeavour, and usually because they created a romantic persona to complement their martial image. The sympathy of the peasantry was limited as they were invariably the victims of tories' raiding. A certain respect for tories' martial skill was displayed, but social tensions caused the folk rather to represent themselves as heroes in folk literature.

To conclude, the Cromwellian government did much to alter the fabric of Highland society. It accelerated the rate at which the tories became marginalised from their society. The demise of the military order was a major change to Highland society as Scottish Gaeldom was still one imbued with notions of heroism. Thus, these changes amounted to a divorce between Gaelic culture, which exalted heroism, and the reality of Highland society, which was abandoning the people who executed the deeds of song. Heroism continued to be exalted by poets and folk composers, but in an altered form. Vernacular poets replaced classical poets who were professionally dedicated to maintenance of the military order. Furthermore, folk composers appropriated heroic characteristics which had been the preserve of the military class and applied them to the peasantry instead. The process of change experienced by tories can be exemplified within the theatre of the Interregnum period, for which some documentary evidence of tory activities exists. This documentary evidence and its implications for the history of toryism can be better understood by exploring the ideology and martial ethos of chiefs and their clansmen. This ideology can be understood by means of judicious use of the Gaelic literary record of court poetry, popular song and folk-take. This study has attempted to provide that synthesis.

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