

MACKAYS OF SCOTLAND

IN HIS "Origin and History of Irish Names of Places" (Dublin, 1869) the erudite Joyce (page 79) says of Ireland :

"The face of the country is a book, which, if it be deciphered correctly and read attentively, will unfold more than ever did the cuneiform inscriptions of Persia, or the hieroglyphics of Egypt. Not only are historical events, and the names of innumerable remarkable persons recorded, but the whole social life of our ancestors—their customs, their superstitions, their battles, their amusements, their religious fervour, and their crimes, are depicted in vivid and everlasting colours. The characters are often obscure, and the page defaced by time, but enough remains to repay with a rich reward the toil of the investigator. Let us hold up the scroll to the light, and decipher some of these interesting records".

"One of the most noted facts in ancient Irish and British history, is the migration of colonies from the north of Ireland to the neighboring coasts of Scotland, and the intimate intercourse that in consequence existed in early ages between the two countries. The first regular settlement mentioned by our historians was made in the latter part of the second century, by Cairbre Riada, son of Conary the second, King of Ireland. This expedition, which is mentioned in most of our Annals, is confirmed by Bede (referred to by most authors as *the venerable Bede*.—R.W.M.) in the following words :—'In the course of time, Britain, besides the Britons and Picts, received a third nation, the Scoti, who issuing from Hibernia under the leadership of Reuda, secured for themselves, either by friendship or by the sword, settlements among the Picts which they still possess. From the name of their commander, they are to this day called Dalreudini ; for in their language, Dal signifies a part.' (Hist. Eccl., Lib. I., Cap. 1)."

The oldest of the Irish annalists Tighernac, who starts his Annals with King Cimbaoch, son of Fintain, of the race of Ir, in the year 305 B.C., significantly comments that. "All records of the Scots before Cimbaoch are uncertain". *Scots*, as here employed, meant "Irish". Tighernac then traces the Irian kings who reigned at Eamania down to Fiacha Araidhe, who was slain in the year A.D. 248 in a battle with the Heremonian kings of Tara and Leinster. Tighernac calls his people Cruithniu, and it is from Araidhe that Dalaraidhe, that is Dalaradia, takes its name. The Irians were finally driven from their kingdom from Lough Neagh westward, which became Heremonian after conquest by the three Collas, and was subsequently known as Airgialla, now Oriel. As noted elsewhere, this adverts to "golden hostages", that is, people who must be restrained by golden fetters when held. The Irians were thenceforward confined to Dalaradia, and denoted under the name of Cruithnigh.

Then, according to an eleventh century poem the *Albanic Duan*, the Cruithnigh went from Ireland to Scotland, and took possession of Dalriada, a small kingdom that comprised the Cruithnian plain. Seventy kings, from Cathluan, the first king, to Constantine, the last, appear to have ruled the Cruithnian plain. They were followed by the three sons of Erc, son of Eochaidh, the descendants of Conaire.

Other notices of this movement are in various early accounts :

"There were other colonies also, the most remarkable of which was that led by Fergus, Angus, and Loarn, the three sons of Erc in the year 506 A.D., which laid the foundation of the Scottish Monarchy. The country colonized by these emigrants was known by the name of

EXTRACT OF MATRICULATION AND CONFIRMATION.



That the Petitioner is the eldest son of the Right Honourable Maria Johanna Bertha Christina, daughter of Baron removed, the aforesaid 11th Lord Ray, created 8th day of John Francis Hendrik Mackay who was second son of the said Baron Mackay d'Ophebert (whose Ray) was the eldest son of Colonel Angus Mackay and Donald Mackay and his wife Arnolda Margaret van de Scottish Regiment sometime in the Dutch service, and wife Barbara, daughter of Hugh Mackay of Scourie son of Sir Donald Mackay of Fart who was created 21st bears-male bearing the name and arms of Mackay; of Scotland, but presumably on account of their Lordships predecessors, Lords Ray, Barons of Fart, Chiefs of bear and use the said arms and obtemper the condition that he may bear the same as required by Patent of Lord and that the Petitioner was himself naturalized of date predecessors and their banner denominated Beatain Be the Clan Mackay from the Royal House of Moray, and Supporters of the earlier arms; AND the Petitioner in the said Public Register along with the canton of Nova Scotia as Chief of the Clan Mackay and Aislaire Macgheath finding inter alia (in Fact) (1) That the Petitioner has a Dames in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, and Lord Ray in the Peerage of Scotland and Baronet of said 9th Baronet was heir-male of the body of Sir Donald as Lord Ray with remainder to his heirs-male for ever predecessor the said 11th Lord Ray was, heir-male Esquigns Armoiral were used anterior to the Act 1672 c

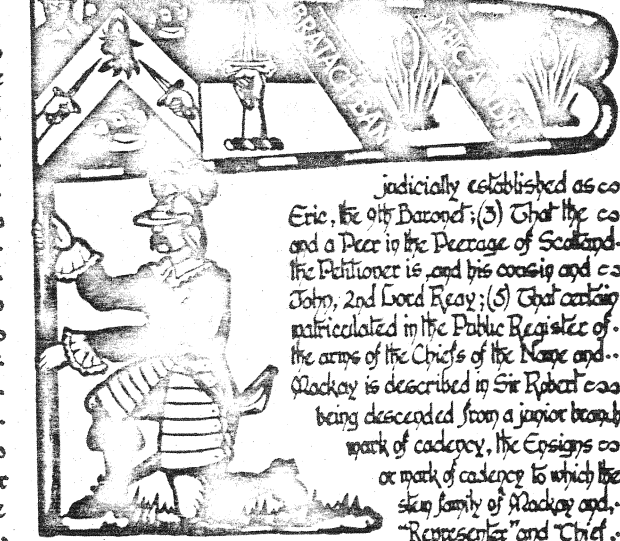
All Arms and Bearings in Scotland pursuant to the said Statute, but were matriculated with due difference of date 10th day of July 1772 in name of Maj-Gen. the Clan Mackay were bears, which in the subsequent coat-of-arms were incorporated within the shield, and that the former shield was Argent, three mullets Azure Gordon's History of the House of Switzerland as the Clan the Matriculation which, along with the nature of the arms recorded by Lord Lyon Sir James Bell of the Ancestors of Moray, and springing apparently from a younger branch of the line of Margund of Pluscardine, a scion of the said Royal line of the Armoiral used by Sir Donald Mackay of Fart, 1st Lord Ray, and John, 2nd Lord Ray, as the same shall now be determined, pursuant to the provisions of 1st and 2nd Lords Ray were entitled anterior to the Act 1672 cap. 47, the Petitioner is now, subject to the same being matriculated in the Public Register in terms and implementation of the name and arms clause in the peerage patent, Lord Ray in the Peerage of Scotland; (6) That as Inheritor of the arms of Mackay for so we call the Head of the family" of the Family of Mackay, is accordingly in the Gaelic "Head of the Clan" Mackay, as set forth by Sir George Mackenzie March 1627, the Petitioner is now entitled, as of right, to have the addition of the canton of Nova Scotia in his shield of arms and to have it therein added by the now entitled, as of right, to have the badge of Nova Scotia pendent from an orange-gawny ribbon inserted as an external addition pendent from the and Warrant to the Lyon Clerk of date aforesaid the Esquigns Armoiral of the Petitioner as the Right Honourable Sir Angus Alexander Mackenzie Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland and are thus blessed; videlicet:— Azure on a chevron Argent between three bears' heads or all proper, in a dexter canton Argent a sailing Azure, surmounted of an inescutcheon Or charged with a lion rampant within a double tressure flory proper badge of a Baronet of Nova Scotia, is placed his Lordship's coronet, thereon an helmet befitting his degree with a mantling Gules also proper, and in an Escrol over the same this Motto MANU-FORGI: On a Compartment below the Shield, embellished with bullrushes proper, the great stockings Gules, laces, collar, ruffles and boots also proper, breeches Vert, across his shoulder a ribbon also Gules, his helmet plumed Azure and Vert laces, collar, ruffles and boots proper, breeches and holdrich Gules, his helmet plumed as the other, sustaining in his dexter hand a musket resting on the feet compartment upon a standard 15 feet in length of these Diveries Azure and Argent, having his Lordship's arms in the hoist, accompanied with the scepter of marlet's Azure and dexter hands couped appauntee Gules bearing upon a Wreath of the Diveries the aforesaid crest within a strap Azure buckled MANU-FORGI. in letters Argent, all within a circlet also Or finchbrided Vert, bearing his Lordship's title, MACKAY, LORD REAY, in letters Azure, also proper, his Lordship's Slogan BRUCE BONNY GIDE in letters Argent; IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF We have Subscribed These Presents Edinburgh this 10th day of November in the 10th Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign King George the Sixth, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain and Ireland and the of the Faith, &c. and in the Year of Our Lord 1951.

THE ARMS OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD REAY.

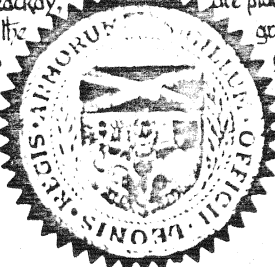
ANDRY WHOM THESE PRESENTS DO OR MAY CONCERN.

... Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order, Baron of Learney, Kinnaird and Neochric, Advocate, Lord Lyon King of Arms, send greeting: Considering c...
of the Statute 1672, cap 47, and others in that behalf made We are hereby and in virtue of Our Office of Lyon empowered to visit the whole arms borne...
within this Realm, to distinguish them with congruous differences, and to matriculate them in Our Books and Registers, and to give Extracts of All Arms upon...
the hand and Seal of Office, and whereas by Petition unto Us of date 7th day of February 1950 the Right Honourable SIR AENEAS ALEXANDER MCKEE...
... Lord REAY in the Peerage of Scotland, Baronet of Nova Scotia in the Baronetage of Mackay of Farr who is Baron Mackay of Ophernart and feudal Lord of...
... (the Highlands) Chief of the Clan Mackay, in Gaelic slyhted Macraic Macraich and Mac mhic Macraigh, residing at Longlee House, Collieston, both SHERWIN;
... born at Arnhem, Holland, on 25th day of December 1905, married 14th day of April 1936 Charlotte Mary, only daughter of William Younger of Ravenswood, banker of...
... Reay, and has with other issue a son and heir, the Honourable Hugh William Mackay, Master of Reay, born 10th day of July 1937, inherited the Mackay heirlooms...
... and portails, under the Will of his first cousin twice removed, the aforementioned Donald James, 11th Baron Reay, Chief of the Clan Mackay, that the...
... Eric Mackay of Farr, Baronet, de jure 12th Lord Reay, Baron Eric Mackay in the Netherlands, and his wife (married 7th day of November 1901) Baroness...
... vander Dedem; THAT the said Baron Eric Mackay (who died 1st day of November 1921, having survived by only three months his first cousin once...
... October 1881, 1st Baron Reay of Dorcest which became extinct upon his death on 1st day of August 1921) was the grandson and representative of Baron...
... Earl of Hold John Christian Mackay, created Baron Mackay d'Ophernart 4th day of June 1822, and his wife Ann Macgibbon, Baroness von Repesse de Wilt;
... eldest son, Aeneas, 2nd Baron Mackay d'Ophernart, succeeded as 10th Lord Reay upon the death unmarried on 2nd day of June 1875 of Eric, 9th Lord...
... and his wife Baroness Ursulina Philippa de Haeghe d'Ophernart et Wadenover; THAT the said Colonel Aeneas Mackay was the eldest son of Colonel...
... the said Colonel Donald Mackay was the only son of Brigadier-General the Hon. Aeneas Mackay, Colonel-Proprietor of the Mackay...
... his wife Margaret, daughter of Francis, Baron Puchler; THAT the said Hon. Aeneas Mackay was the second son of John, 2nd Lord Reay by his second...
... and from whose elder son Donald, Master of Reay, were descended the 3rd - 9th Lords Reay; THAT the said John, 2nd Lord Reay, was the eldest...
... day of March 1627 a Baronet of Nova Scotia with destination to his heirs-male whatsoever and on 28th day of June 1628 "Lord Baron of Rea" to him and his...
... THAT pursuant to the Act 1672 cap 47 it became unlawful to bear or use any arms not matriculated in the Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in...
... engagement in foreign service the Arms of the Lords Reay have not yet been matriculated; THAT arms as aforementioned were borne by the Petitioner's...
... the Clan Mackay, Macraic Macraich and Mac mhic Macraigh long anterior to the...
... in the Patent of 20th day of June 1628, is desirous that the same may now be...
... ship of Reay; THAT the Petitioner's cousin, the said Donald James, 11th Lord...
... day of August 1938 THAT in and prior to the 10th century the arms of the...
... Macraich were different and denominated the descent claimed by the Chiefs of...
... at the bears whose heads are incorporated within the later arms were the...
... having prayed that the aforesaid Ensigns Armorial might be matriculated in his name...
... Scotia and pendant badge, and with the badge, standard and slogan appropriate to...
... and an Interlocutor having been pronounced by Us of date 19th day of July 1951...
... satisfactorily established that he is heir-male of Donald James, Baron Reay of...
... the Baronet of Nova Scotia; (2) That the said Lord Reay has not hitherto been...
... Farr but is now satisfactorily established to have been heir-male-general of...
... old Mackay of Farr, created a Baronet of Nova Scotia 28th day of March 1627...
... bearing the name and arms of Mackay of date 20th day of June 1628; (4) That...
... of the body of Brigadier-General the Hon. Aeneas Mackay, second son of...
... cap. 47 by the said 1st and 2nd Lords Reay and were themselves never...
... the Hon. Alexander Mackay; (7) That there is evidence that the former supporters of...
... accompanied by a dexter hand couped proper in chief; (8) That the Clan...
... of Kinnaird and the family tradition, is corroborative of the House of Mackay...
... reay; (9) That the Petitioner is entitled to matriculate, without brisart or...
... of the Act 1672 cap 47; (5) That as inheritor of the Ensigns Armorial without brisart...
... of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland in terms of the said Act, Representative of the...
... of Farr, Lord Reay, without brisart or mark of cadency, the Petitioner, being now...
... of Rosehaugh in his "Science of Heraldrie"; (11) That as heir-male of the body of Sir Donald Mackay of Farr, 1st Lord Reay, created Baronet 28th day of...
... Lord Lyon; (12) That as heir-male of the body of Sir Donald Mackay of Farr, 1st Lord Reay, created Baronet 28th day of March 1627, the Petitioner is...
... shield within his achievement of arms and thereunto added by the Lord Lyon; KNOW YE, THEREFORE, that agreeably to Our Interlocutor...
... reay, Lord Reay, Baronet of Farr, Chief of the Honourable the Clan Mackay are matriculated on the 99th and 100th pages of the xxxviii Volume of the...
... copied of the second, muzzled Gules, a roebuck's head erased between two hands grasping daggers, the points turned towards the buck's head;
... counterfury Gules, being the addition of Nova Scotia as a Baronet; Above the Shield, from which is pendant from an orange-tawny ribbon the...
... tined Ermine, and on a Wreath of the Liveries is set for Crest a dexter arm erect couped at the elbow, the hand grasping a dagger also erect all...
... balltush being the proper badge-plant of the Clan Mackay... are placed for supporters, dexter, a pikeman armed proper, jacket and...
... gant sustaining in his exterior hand a pike resting on the... ground proper; sinister, a musketeer, his coat and stockings Vert...
... great balltush proper, which is displayed twice along with the crest in... letters Argent upon two transverse bands Gules; his visor Argent...
... the crest in... letters Argent upon two transverse bands Gules; his visor Argent...

Reay was in 1877 naturalized as a British subject
 Petitioner's c 30



judicially established as co
 Eric, the 9th Baronet; (3) That the co
 and a Peer in the Peerage of Scotland...
 the Petitioner is, and his cousin and c 3
 John, 2nd Lord Reay; (5) That certain
 matriculated in the Public Register of...
 the arms of the Chiefs of the Name and...
 Mackay is described in Sir Robert c 30
 being descended from a junior branch
 mark of cadency, the Ensigns co
 or mark of cadency to which the
 stem family of Mackay and...
 "Representer" and Chief...



Thomas James Learney
 Lyon

Airer-Gaedhil (Arrer-gale), that is to say, the territory of the Gall or Irish, and the name is still applied to the territory in the shortened form of Argyle, a living record of these early colonizations ”.

“ The tribes over whom Carbery (Cairbre) ruled were, as Bede and our own annals record, called from him Dalriada, Riada’s portion or tribe ; of which there were two, one in Ireland, and the other and more illustrious in Scotland. The name has been long forgotten in the latter country, but still remains in Ireland, though in such a worn down and fragmentary state, that it requires the microscope of the philologist and historian to recognize it ”.

“ The Irish Dalriada included that part of Antrim from the Ravel water northwards, and the same district is called at the present day, the Route, or by Latin writers *Ruta*, which is considered by Ussher and O’Flaherty to be a corruption of the latter part of *Dal-Riada*. If this opinion is correct, and I see no reason to question it, there are few local names in the British Islands more venerable for antiquity than this, preserving with little alteration, through the turmoil of seventeen centuries, the name of the first leader of a Scotie colony to the coasts of Alba ”.—*Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*, P. W. Joyce, A.M., M.R.I.A., Dublin, 1869.

Scottish Dalriada, according to the map facing page 228 in Skene’s *Celtic Scotland*, was on the west coast of Scotland, and in addition to a number of the Western Isles included Cinel Angus, Cinel Gabran, Cinel Loarn, and Airgialla. While this Scottish colony was founded by Fergus Mor, son of Erc., the Dalriadic kingdom itself was actually erected by his great-grandson Aedan (Aodh), son of Gabran. As is explained elsewhere, hostages taken from Airgialla enjoyed the astonishing privilege of being fettered with a golden chain, when it became necessary to restrain them.

Although none of the authoritative Irish or Scottish historians says in so many words that Fergus Mac Earca and his brothers were brothers of the king of that name, some accounts obliquely imply this, and that the mother of all was Earca from whom they took their surname, insofar as surnames were employed in those early centuries. The following passage identifies Erc, or Earca :

“ After this, Sarran assumed the sovereignty of Britain, and established his power over the Saxons and the Cruithnigh (cognate with ‘ Picti ’ or Picts.—R.W.M.). He married Erc, daughter of Loarn, king of Alban, but she eloped from him with Muredach, son of Eogan, son of Niall, to Erin, by whom she had a son called Murceartach Mac Erca, afterwards king of Ireland ”. *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 52.

Another glimpse of Erc and Erca is supplied by William F. Skene in *Church and Culture of Celtic Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1887, page 46 :

“ This monastery, under the name of ‘ Magnum Monasterium ’, or monastery of Rosnat, became known as a great seminary of secular and religious instruction. In the legend of St. Cairnech we find it mentioned as ‘ the house of Martain ’ and as ‘ the monastery of Cairnech ’. He was the son of Sarran, king of the Britons, by Bobona, daughter of Loarn son of Erc, who had another daughter, Erca, mother of Murcertach, afterwards king of Ireland ”.

Murcherthach Mac Earca became King of Ireland in 513 A.D. and reigned 21 years, according to O’Flaherty (*Ogygia*, 1684 A.D.). He was the grandson of Eugenius (Eogan latinized), and great-grandson of Niall (Noigiallach ; “ of the Nine Hostages ”) the Great. His mother Earca was the sixth lineal descendant of Conary the Second, who was the original founder of the Dalriadini in Scotland. Dalriadini is a variant spelling of Dalriada and Dalreudini. It seems to the present writer that the average Irish name or place-name is spelled

in at least a dozen different ways by various authors, and often two or three different ways by the same author, *sometimes on the same page*. To say it is confusing is to put the matter mildly.

When Fergus came to be crowned King of Scotland he sent to King Murcherthach Mac Earca for the Stone of Destiny to lend dignity to his coronation. This he received, now called the ¹*Stone of Scone*, at last at rest beneath the Coronation Chair of Great Britain in Westminster Abbey.

The scattered excerpts that follow immediately hereafter are taken from authors generally deemed to be painstakingly accurate, with the possible exception of Keating whose translator is said to have interpolated and altered the original to fit his own conception of how it should have been written, with the result that might be expected.

“A.D. 493 and now it was that *Feargus More*, the son of *Earca*, follow'd by the *Dalriadas*, made an Attempt upon the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and arrived at great Authority in that Country. In the fourteenth Year of the Reign of *Lughaidh*, the Son of *Laogaire*, King of *Ireland*, *St. Patrick* died The King of *Ireland* did not long survive him

Mortough (this is Murcherthach Mac Earca, and O'Flaherty in his *Ogygia* states he ascended the throne 513 A.D.—R.W.M.) obtained Possession of the Government ; He was the Son of Muireadhach, Son of Eogan, Son of *Niall* the Hero of the *nine Hostages*, descended from the royal Line of *Heremon*, and he fill'd the Throne twenty four Years. The Mother of this *Irish* Monarch was *Earca*, the Daughter of *Laore*, who came from *Scotland*”. *The General History of Ireland*, Jeffry Keating, D.D., London, 1723.

“Forty-three years from the coming of *St. Patrick* to Erin to the battle of *Ocha* ; twenty years from the battle of *Ocha* till the children of *Erc*, son of *Echach Muindremair*, passed over into *Alban*”.—*Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 18, *Flann of Bute's Synchronisms*, A.D. 1054.

“The Age of Christ, 474. The sixteenth year of *Oilioll*. *Eirc*, son of *Eochaidh Muinreamhar*, died”. (This was King *Oilioll Molt*, son of King *Dathi*, son of King *Fiachra*.—R.W.M.). *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland* by the Four Masters. John O'Donovan, the translator, added the following footnote concerning *Eirc* : “He is the ancestor of the Dalriadic Kings of Scotland.—See *Ussher's Primord.*, Ind. *Chron.*, and O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, p. 465”.

“The Age of Christ, 498 (*recte* 503). The twentieth year of *Lugaidh*. *Fearghus Mor*, son of *Erc*, son of *Eochaidh Muinreamhair*, with his brothers, went to *Alba* (*Scotland*)”. *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*. John O'Donovan, the translator, noted that the Four Masters mistakenly antedated this expedition by at least five years.

“The Mac Neills of the Antrim coast descend from the *Hy-Niall* race, many of whom undoubtedly emigrated to North Britain in the Dalriadic movement already referred to. Indeed, it may be safely asserted, that to a prince of their race that movement was mainly indebted for its ultimate success. The Cruithnians or Picts were sometimes more than a match for the Antrim

¹ *Stone of Scone*. The more correct name of this mystic rock is *Lia Fail*, or Stone of Destiny. Concerning it, William F. Skene wrote a monograph entitled *The Coronation Stone*, published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. viii, p. 68, and which was separately published in 1869 by Edmonston and Douglas. He has these comments on it in his *Celtic Scotland* :

“It was at *Scone* too that the Coronation Stone was ‘reverently kept for the consecration of the Kings of *Alban*’, and of this stone it was believed that ‘no king was ever wont to reign in *Scotland* unless he had first, on receiving the royal name, sat upon this stone at *Scone*, which by the kings of old had been appointed the capital of *Alban*.’—*Fordun, Chron.* ed. 1871, vol. i, p. 294. Of its identity with the stone now preserved in the coronation chair at Westminster there can be no doubt. It is an oblong block of red sandstone, some 26 inches long by 16 inches broad and 10½ inches deep, and the top is flat and bears the marks of chiseling. Its mythical origin identifies it with the stone which *Jacob* used as a pillow at *Bethel*, and then set up there for a pillar and anointed with oil, which according to Jewish tradition, was afterwards removed to the second temple, and served as the pedestal for the ark. Legend has much to tell of how it was brought from thence to *Scotland*, but history knows of it only at *Scone*.”

colonists in Scotland ; and on one occasion the latter were expelled almost to a man, and forced to return to Irish Dalriada, under the guidance of their prince, *Eochy*, or *Eochad Muinreamhair*. During the century which followed this expulsion, many attempts were made by the Irish to re-establish themselves on the opposite shores. All these efforts, however, were without success, until the *Hy-Niall* (O'Neills) became the ruling power in Ireland, and sent forth a sufficient force under the command of *Loarn*, the son of *Erck*, the son of *Eochad Muinreamhair*, which not only reconquered the lost territory in North Britain, but added other possessions". *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 8, p. 138, 1860, by George Hill.

In his *Celtic Scotland*, William F. Skene, Historiographer-Royal for Scotland (Edinburgh, 1886), p. 139, makes the following comment, and it, by the way, is based on half-a-century of study and research by that eminent, careful, and thoroughly honest historian :

" Bede's account is more consistent. He says that in course of time, Britain, after the Britons and Picts, received a third nation, that of the Scots, into that part of the country occupied by the Picts who came from Ireland under their leader Reuda, and either by friendly arrangement or by the sword acquired those seats among the Picts which they still possess, and that from their leader Reuda they were termed ' Dalreudini '. He adds, that ' Hibernia ' or Ireland was the native country of these Scots, and that their new settlement was on the north side of that arm of the sea which formerly divided the Britons from the Picts, and where the Britons still have their chief fastness, the city called ' Alcluith '. There is no doubt that Alcluith is the rock in the Clyde on which Dumbarton Castle is situated ; the Firth of Clyde, the arm of the sea in question ; and that Bede correctly describes the position of the Scottish settlement in his own day, as well as its name of Dalriada, from which he deduces his Reuda as their *Eponymus* ".

" The notices of the Scots by the Roman writers are quite in harmony with these traditionary accounts. They make their first appearance in 360, when they joined the Picts and the Saxons in assailing the Roman province. It is true that an expression of the Roman historian may be held to imply that they had first appeared on the scene seventeen years earlier, in the year 343 ; but that part of Ammianus's work is lost, and we have no distinct account of what took place when Constans visited Britain in that year. When Theodosius drove back the invading tribes after their eight years' occupation of the province, we are clearly told by Claudian that the Scots were driven back to ' Ierne ' or Ireland ; and throughout all the subsequent incursions in which the Scots took part, he implies that it was from thence they were made ".

" The oldest document connected with the history of their settlement in Britain will be found in the Synchronisms of Flann Mainistrech, compiled about the reign of Malcolm the Second, in the early part of the eleventh century. We are there told that twenty years after the battle of Ocha, the children of Erc passed over into ' Alban ' or Scotland. The battle of Ocha is a celebrated era in Irish chronological history, and was fought in Ireland in the year 478, which places this Irish colony in the year 498 ; and Tighernac the annalist, who died in 1088, is quite in accordance with this when, under the year 501, he has ' Fergus Mor, son of Erc, held a part of Britain with the tribe of Dalriada, and died there. A district forming the north-east corner of Ireland, and comprising the north half of the county of Antrim, was called Dalriada. It appears to have been one of the earliest settlements of the Scots among the Picts of Ulster, and to have derived its name from its supposed founder Cairbre, surnamed ' Righfhada ' or Riada. It lay exactly opposite the peninsula of Kintyre, from whence it was separated by a part of the Irish Channel of no greater breadth than about fourteen miles ; and from this Irish district the colony of Scots, which was already Christian, passed over and settled in Kintyre, and in the island of Isla. The earlier settlements indicated by the traditionary accounts of Nennius and Bede no doubt refer to the incursions of the Scots in the fourth century, and their temporary occupation of Britain during eight years. The circumstances which enabled a small

body of ¹Scots to effect this settlement among the Picts cannot now be ascertained, and they appear to have extended themselves over a considerable portion of territory during the first sixty years of their kingdom, without meeting with much difficulty, during the reigns of three of their petty kings—Domangart, son of Fergus, and his two sons, Comgall and Gabran—till Brude, son of Mailchu, termed by Bede a powerful monarch, became king of the Picts, when a few years after he commenced his reign he attacked the Dalriads and drove them back to their original seat in Kintyre, slaying their king Gabran. He was succeeded by Conall, the son of Comgall, who appears to have remained with diminished territories in Kintyre; and it was during this period, when the Scottish possessions were reduced to that part of Argyllshire which extends from the Mull of Kintyre to Loch Crinan, the whole of which was originally comprehended under the name of Kintyre, that St. Columba came over from Ireland on his mission to convert the Picts—a mission prompted possibly by the hazardous position in which the small Christian colony of the Scots was placed in close contact with the still pagan nation of the northern ²Picts under their powerful monarch Brude”.

“The death of Conall, son of Comgall, king of Dalriada, in the thirteenth year of his reign, is recorded by Tighernac, and he adds that a battle was fought in Kintyre, at a place called Delgon, in that year, in which his son Duncan and a large number of the tribe of Gabran were slain. This battle seems to have been a further attack by the Picts with the view of suppressing them altogether . . .”

“The death of Conall opened the succession to the children of Gabran according to the law of tanistry, and so far as we can gather from a statement in Adamnan’s Life of St. Columba, it fell to Eoganan to fill the throne, but St. Columba was led by a vision to prefer his brother ³Aidan, whom he solemnly inaugurated as king of Dalriada, in the island of Iona. It is more probable that he was led to prefer Aidan from his possessing qualities which pointed him out as the fittest man to redeem the fortunes of the Dalriads, and took this mode of giving a sanction to his choice, which Aidan appears soon to have vindicated, as he is termed in the Albanic Duan ‘king of many divisions’, that is, of extended territories. The Dalriads seem, as yet, to have been considered as forming a part of Irish Dalriada, and as a colony from them, to have been still subject to the mother tribe; but St. Columba resolved to proceed a step further, and to

¹ In early centuries, the appellation ‘Scots’ always meant natives of Ireland. R.W.M.

² Early Irish annalists assert that the Picts who inhabited Alban, later changed to Scotland, originally sought permission from Ireland’s first Milesian king, *Heremon*, to form a colony in Ireland. This was refused, but they were directed across the channel to Scotland; and upon condition that the monarchy should ever after descend through the cognatic rather than the agnatic line, they were given Milesian women for wives (R.W.M.):

“Cruithnechan, son of Cinge, son of Lochit, went from the sons of Miledh (a variant of Milesius.—R.W.M.) to the Britons of Fortrenn, to fight against the Saxons, and remained with them. But they had no wives, for the women of Alban had died. They then went back to the sons of Miledh, and swore by heaven and earth, and the sun and the moon, and by the dew and the elements, and by the sea and the land, *that the regal succession should be on the mother’s side*, and they took twelve of the women whose husbands had been drowned with Donn.” (This adverts to one of the sons of Milesius, a brother of Heremon, who with half their force, sailed around to Inbherisceine in the west of Munster, but himself died at sea.—R.W.M.). *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 45.

“The Irish equivalent for the name ‘Picti’ was ‘Cruithnigh’; and we find during this period a people under this name inhabiting a district in the north of Ireland, extending along its northeast coast from the river Newry, and from Carlingford Bay to Glenarm, and consisting of the county of Down and the south half of the county of Antrim. This district was termed ‘Uladh’ and also ‘Dalaraidhe’, Latinised ‘Dalaradia’, and its inhabitants were the remains of a Pictish people believed to have once occupied the whole of Ulster. These Cruithnigh are repeatedly mentioned by Adamnan in his Life of St. Columba, who wrote between the years 692 and 697. South of the Firths of Forth and Clyde we find the Picts in two different localities. . . . The name of ‘Picti’ was likewise applied to the inhabitants of Galloway, comprising the modern counties of Kirkcudbright and Wigtown, till a still later period, and survived the entire disappearance of the name as applied to any other portion of the inhabitants of Scotland, even as late as the twelfth century.” Skene in *Celtic Scotland*.

³ Aidan is a diminutive form of Aodh or Aoidh. O’Flaherty in his *Ogygia* gives this King’s name as Aodan mac Gauran (574–606 A.D.).—R.W.M.

make him an independent king. Accordingly he, along with Aidan, attended a great council held at Drumceat in the year 575, when a discussion arose between him and the king of Ireland as to the future position of Scotch Dalriada towards Ireland, and it was agreed that the Scotch Dalriads should be freed from all tributes and exactions, but should join with the Irish Dalriads, as the parent stock, in all hostings and expeditions ”.

No researcher has yet succeeded in positively identifying a particular Aedh, Aodh, Aoidh, Aid, Aidan, from whom a McKee line descends. There may have been several. This failure to identify the *eponymus* is also in a measure true as respects the Mackay clan of Strathnaver, for while we do conjecture a source or two from early records, *nothing is certain about it*. The present author suspects, until someone adduces persuasive evidence that it is otherwise, that practically every Mackay, Mackie, McGhie and so forth sept in Scotland connects to the Strathnaver Mackays, very often as a cadet branch from very early centuries.

Sir Thomas Innes of Learney, Lord Lyon King of Arms of Scotland, believes that the McKees issue from the Mackays, but that the McGhies, and so forth, are of independent origin. Lyon is considered the greatest living authority on family and clan origins, and for this reason his opinion merits very great respect and weight ; this truth is evidenced and emphasized by the circumstance that he has authored and edited some authoritative volumes in this area of deduction.

However, it is essential that we bear in mind the known fact that the history of the clans and their origins in the early centuries following the Incarnation is almost completely lost in obscurity. No one can do much more than reason, deduce, and postulate, across the many dark chasms that separate the known present from the early beginnings.

In his *Celtic Scotland*, Skene devotes several exploratory pages to the kings preceding and including Kenneth MacAlpin, who was king of Scotland 844–860 A.D., his domain including also Pictavia of which Scone was the capital. Of these particular times, he says, “ There is no more obscure period in the annals of the northern kingdoms than the latter part of the eighth and the first half of the ninth centuries (this would be roughly from 750 to 850 A.D.—R.W.M.), and no more difficult question than to ascertain the nature and true character of that revolution which placed a Scottish race in possession of the kingdom of Scone ”.

Now, at this point it is important to know Kenneth Mac Alpin’s probable lineage. Skene says (p. 314) :

“ That Kenneth mac Alpin was a Scot (*i.e. Irish.—R.W.M.*) by *paternal descent*, and that the succession to the throne of the Pictish kingdom of Scone was eventually perpetuated in his race, may be held to be as certain as any event of that period can be ascertained . . . ”

“ The name of Kenneth’s father, Alpin, shows us that he was of the Pictish race by *maternal descent*, and that he may have had a claim to the throne (this refers to the Pictish throne, which he wrested from Drust the last Pict king) . . . Alpin and his son Kenneth were supported in their claim to the throne not only by a party among the Picts, but by the remains of the Scots of Dalriada who were still to be found in the country . . . ”

“ During the reigns of Kenneth and his three successors, they were simply kings of Scottish (*i.e. Irish.—R.W.M.*) *paternal descent*, ruling over the same kingdom and the same people who had previously been governed by those of Pictish race ”.

“ The Picts had no repugnance to any of their kings being *paternally* of foreign descent (just) so that they represented a Pictish royal family, and were held to belong to a Pictish tribe through their mothers ”.

As has been elsewhere pointed out, the name Kenneth is but an anglicisation of the Gaelic word *Cianaodh*, which means "head" or "descendant" or "of the clan of" *Aodh*. As a matter of fact, early writers denote Kenneth mac Alpin as Cinaet mac Ailpin and Cionaodh mac Ailpin very frequently.

It seems that he had two sons, Constantin and Aed, and three daughters, one of whom was married to Aedh Finnliath, the king of Ireland, who reigned until his death in 879 A.D.

Skene postulates Kenneth MacAlpin's *paternal* ancestry, and their realm in Scotland before Kenneth conquered the Picts and added that throne to his own, from four early chronicles. Briefly, he commences with the church historian Bede's statement that a Scot (i.e. *Irish*) expedition came from Ireland under their leader Reuda, and either peaceably or by the sword contrived to settle in Galloway among the Picts, then extended their territories to Argyle and the Isles.

He propounds (p. 321) a question to himself, "To what family of the Scots of Dalriada did Kenneth, by paternal descent, belong?" This query he answers by first disclaiming the ordinary pedigree that traces him through the kings of Dalriada of Cinel Gabhran and erroneously identifies Kenneth's father Alpin with the Alpin who was the son of Eachach, the last of the Dalriadic kings. Then he connects him to ¹Aidan, the king of Dalriada selected and inaugurated by Saint Columba, through Aidan's son Eochaid Buidhe, whose son Conall Cerr founded the clan of that name, in Gaelic termed *Clann Conaill Cirr mic Eachach Buide*.

Skene says regarding the source of his information, "this has all the appearance of a genuine fragment which has been preserved from some older source". He then proceeds with these enlightening topographical particulars :

"The reference to Fife, which appears to have been the province which mainly supported the claim of this family, and in which Rathelpin (*rath* equals fort in Gaelic.—R.W.M.), or the Fort of Alpin, was situated, and the appearance of a Conall, son of Aidan, in Kintyre, in 807, by whom . . . the Pictish governor of Dalriada was slain, and who was probably a son of the same Aidan here made father of Alpin, gives great probability to it. We may therefore conclude that Kenneth mac Alpin belonged to the Cinel Gabhran, but was descended from a branch different from that which furnished the kings of that race to Dalriada".

This brings us to a juncture where we need to remember that the *veteran of the Boyne* Alexander McKee, hence his three brothers also, are genealogically attributed to Kintyre by an article quoted in the chapter concerning the McKees of Rushville. I have been unable to document this alleged origin back of the article in question, so that in this respect our chain hangs by an untested link, the soundness of which we can only hope its author tested before he forged it. The probabilities are ponderously in favor of the assumption that he obtained the information from a McKee descendant of the veteran, who had received it from his own family's traditions. Such innocuous facts have a somewhat greater claim to probability than unsupported pretenses to nobility.

It will be recalled that the historiographer-royal for Scotland in his 1886 *Celtic Scotland* (p. 138 *et sequa*) tells us that the church historian Bede is supported by Roman writers in his account that a colony of "Scots" from "Hibernia", or Ireland, came under their leader Reuda and settled on the north side of that arm of the sea which formerly divided the Britons from the Picts, or the Firth of Clyde. This is Dalriada of the early centuries just following the Incarnation. They made their first appearance in 360 A.D., when they joined forces

¹ This is Aidan (cognate with Aodh) who was descended thus : Aidan, son of Gabhran (called Gauran by O'Flaherty), son of Domangart, son of Fergus. He was great-grandson of Fergus Mor, hence no interloper, and of the royal family.

with the Picts and Saxons in attacks on the province then controlled by Romans. One Roman historian, Ammianus, obliquely dates their arrival seventeen years earlier in 343 A.D., but the portion of his works covering this expedition are unfortunately lost. Claudian, however, corroborates the source of the Scot incursions by stating that after eight years they were driven back to "Ierne", or Ireland, and he implies that their subsequent incursions were from the same place. The oldest document that contains specific mention of one of these historic mass immigrations from Ireland into Scotland is the *Synchronisms of Flann Mainistrech*, which was compiled *circa* 1015 A.D., during the reign of Malcolm II; it informs us that twenty years after the battle of Ocha, the sons of Erc crossed over into "Alban" or Scotland. This battle was fought in Ireland in 478 A.D., which means this Irish colony settled in Dalriada in Scotland in 498 A.D. This approximate date is supported also by the Irish annalist Tighernac, who died in 1088 A.D., where he says that, "Fergus Mor, son of Erc, held a part of Britain with the tribe of Dalriada, and died there".

Irish Dalriada was on the northeast corner of Ireland, comprising the northern half of County Antrim. It was one of the earliest settlements of Scots, *i.e.* Irish, among the Picts of Ulster. It lies exactly opposite the peninsula of Kintyre in Scotland, with about 14 miles of the Irish Channel between. From this area of Ireland, the colony crossed over and *settled in Kintyre, and in the island of Isla*. It should be noted that this colony was under the leadership of the three royal sons of Erc, that is Fergus Mor, Loarn, and Angus.

Thoughtful reflection concerning the influence of Fergus on our civilization discloses that it was probably greater than that of anyone since Jesus Christ. His descendants have occupied the thrones of every leading nation, and if we trace the leaders in almost any field of endeavor they descend from that original Scot colony, or from Irishmen of what is probably the same lineage.

The Dalriadic colony in Scotland appears to have expanded considerably in its first sixty years, during the reign of its early petty kings Domangart, son of Fergus Mor, and his two sons Comgall and Gabhran. Then Brude, the powerful king of the Picts, attacked them and drove them back to their original site in Kintyre; Gabhran was killed in this conflict. He was succeeded as the petty king of the Dalriadic colony by his nephew Conall, his brother Comgall's son. This kingdom was now shrunken to that part of Argyllshire lying between the Mull of Kintyre and Loch Crinan, and comprised the whole of Kintyre at that time. King Conall died *circa* 574 A.D., and at about the same time the Picts again invaded Kintyre and attacked the colony. In this battle of Delgon, Conall's son Duncan was slain, as were large numbers of the members of Gabhran's tribe. The place of the battle was afterward called Cindelgen, and Skene believes it may have been the place from which the Lord of the Isles dated a charter in 1471 A.D.

At first, Gabhran's son Eoganan was designated to succeed Conall as petty king, but it seems that St. Columba had a vision about this time, and had sufficient influence with the tribe to nominate Eoganan's younger brother Aidan, cognate with Aodh, for the throne. Under the custom of succession called "tanistry", followed by the Scots for many centuries, Aidan succeeded. Apparently Columba had plans for him, because the two of them journeyed to Ireland and attended the convocation of petty Irish monarchs, headed by the *ard-ri*, at Drumceat in 575 A.D. It was decreed that thenceforth Scottish Dalriada should be exempted from all tributes and exactions, but should continue to join with Irish Dalriada in war. He died in 606 A.D., according to the Irish annalist Tighernac.

¹ Dalriada is composed of two Gaelic words, *dal* or 'people of', and *riada*, from its supposed founder Cairbre, surnamed 'Righfhada', or Riada.

Concerning this very early Aidan, historian Skene comments thus :

“ The Scottish colony was originally founded by Fergus Mor, son of Erc, who came with his two brothers Loarn and Angus from Irish Dalriada in the end of the fifth century, but the true founder of the Dalriadic kingdom was his great-grandson Aedan, son of Gabran. It (the Scottish colony) consisted of three tribes, the Cinel Gabran, the Cinel Angus, and the Cinel Loarn, which were called ‘ the three powerfuls of Dalriada ’. The Cinel Gabran consisted of the descendants of Fergus, whose son Domangart had two sons, Gabran and Comgall, and their possessions consisted of the district of Cowall, that of Cindtire or *Kintyre*, which then extended from the river Add, which flows into the bay of Crinan, to the Mull of Kintyre, and included Knapdale and the small islands of this coast ”.

There certainly is nothing in the foregoing account of Aidan, Aedan, Aodh, to lead us to suppose *he was the Aodh* who was the *eponymus* of the MacAodhs from whom the McKees descend. But he must be considered a possibility, since he appears to have founded the Clan Gabhran (spelled also Gabran) that was named for his ancestor, and which occupied Kintyre from whence the four McKee veterans of the Boyne are by some supposed to have emerged.

Several McKees have written to me to say they are confident that their line is descended from the Mackay Clan of Scotland. This possible derivation of most lines of Scottish McKees and Scot-Irish McKees merits thoughtful and careful investigation.

In October, 1954, the Scots Ancestry Research Society, Edinburgh, Scotland, wrote me as follows :

“ Thank you for your letter of the 19th instant, enclosing a cheque for Three Dollars in payment of a Registration Fee.

This Society does not profess to be an authority on the origin of surnames, as our main interest lies in the tracing of particular ancestral lines. We note, however, that Dr. George F. Black in his authoritative work ‘ The Surnames of Scotland ’ states that the Scottish surname McKee is a variant of McKay. It is possible, of course, that the Irish surname McKee has a different origin.

I enclose herewith extracts on the origin of both McKee, and McKay, from Dr. Black’s book and I regret that we are unable to do more for you in this matter ”.

“ B/10, 337. Extracted from *The Surnames of Scotland*, by George F. Black, Ph.D.

McKee.

A variant form of Mackay, *q.v.* John M’Kee was servant to John de Crauforde in 1460 and Patrick Makkee had a grant of half the lands of Dungalid, Bute, 1506. A man named Lang McKe was taken furth of the ‘ stokkis ’ wherein he had been placed by Simon McCristin, sheriff-depute in Wigtoun, 1513.

Mackay, Mackie, Macgay,

G. MacAoidh, ‘ son of Aodh ’ *q.v.* nothing certain is known of the origin of the northern Mackays beyond the fact that they were early connected with Moray and may have been a part of the ancient Clann Morgunn. The Inverness-shire Mackays are usually called in Gaelic Mac Ai, that is, MacDhai, or Davidson ; they formed a branch of Clan Chattan. In 1326 there is entry of a payment by Gilchrist M’Ay, progenitor of the Mackays of Ugadale, to the constable of Tarbert. Gilchrist Mac ymar McAy had a confirmation from Robert I of certain lands in Kintyre, to be held by him and his son, a minor, also named Gillichreist or Giicrist, granted at Mayreth (Monreith) in Galwida, about 1329. Odo Macidh was canon of Argyll, 1433. Several payments were made to Robert Makgye (Macgye, Macye, M’Gy, Makgy, Magy),

the king's jester between 1441-50. Gilnew McCay was tenant of Arskynnel Beg in Kintyre, 1506 and Niniane Makke and George McKe of Myretoun are mentioned in 1538. Patrick McKe was burgess of Wigtoun, 1575, and Daniel M'Cay was retoured heir of Iver M'Cay of Arnagiae in the lands of Arnagiae and Ughaddell and in the office of caronator 'insulae et limitum de North Kintyre', 1662".

"The unique Gaelic charter of 1408 was granted by Donald, lord of the Isles, to Brian Vicar Mackay of Islay. In Islay and in a lesser degree in Kintyre the *a* of Mac is prolonged, the *c* becoming prefixed to the surname, thus MacAoidh becomes MacCaidh on the east side of the island next to Kintyre, Mac Caoidh in the middle as at Laggan. It is MacAoidh in the Rhinns. M'AKie 1559, McCa, McCaa, McKa, and McKas all 1684, Mac Cey 1719, Mac Iye 1781, Mackai 1619, Maickie 1600, McKeiy 1618, Makhe 1538, Makie 1558, Mackkye 1588, Makkcee 1506, Makkie 1600, M'Ky 1663, Maky 1513, Makky 1567, Meikkie 1649; Makcawe, McCei, Mackaw, Makay, M'Kee, McKey, McKeye, Makkay, Makkaye, Makkey, Makee, Makkee, Macky, McKy, McKye".

Major George Wilson McKee's able volume *The McKees of Virginia and Kentucky* deserves to be reprinted for the two reasons that it is very scarce, and also exceedingly important to many thousands of McKees who are descended from Robert, William, or John.

It was the conclusion of Major McKee that the name McKEE is merely a variation of the name MACKAY. If he found proof of this he omitted to identify the authoritative sources upon which he relied, but from the passages quoted below there can be no doubt that he had satisfied himself concerning the truth and soundness of his thesis:

"From my investigations of ancient records, and study of the histories of England, Ireland and Scotland, I have no doubt whatever that the McKees originated in Ireland, and that quite a company of them, as adventurers, came over to Scotland in the 12th century, during the reign of King William the Lion, to assist in driving the Danes from the north. . . . They remained in Scotland until the religious troubles arose between the Protestants and Papists from the time of Henry VIII to the time of William III. Some of them still continued in Scotland after these bloody troubles, in which they had all taken a part, were decided, while others emigrated to the North of Ireland, at the time the province of Ulster was forfeited to the British Crown from the date of the unsuccessful rebellion of the Earls of Tyrconnel and Tyrone."³

". . . In Scotland the violence among all parties, accompanying the Revolution and the accession of William and Mary, exceeded that of England. The state of affairs in Ireland is well known, and almost beggars description. In Scotland the McKees, being Presbyterians, or 'Covenanters, were engaged not only in defending themselves against Dundee, but against their hereditary enemies, the Mackintoshes. This feud with the Mackintoshes had been going on from the 13th Century. The remnant of the clan, after a great fight with the Mackintoshes, in which they were nearly exterminated, partly sought refuge in France, 'where they intermarried

¹ Reproduced herein.

² In 1165 A.D., William Leo, grandson of David I, became King of Scotland and reigned 49 years.

³ Roderick O'Donnell and Hugh O'Neill were mulcted of their lands, some 3,500,000 acres, which they and their ancestors had held for 3,000 years, by the rapacity of Elizabeth and her successor James I. James' pseudo-philanthropy in planting English and Scots in his 'Plantation of Ulster' suggests Mencken's law: (from memory) 'If A annoys or molests B under the pretense of improving C, then A is a scoundrel.' Nevertheless, James was returning these Scots to the ancient land of their ancestors.

⁴ There is a Covenanter Graveyard in Scotland, Pennsylvania, wherein is the grave of Thompson McKee, son of Robert and Hannah McKee.

⁵ Dundee, John Graham of Claverhouse. An article concerning him is included in the present *Book of McKee*.

⁶ The context would indicate that he refers to the McKee Clan, as I read this. However, he may mean the Mackays, but Robert Mackay asserts no such feud ever existed between the Mackays and Mackintoshes.

with the 'Huguenots', and it is said that, 'after the Revocation of the ²Edict of Nantes, they were nearly all murdered by the Catholics'. Whether this is true or not, it is certain that the survivors fled into Holland and there joined the army of William, Prince of Orange. They went to Ireland with some of his forces, or adherents, and were engaged in the siege of Londonderry, where they 'acquitted themselves with great gallantry and suffered patiently the privations of that awful ³siege'."

THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES

Did not Pope Innocent XI urge Louis XIV to revoke the Edict of Nantes (October, 1685), and to persecute the French Huguenots?

Innocent XI did nothing whatever to bring about the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. As a matter of fact he asked his Nuncio in England to have James II intercede with Louis XIV in favor of the persecuted Huguenots (Gerin in R.Q., xxiv., 440). The Protestant historian, Ranke, in his History of the Popes (ii., 306), admits this. He writes: "It has been alleged that Pope Innocent XI was privy to and an abettor of the design; but in reality this was not the case. The Roman court would have nothing to do with a conversion effected by armed Apostles. Christ has not employed such means; men should be led, but not dragged into the Church."

By the Edict of Nantes (April, 1598) Henry IV had granted toleration to the French Huguenots, hoping thereby to put an end to the long series of religious wars which had devastated France. The Edict accorded the Huguenots the liberty of private and public worship in two hundred towns and some three thousand seigneurial domains. It endowed the Huguenot schools, permitted their churches to receive gifts and legacies, granted the right of holding synods and many other privileges. From a political standpoint it made the vital mistake of giving the Huguenots complete control of two hundred towns, including the important cautionary towns of La Rochelle, Montauban and Montpellier.

If we remember that the Huguenots formed less than one-fifteenth of the population of France, it is certainly a remarkable fact that this Edict of toleration was observed for nearly one hundred years. During this same period no Catholic in England or in the Scandinavian countries could openly practice his religion, and no government in the twentieth century would dream of allowing such absolute political independence to any religious sect. I have never read of any non-Catholic historian praising Louis XII, or Cardinals Richelieu or Mazarin for their reaffirming of this Edict in 1629 and 1652. Richelieu, it is true, put an end to the political power of the Huguenot State within a State when he brought about the fall of La Rochelle in 1628, but the Huguenots had plainly violated the Edict by refusing to tolerate the practice of Catholicism, and had formed a treasonable alliance with France's hereditary enemy, England.

From the very first days of his reign Louis XIV gave evidence that he regarded the very existence of the Huguenots—a party aloof from the national unity, as an open affront to his despotic sovereignty. If religion entered his mind at all, it was merely from a desire to atone for his many conflicts with the Pope, by manifesting his zeal for the faith. As his latest biographer says: "He judged religious questions from a purely political point of view—as King of France, not as a theologian . . . If he considered Protestants enemies of the State, it was because, under

¹ French Protestants.

² Edict of Nantes. This edict by Henry IV, issued in April 1598, granted religious tolerance to the French Huguenots. It was reaffirmed by Louis XII in 1629 and again in 1652. Louis XIV revoked it in October 1685, and thus brought about religious persecution *en masse*, as well as countless murders in the name of God. The Catholic denial of complicity in procuring this revocation is reproduced herein; in the present writer's opinion the only bigotry that it reveals is that an unspecified number of French Bishops 'had given their approval to the revocation of the Edict itself'.

³ The present author has found no historical evidence that William of Orange's forces were ever engaged at Londonderry, other than to relieve the siege quite expeditiously. Prince William was not present.

the cover of religion, they were sowing dissension throughout the nation, and weakening it in the face of the enemy," (Bertrand, Louis XIV, 346). The Huguenots of his time were an unarmed and peaceful body, whose conversion, he wrongly thought, could be easily brought about. Their refusal to conform simply angered this despot, and led him to undertake an unchristian policy of suppression, as in England the tyranny of an Elizabeth or a James I enacted the death penalty against Catholics. What his despotic grandfather had decreed, he could just as despotically revoke. The subservient Parliament of the day had merely to register his Edict, and his officers had merely to enforce it.

Catholics are not called upon to defend the political policy of Louis XIV any more than they are bound to apologize for his impudent Gallicanism, his gross extravagance, his ruthless wars, or his flagrant immorality. In fact he was simply acting on the Protestant principle set forth by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which the Popes had denounced: "Cujus regio, illius est religio: the kingdom must follow the religion of the prince."

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was a grave political mistake, for it drove from France about 200,000 of its citizens, cost France some twelve millions of dollars, injured her commerce and her industries, and furnished many a recruit to the armies and navies of her enemies. It was, moreover, carried out in violation of a fundamental human right, for as Tertullian says: "It is assuredly no part of religion to compel religion. It must be embraced freely, and not forced" (Liber ad Scapulam, ch. ii.). The excessive cruelty of the conversions enforced by the dragonnades was denounced by many of the French Bishops of the time, who had given their approval to the revocation of the Edict itself; viz., Bossuet of Meaux, Fenelon of Cambrai, de Noailles of Paris, Le Tellier of Montpellier, and Le Camus of Grenoble.

Bibliography: Giraud, 'Histoire Partiale: Histoire Vraie,' iii., 1-131; Mourret, 'Histoire de l'Eglise,' vi., 289-300; Wilkinson, 'The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.' R. C. xii. 84.

THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY

Did not Charles IX of France and his mother Catherine de Medicis, under orders from the Pope, slaughter one hundred thousand Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572?

Did not Pope Pius V plot this crime with the French Court, and did not Pope Gregory XIII sing a Te Deum for it in Rome?

The Popes had nothing to do with the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. Pius V did not plan the massacre with Catherine de Medicis, nor did he ever urge it upon the French court in any way; Gregory XIII never approved of the crime, but had a Te Deum sung in thanksgiving for the saving of the King and the royal family from death, according to advices sent him from the French Court. The Pope's congratulations were on a par with the congratulations sent in modern times by one State to another, when informed that a King or a Protestant has escaped an assassin's bullet or bomb.

The massacre was a dastardly political crime of Catherine de Medicis, planned the evening before to avert the possible consequences of her attempted assassination of Coligny on August 22.

Catherine had as much zeal for the Catholic religion as a modern bootlegger has for the cause of prohibition. She was a freethinker of the school of Machiavelli, bred in the worst traditions of the Italian tyrants, and ruling one of the most corrupt courts of Christendom. Her one aim in life was to govern France personally or through her puppet sons, and to strengthen her power by placing her children on the thrones of England, Spain and Poland. Jealous alike of both the Catholic and the Huguenot princes, she played one against the other to gain her ends. When Coligny began to overshadow her, and to undermine her influence with her son Charles, she deliberately planned his death.

No one holds today that the massacre was premeditated. In fact it was planned and executed so quickly that the French court did not at first know what defence to manufacture for the other nations of Europe. On the very day it occurred Charles wrote his ambassador in England that it was due to a faction fight between the Duke of Guise and the friends of Coligny, whom he blamed for having murdered his father. When the Duke of Guise refused to accept the full infamy of the crime, the King wrote the following day that he himself assumed responsibility for all that had happened. He declared that he had ordered the massacre to frustrate a conspiracy of Coligny and his followers to kill himself and all the royal family. With the exception of Germany and Switzerland, this diplomatic lie was accepted by all Europe, and congratulatory messages were received by Charles IX from the Venetian Senate, the Duke of Tuscany, Philip II of Spain and Elizabeth of England.

It is true that Pius V frequently urged the French court to take the severest measures against the Huguenots, whom he rightly regarded as enemies of both Church and State. He wrote to Charles and Catherine "to fight the enemies of the Church openly and freely to their utter destruction," and "to grant no toleration to these rebels, lest the Kingdom of France be the bloody scene of continual sedition." We are not called upon to defend the Pope's political views for the safeguarding of the French monarchy, although it is certain that a strong consistent policy would have saved France a great deal of turmoil and bloodshed. The Pope wished the war fought to a finish, and the rebels utterly subdued. He was indignant when he heard of royal victories ending in the profit of the vanquished. Open warfare, however, is one thing; assassination another.

Not a bishop of France was present at the meeting that planned the massacre; no bishop ever gave it his approval. The Cardinal of Lorraine, who is often pictured blessing the daggers of the murderers of Paris, was actually in Rome when the massacre occurred. As the latest Protestant historian of Catherine says: "Upon Catherine de Medicis the chief responsibility for the deed must always rest." And he adds: "No one who knows anything of her character through her letters or who had carefully studied her tortuous state policy, could suspect for one moment that there was in her anything resembling religious fanaticism" (Van Dyck, *Catherine de Medicis*, ii., 88).

How many were killed in France during the six weeks of the massacre will never be accurately known. The estimates of over a score of contemporary and modern historians range all the way from 2,000 to 110,000, which proves that the figures given are mere guess work, like the figures of modern scientists estimating the age of the world. Lord Acton and Van Dyck believe that between three or four thousand perished in Paris, and perhaps as many more in the provinces. An ancient account book of the Hotel de Ville of Paris, cited by the Abbe de Caveirac in his 'Apology of Louis XIV' mentions the burial of 1,100 victims in the Cemetery of the Innocents, while the Huguenot Martyrology, published in 1581, could only obtain the names of 786.

That France lied to the Pope about the facts in the case, describing the massacre as the just punishment of conspirators, we know from the reports of the King's messenger, De Beauvillier, and from the letters of the French ambassador de Ferals, the Cardinal de Bourbon, and the Papal nuncio. Brantome, in his *Memoirs*, says that when the Pope learned the real facts, he shed bitter tears, and denounced the massacre "as unlawful and forbidden by God."

Bibliography: Acton, 'La Strage di San Bartolomeo'; Conway, 'The Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day'; La Ferriere, 'La S. Barthelemy'; Guiraud, 'Histoire Partiale: Histoire Vraie,' ii., 374; Lingard, 'History of England,' vii., 320; viii., 97; Vacandard, 'Etudes de Critique'; Van Dyck, 'Catherine de Medicis,' ii., 77-117. C. C. viii. 679; ix. 267, 662; x. 268; xi. 14, 662. —D. Oct., 1865; April, 1924. —D. A. i. 420.

Here the reader will undoubtedly note, when he has read the other sections, that several different accounts anent the return of this particular line of McKees to Ireland are in fair

accord that they came in the army of William of Orange. Some say from Scotland, another from England, and another from Holland. It does not matter too much, because it seems to be pretty uniformly agreed that the McKees were originally Irish, and went over to Scotland perhaps in some remote century, such as the 4th, 5th, and 12th, at which times they would have been Gaelic MacAodhs, *not yet* McKees; while some may have passed over in the 16th century during The Great O'Neill's heroic eight-year stand against Elizabeth, mayhap claiming their ancient lineage through their parent or grandparent Aodh O'Neill as Mac Aodhs rather than the interdicted O'Neills. This origin was claimed by one McKee line, and the present author spent two years investigating it. The result is that he considers it quite possible as an isolated source of one or two lines.

George Wilson McKee does at one point fall into the probable error of stating that "the names are identical, for Macdonald is the same as Mac Hugh".

In point of fact one means 'son of Donald' (Domhnaill, Gaelic for 'mighty world'); the other 'son of Aodh', sometimes anglicized MacHugh, though actually untranslatable. Aodh signifies 'fire' in Gaelic. It is also often anglicized *Aeneas*.

The author's combing of 'many a quaint and curious volume of forgotten lore' convinces him that the true origin of the *MacDonalds of Scotland* and the *MacDonnells of Antrim* may be traced without too much difficulty. There can be little doubt, as a man delves deeper into the histories of Ireland and Scotland, that the Mackays, Mackies, MacKees, and MacDonalds were close, and in some cases the same people, but the MacDonalds were a well defined clan of immense stature. In Connellan's *Four Masters* it is said:

"Some of the ancestors of the tribe 'Clan Colla' having gone from Ulster in remote times, settled in Scotland, chiefly in Argyle and the Hebrides, and, according to Lodge's Peerage on the Mac Donnells, earls of Antrim, they became the most numerous and powerful clan in the Highlands of Scotland, where they were generally called *Mac Donalds*. In the reign of Malcolm IV, King of Scotland in the twelfth century, Samhairle (Somerled, or Sorley) MacDonnell was Thane of Argyle, and his descendants were styled Lords of the Isles or Hebrides, and Lords of Cantyre (also called Kintyre. R.W.M.); and were allied by intermarriages with the Norwegian earls of the Orkneys, Hebrides, and Isle of Man. The Mac Donnells continued for many centuries to make a conspicuous figure in the history of Scotland, as one of the most valiant and powerful clans in that country. Some chiefs of these MacDonnells came to Ireland in the beginning of the thirteenth century; the first of them mentioned in the *Annals of the Four Masters* being the sons of Randal, son of Sorley MacDonnell, the Thane or Baron of Argyle above mentioned."

"They, accompanied by Thomas MacUchtry (MacGuthrie or Mac Guttry), a chief from Galloway, came A.D. 1211, with seventy-six ships and powerful forces to Derry. They plundered several parts of Derry and Donegal, and fresh forces of these Scots having arrived at various periods, they made some settlements in Antrim, and continued their piratical expeditions along the coasts of Ulster. The MacDonnells settled chiefly in those districts called the Routes and Glynnes in the territory of ancient Dalriada, in Antrim. They had their chief fortress at Dunluce. They became very powerful and formed alliances by marriage with the Irish princes and chiefs of Ulster, as the O'Neills of Tyrone and Clanaboy, the O'Donels of Donegal, . . . The Mac Donnells were celebrated commanders of galloglasses in Ulster and Connaught and make a remarkable figure in Irish history, in the various wars and battles, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, and particularly in the reign of Elizabeth . . . The MacAlustrums

¹"It is curious that, during the violent disputes between the Earls of Antrim (Randall Mac Donnell, so created in December 1620.—R.W.M.) and Argyle, in the reign of Charles I, Antrim laid claim to Argyle's estates in Cantire, which, the former declared, had belonged to his family for *thirteen centuries*, or from soon after the settlement of the first colony in Britain, under Cairbre Riada, in the year 258." *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 8, p. 128, 1860.

or Mac Allisters of Scotland and Ireland were a branch of the Mac Donnells, and took their name from one of their chiefs named Alustrum or Alexander. As the name "Sandy" or "Saunders" is a contraction of Alexander . . ."

"Sir Randal MacDonnell, son of Sorley Buighe (Buighe: Irish, *yellow*), son of Alexander, was created earl of Antrim by King James the First."—*Connellan*.

An ugly incident that happened to Sorley Buidhe MacDonald, *MacDonald of the Isles*, in the latter years of the sixteenth century points up, better than any I have encountered in the astonishing history of that period, the flagrant and ruthless brutality of the English when they found themselves with an advantage over the Scots or Irish. Moreover, it confirms the fundamental truth of the characters and events Walter Scott built into *Kenilworth* and other similar novels. Scott was an historian, as well as a novelist.

Walter Devereux, the elder Essex, Lord Hereford, beguiled Elizabeth, by the Grace of God Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to permit him to organize an expedition that would conquer for her sublime majesty all of Antrim belonging to MacDonald of the Isles, then to build forts and castles that would enable her to hold this territory henceforth. Elizabeth eagerly acceded to his offices and blessed his undertaking. He and his company of adventurers, a euphonious name for a band of unattached brigands, landed in Carrickfergus Bay, then Knockfergus, in August of 1573. After suffering the privations of an Irish winter, to which their soft flesh was wholly unattuned, they were ripe for any revengeful rascality against the natives. Devereux invited Sir Brian O'Neill, together with some two hundred of his men and their wives, to a banquet. In the late hours of the night, after the convivialities, O'Neill and his company having already retired for the night, Devereux gave the signal that caused his company of cut-throats to fall upon the sleeping victims and slaughter them, with no regard for their sex. In fact, they slashed and maimed the women with the same valiance they used in driving their reeking swords into the vitals of the sleeping men. For this deed Queen Elizabeth roundly complimented Devereux, opining that he was a 'great ornament to her nobility' and that 'I wish I had many like him to spend their lives and fortunes in the service of their country'.

Such royal compliments would have penetrated the ego of a far lesser scoundrel. Walter Devereux, better known as Essex, positively drooled. Fellow adventurers, and of course the puissant Essex, let their fancies soar to a state wherein this man of destiny sat as consort beside Elizabeth on mighty England's throne, they revolving around him as well-furbished satellites. Greater dreams and deeds have flowed from meaner persons and circumstances. He sought another dedicated deed of violent bloodshed, and quaint fortune favored him.

Sorley Buidhe MacDonald, Lord of the Isles, had caused the women, children, and old folks of one of his isles to be sent for refuge to Rathlin Island in the North Channel. It lies only slightly west-of-north of Fair Head in the north of Ireland, and almost due west of the Mull of Kintyre in Scotland. It was here that Robert Bruce watched the spider.

Comes now the mighty Essex. He carefully selected from among his adherents those without soul, religion, or hope of eternal salvation. He despatched them to Rathlin Island. The fugitives, he knew, were gentle harmless folk who would not even seize a descending sword's blade to defend themselves or fight back.

The company of murderers Essex sent went to work with their halberds, swords, and daggers. The island has countless caves and crevices, but they served as only a momentary place of concealment. Screaming, begging women, defenseless boys, and hysterical girls added their anguish to the blood and gore of nursing babies. This is not an invention. It

happened in the recorded history of our civilization. The bewildered victims raced to and fro, MacDonald watching in tortured fury from the mainland, called at that point 'the Glens' (Glynnnes), while they were one by one butchered. Their prayers and screams reached him across the calm waters that should have been troubled, but he was utterly helpless to defend or succour them.

Essex later gloatingly described these children of MacDonald as 'his pretty little ones and their dam', and tells the compassionate Elizabeth that *the Mac Donald*, upon being forced to witness the minutest details of the slaughter across the narrow channel was 'likely to have run mad for sorrow, tearing and tormenting himself, and saying that there he lost all that ever he had'.

For this gallant foray Elizabeth again praised the prowess of Essex and his fortitude. She and her successor James, followed by Cromwell *et ux*, murdered *hundreds of thousands* of Scots and Irish in the name of God and religion.

According to John O'Hart's '*Origin and Stem of the Irish Nation*', the MacDonalds and MacDonnells trace directly to Heremon through Colla Uais, as follows :

Colla Uais, the 121st monarch of Ireland, and son of Eochy Dubhlen, son Carbry Liffechar, son of Cormac Mac Art, was the ancestor of the MacDonnells of Antrim (and the) MacDonalds (of Scotland) :

Eochy, Colla's son

Earc I, Eochy's son

Carthan, Earc's son

Earc II, Carthan's son

Fergus, Earc II's son

Godfrey, Fergus' son

Maine, Godfrey's son

Nialgus, Maine's son

Swyny, Nialgus' son

Murgay, Swyny's son

Soloman, Murgay's son

Gill-Adhamnan, Soloman's son

Gill-bride, Gill-Adhamnan's son

Savarly or Sorley, Gill-bride's son

Ranall or Randal, Sorley's son

Donald (Domhnall), son of Randal ; *a quo Mac Donnell*, earl of Antrim, and the *Mac Donalds* of Scotland who were lords of the Hebrides and of Cantyre. His brother Alexander was ancestor of the sept called MacDonnell of Ulster . . .

In his introduction Major George Wilson McKee quotes as follows from the volume *The House and Clan of Mackay*, by Robert Mackay, Edinburgh, 1829 :

"An ancient manuscript was within these few years discovered in the Advocates' Library, written by Andrew Symson, which has been published, edited by Thomas Maitland, younger, of Dundruman, advocate, and mentions the family of Mackie, or McKie, in Galloway, as far back as King Robert Bruce." p. 35, 36.

The account gives a description of a feat of archery performed by a young McKie in the presence of the king, *viz.* : shooting an arrow through the heads of two ravens perching upon a rocky pinnacle. And, in this connection, it is further stated :

“ The family of McGhie of Balmaghie are thought to be of *Irish descent* ; (emphasis added) and this opinion seems in some measure confirmed by that family *using the arms of Mackay, Lord Reay* ; whereas the Mackies before mentioned have, since the days of Bruce, for their arms two ravens proper upon a chiefargent, with an arrow through both their heads—Gules, the field Gules. These Mackays must have been for many centuries planted in Galloway, from the circumstance that a parish there is called Balmaghie, i.e. Mackay-town.” *The House and Clan of Mackay*, p. 37.

The present author's comment on the foregoing is that, as it stands, it contains nothing very persuasive that, (1) the people described were McKees, and, (2) that the McGhie tribe was other than of Irish origin. Moreover, there is certainly an implication that, (3) the Mackays themselves were originally Irish, if it be true that the use or arrogation of their ancient arms by the McGhies would impute to these McGhies an Irish origin.

Other apposite quoted matter in the volume titled ‘ *The House and Clan Mackay* ’ follows :

“ Upon the whole, it seems most probable that the name (Mackay) originated from Ireland but at what period it is uncertain.” Pages 44, 45, 46.

“ Alexander (Mackay) came with two of his brethren out of Ireland to Caithness in Scotland in the reign of William the Lion.” Page 31.

As noted earlier, William the Lion became King of Scotland in 1165 A.D., and reigned 49 years.

“ Lord Reay's family (the Mackays) derived their original from Ireland in the 12th century when King William the Lion reigned. The occasion of their settling in the north is mentioned by Torfoeus, as captains of a number of warriors, to drive the Norwegians out of Caithness.”

George Wilson McKee then traces the *McKees* out of Scotland in the paragraphs quoted below, although the present writer is unconvinced that the hiatus between the Mackays and the McKees was successfully bridged in *The McKees of Virginia and Kentucky*.

“ Early in the 16th century, owing to the civil feuds of Scotland, their native land for centuries, they emigrated back to Ireland, thence, after a brief sojourn, to France. There they remained until the massacre of the Huguenots, on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572. Being firm adherents of the Protestant faith, they experienced the utmost fury of the enemies of their religion on that day. But few were left to tell the tale of horror. Those few fled to the north of Ireland, and there again in 1641, under the reign of Charles I, the most infamous of the Stuarts, and in 1688 under James II, the most pusillanimous, they again experienced the fury of persecution on account of their religion.”

“ It is said that some of those who escaped the massacre on ²St. Bartholomew's Day, fled into Holland and marched into Ireland, ³later, with the forces of William, Prince of Orange.”

On July 5, 1935, a young law student named Thurston Kee wrote from Brampton, Ontario to Lanier McKee, 32 East 64th Street, New York City, in an effort to establish whether or not his own name ‘ Kee ’ was in fact originally MacKee, or McKee. I have no doubt whatsoever that one of his ancestors dropped the Mac, probably while still in Ireland.

¹ He is thinking of James I, as Charles I was an unblemished sovereign.

² Protestants believed this heinous crime was plotted at Rome. The Catholic version is reproduced herein, and sounds plausible.

³ 1690.

In John O'Hart's *Origin and Stem of the Irish Nation*, Dublin, 1876, page 372, the following observation is made :

“ In the reigns of the Henrys and the Edwards, Kings of England, various other penal laws were passed against the native Irish, to compel them to change their names and take English surnames ; to give up the use of the Irish language, and speak only English ; to adopt the English dress, manners, and customs ; to cut off their glibs or flowing locks, and shave their upper lips at least once a fortnight ; otherwise to be punished as Irish enemies.”

In December, 1875, John O'Hart wrote from Ringsend, Dublin, Ireland, as follows (*Origin and Stem of the Irish Nation*, Vol. I, p. 122) :

“ I am informed that, in the humble but honourable position of Teacher of a National School, the lineal representative of the monarch Niall Glundubh now resides in a secluded part of the county Cork, under a name which some of his forefathers had to assume, in order to preserve a portion of their estates . . . ”

In his *Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*, p. 112-113, Dublin, 1869, P. W. Joyce, A.M., M.R.I.A., mentions the ‘ *Cinel-Aedha*, the race of Aedh (Ay) or Hugh ’ as being settled in County Cork and hence giving its name to the barony of Kinalea, but relates this sept to Aedh, father of Failbhe Flann, king of Munster in A.D. 636. English insistence transformed all MacAodhs of Ireland into MacHugh, Magee, and McKee, while those MacAodhs who emigrated to Scotland became Mac Eth, Mac Heth, then Mackay and its variants. This I believe, but I can offer only circumstantial evidence to support that belief.

Most readers will recall people of their own acquaintance whose ancestors were of Irish origin, but who in some forgotten generation dropped the O' or the Mac from the ancient family name. This is really too bad. It would be an intelligent step for the present generation to correct the patronym back to its proud original state. There is an old Irish quatrain that avows :

“ By Mac or O' you'll always know
True Irishmen, they say ;
But if they lack both O' and Mac,
No Irishmen are they ! ”

While this is not literally infallible, the measure of its sagacity may depend on the first word in the second line.

Thurston Kee's July, 1935, letter, and subsequent ones, contained some interesting matter that I have excerpted as follows :

“ In searching the American Genealogies . . . Dr. James Snyder Mackie, a descendant of ‘ James MacKee, landed proprietor, direct descendant of the McKee family which settled in Pennsylvania on the dispersion of the Clan MacKee by Claverhouse and founded McKeesport, etc.’ ”

Here we encounter a case of where a MacKee (McKee) either changed his name to MacKie, perhaps restoring its former spelling because of some information that had reached him about the antecedent sept, or else was not descended in agnation from James MacKee, but from some female descendant of that ancestor who perhaps married a MacKie. Incidentally, the last few words of the foregoing quotation, which link the arrival of the early McKees in Pennsylvania with the dispersion of Clan Mackay (MacKee ?), pose a perplexing element of timing. John Graham of Claverhouse appears to have dispersed the clan *circa*

1690, about the same time that the Battle of the Boyne was fought in Ireland. While I do find that a Neale MacKee had passage paid for him to America by one Nicholas George as early as 1652, and that there was a ¹MacKee family near Hartford, Connecticut in 1707, of which Andrew McKee was the patriarch, most historians believe the main trunk of the American families was composed of the seven or eleven brothers McKee who came over from Ireland in 1737. These in turn are almost certainly sons or grandsons of one of the four McKee brothers who fought at the Battle of the Boyne, then settled in County Down. They are practically identifiable from James Y. McKee's *David McKee and Descendants*, except for their actual names that he failed to learn. In view of these facts, the present writer feels that considerable doubt is cast upon the asseveration noted that the McKees who early settled in Pennsylvania did so 'upon the dispersion of the Clan MacKee (Mackay)'. If they had fought in the battle with John Graham of Claverhouse's forces in 1690, they must have been, shall we say 20, then. The seven or eleven brothers McKee came to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, through the port of Philadelphia in 1737. This would make them each from, probably, 54 to 60 years of age when they emigrated. We know that Robert, William, and John of Rockbridge County, Virginia, were three of the seven or eleven brothers, and that they were much younger men than the ages postulated above when they reached America. As a matter of fact, Robert was born in 1692, while John, whose wife was killed and scalped by the Shawnees, was born in 1708.

Thurston Kee also said in his July 5, 1935 letter to Lanier McKee :

"I have a note from the *Book of Mackay* re the McKies or McKees of Larg which I quote : 'Sir Patrick McKee and his successors heavily mortgaged the barony of Larg in the interest of the Solemn League and Covenant and had their lands eventually forfeited. During the religious persecution that followed, three leading McKees, John of Larg, Anthony of Glencaird, and Alexander of Drumbuie, were condemned to death. They all escaped, however, but with the loss of their lands which went to pay the cruel fines imposed. The only family which weathered the storm was McKee of Palgown . . .'"

"Do you by any chance know the crest or coat of arms of your branch? From a seal, for example. The family at Larg, etc. bore for crest a raven proper and for arms : argent, two ravens pendent from an arrow fessways piercing their necks proper on a shield azure a lion passant of the field, armed gules with the motto : Labora."

The above heraldic description clearly embodies the feat of archery performed by the McKie youth for King Robert Bruce : that is, shooting an arrow through the necks of two ravens perched side by side on a rocky pinnacle. One suspects that the lad's skill was tintured with a moiety of luck, but the king was quite obviously impressed, since descendants memorialized the extraordinary feat in their arms.

¹Julius C. McKee wrote out his lineage, originating in America with this Andrew MacKee, as follows : 'Three brothers—came to America and landed at Boston. The youngest, 16 years old, named Andrew MacKee, settled in East Hartford, east of old Hartford City, in the state of Connecticut, about five miles from the city, and became a farmer in 1707. It was supposed that the other brothers settled one in Virginia, the other in Kentucky. (At this early date Kentucky was a county of Virginia.—R.W.M.) Andrew was born in the North of Ireland in 1691. His father was *Scotch*, (*recte* a Scot), a chief among them my father says ; his mother Irish. He lived in America 58 years. He died September 24, 1765, aged 74 years, and was interred at Manchester Center, Connecticut. Andrew had a first wife and a second wife, and had children by both. I can only speak of three, Nathaniel, Robert, and Joseph, by first wife, and John by a second wife. Robert McKee (formerly MacKee), my great-grandfather, became a wealthy farmer, with 400 acres in the vicinity of his father. (He) was deacon of the Presbyterian Church in his neighbourhood for 40 years, until he died and was interred near his father. (He) was born in 1726, in Hartford, Connecticut, and died March 29, 1797, in his 71st year. He married Miss Mabel Hollister in 1753, by whom he had ten children : Robert 1754 ; Andrew ; Appleton 1760 ; Polly ; Eliezur ; Alexander ; Francis ; Jesse ; James ; Mabel.

The reader's attention is also directed to the corroboration of Sir Patrick McKee of Larg contained in Hill's *Plantation in Ulster* :

"MacKee of Laerg. Larg in the parish of Minnigaff, was long known as the estate of the principal family of the Mackies, or McKies ; but although Sir Patrick is here styled as of Larg, the property had passed from his hands. Other localities were also occupied by branches of this once numerous and influential sept, among which may be mentioned Mertoun-McKie, now Mertoun Hall, in the parish of Penninghame ; the Whitehills in the parish of Sorbie, Wigtonshire. Many settlers of this name appear to have come to Ulster from that district and they are numerously represented throughout several of our northern counties at the present day." *The Plantation in Ulster*, Rev. George Hill, Belfast 1877, page 297.

Again on page 502 of the same volume, the subsequent disposition of this 1,000-acre grant to Sir Patrick McKee (so spelled) is recorded as follows :

"The lands then granted were soon let in part by Sir Patrick to William Stewart of Maines ; and afterwards to his brother Patrick Stewart of Raneall. They appear to have held jointly with ¹Sir Robert Gordon, who bought out the proportion from McKee, on the 17th of September, 1615. When, and on what terms, Cargie was transferred to John Murray does not appear. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (9) Jac. 1."

On September 15, 1935, Thurston Kee once more wrote to Lanier McKee, thanking him for the loan of Major George Wilson McKee's volume *McKees of Virginia and Kentucky*. One paragraph contains the following :

"Your paternal ancestors came from Scotland to Ireland much later (than 1738, he means), since your ancestor David McKee was born in 1710 in Scotland, but they were probably of the same cadet branch of the Clan Mackay. The Galloway line, which use arms different from the Mackays proper, seem to have used the spelling McKee or McKie generally, and the present head of the family is McKie of Bargaly. There is a Swedish family of Key or Von Key descending from a Mackay or McKee who served under Gustavus Adolphus, so the change to Kee is not difficult to understand."

"You mentioned the famous Francis Scott Key as being descended from the McKees. I was very interested in this, but have not had an opportunity of looking into his ancestry. You suggested that his family and mine might have a common origin, so I shall attempt to learn more of his ancestry."

Very fortunately, a letter of mine reached Mr. Kee in Canada and he wrote me the following interesting account of his exploration into the source of his antecedents :

Re : KEE AND MCKEE

October 15, 1956.

"I have your lengthy letter of October 9th, which I found to be most interesting. I want to deal first with the Kees. I take it from your letter that you believe they are of Irish descent. This I rather doubt unless it is a very long way back."

"I have traced quite a few branches of the Kees, some of whom I can connect up and others of whom I cannot. All the branches I have ever run across, however, came from the North of Ireland, mainly Counties Down, Derry, Donegal and Tyrone. There are still quite a few of the name living in Northern Ireland. I still correspond with the branches in Tyrone and in Donegal. The Kees in Ireland were mainly Presbyterian in religion and Reformer in

¹This is beyond doubt the Sir Robert Gordon (B. 1580) who wrote the *Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland* in 1637-1639, which was published in Edinburgh in 1813, and of which the present author has the good fortune to possess one of the few perfect copies extant. A great deal of the known history of the Mackays derives from this volume.

politics, although quite a few became Methodists during the Wesleyan movement in Ireland, and there are some who were apparently Church of Ireland (i.e. Episcopalians)."

"The tradition amongst most of the branches is that they were originally Scottish and came over to the North of Ireland during the religious persecutions of the Stuarts. One of the branches still living in County Tyrone says that they came to Ireland from Scotland with William of Orange, and another branch in West Virginia said that they were Covenantors who came from a place called Larg in Scotland."

"Quite a few years ago I employed the Genealogical Office in Dublin to make a search of the existing records relating to any of the name of Kee."

"Their report to me read, in part, as follows :

'The records of this office contain a great deal of material on the name MacKee (and variants) which is undoubtedly the original form of Kee. MacKee is an anglicization of the Gaelic name "MacAodha" which is a very common surname especially in Ulster and Connaught. There are several distinct families so called. In County Galway MacAodha was of the same stock as the O'Flahertys, while some of the MacKays of Strathnaver, a well known Scottish family, are probably to be found in the North of Ireland.'

"To see if I could get any trace of the family in Scotland I wrote to the Lord Lyon King of Arms at Edinburgh and gave him what information I had. While he was not able in any way to connect the Kees with the McKees (or McKies) of Galloway, he was eventually satisfied that a probable connection did exist and he granted to me a Coat of Arms based, in a general way, upon the ancient name of the McKees (or McKies) of Galloway."

"The Arms which he granted to me are described as follows :

'Argent a raven sable accompanied by two pheons of the second, on a chief azure a lion's head affronte of the first between two martlets or,' with the crest: 'A raven sable grasping in his dexter claw an arrow paleways point downwards sable, feathered argent,' and with the Motto 'Labora.'

"In the Patent he sets forth and accepts my pedigree as proven only back as far as my Great-Great-Grandfather, Samuel Kee, who was born in Ardstraw Parish, County Tyrone, in 1790, but the Patent sets forth 'that traditionally the family, originally McKee, came from Larg in Minnigraff Parish, Kirkcudbright, during the religious persecutions of the Stuarts."

"You will see that these arms resemble those of the McKees (or McKies or MacKies) of Larg in Galloway, Scotland, which were :

'Argent, two ravens, pendent from an arrow fesswise piercing their necks proper ; on chief azure a lion passant of the field, armed and fanged gules,' with the crest : 'A raven proper,' and with the motto 'Labora.'

"The earliest Kees (that is before 1840) the Genealogical Office in Dublin could find were :

1. *James Kee*, of Meenagraw, Co. Donegal, Farmer, who left a Will proved in 1762.
2. *William Kee* of Revernat, Co. Donegal, Farmer, who left a Will proved in 1768.
3. *William Kee*, of Gortaleck, Co. Tyrone, Farmer, who left a Will proved in 1783.
4. *Rose Kee*, of Gortaleck, Co. Tyrone, who left a Will proved in 1787.
5. *William Kee*, of William Street in the suburbs of Derry, Publican, who left a Will proved in 1797.
6. *Patrick Kee*, of Meenagrawe, Co. Donegal, Farmer, who left a Will proved in 1798.
7. *Matthew Kee*, of Clintagh, Co. Down, who is mentioned in a deed of partition of the lands of Clintagh in 1799.

8. *Deborah Kee*, formerly Brown, widow of Matthew Kee, of Clintagh, Co. Down and party to the deed of partition of the lands of Clintagh, 1799.
9. *Robert Kee*, of Ballymurphy, Co. Down, linen merchant, witness to the deed of partition of the lands of Clintagh, 1799.
10. *Matthew Kee*, son of Matthew and Deborah Kee, and party to the deed of partition of 1799.
11. *James Kee*, son of Matthew and Deborah Kee, and party to the deed of partition of 1799.
12. *John Kee*, son of Matthew and Deborah Kee and party to the deed of partition of 1799.
13. *William Kee*, son of Matthew and Deborah Kee and party to the deed of partition of 1799.
14. *Margaret Kee*, widow of William Kee of William Street in the suburbs of Derry, Publican, who left a Will proved in 1834.
15. *Matthew Kee*, of Maghrecolton in Ardstraw Parish, Co. Tyrone, Farmer, who sold his lands there to the Marquess of Abercorn in 1834."

"Although it is difficult to prove the pedigree, I believe, and the Genealogical Office at Dublin thinks it very likely, that my great-great-grandfather, Samuel Kee, (who came to Canada in 1834) was the son of Matthew Kee of Maghrecolton, who sold his farm in 1834 and that this Matthew Kee in turn was the son of William Kee of Gortaleck, who died in 1783 and Rose, his wife, who died in 1787, and that this William Kee in turn was the son of William Kee of Revernat who died in 1768."

"The fact that the Genealogical Office can find no earlier use of the spelling 'Kee' indicates that the 'Mc' was probably dropped about 1700 or perhaps a little earlier."

"I notice that you are reading *The Book of MacKay*. I assume that this is the one printed in Edinburgh in 1829 and compiled by Robert MacKay or a later reprint, as I believe there was a later edition. I do not have a copy of it but I have spent some time in the Reference Library at Toronto reading it. You will find in it references to the family of McKee (or McKie or MacKie) of Galloway in Scotland, going back to the days of Robert Bruce, and you will also see the explanation of the raven arms used by that branch. Burke's *Landed Gentry* deals with a family of McKie of Bargaly who are the present representatives of the McKies of Galloway and from these two sources you can follow the pedigree back to about 1400 or earlier."

"You will also see a statement in the *Book of MacKay* that 'Sir Patrick McKee and his successors heavily mortgaged the barony of Larg in the interests of the Solemn League and Covenant. During the religious persecutions that followed, three leading McKees, John of Larg, Anthony of Glencaird and Alexander of Drumbuie, were condemned to death. All escaped however but with the loss of their lands. The only family that weathered the storm was McKee of Palgown'."

"Recently I obtained a small book called *The Clan MacKay* by Margaret O. Macdougall. It is one of the series of Clan histories by W. & A. K. Johnston and is printed at Edinburgh 1953. If you haven't seen it I think you would find it very interesting."

"On p. 11 the author says this :

'The MacKays are of Celtic stock but the exact identity of the progenitor of the clan has been the subject of much controversy. Genealogical accounts of the family vary with each other, yet are in agreement in assigning a Morayshire origin to the elusive personage who became the founder of the house of MacKay. It is now generally accepted that he descended from the old Royal House of Moray and in all probability the fiery blood of the turbulent McEths ran in his veins. It was long believed that the houses of MacKay and Forbes shared a common ancestor in the person of the great Conachar. The source of this is attributable to

Sir Robert Gordon, who, in his *Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, traces MacKay's descent from Walter, a natural son of Lord Forbes . . . they are insufficient to establish claims of common ancestry”

“ And again at p. 13 :

‘ In previous years the McEths had been in almost continuous revolt and had carried their disturbances and rebellions as far afield as Galloway. That some of their family or kinsmen settled there is more than likely. In 1296 a ¹Gilmybel McEthe in Dumfries signed the “ Ragman’s Roll ” and the following year this man is recorded under the name McGethe. The McGhies of Galloway, long regarded as an off-shoot of the Strathnaver MacKays may have descended from this Gilmybel McEthe. The Larg MacKies, a section of the Galloway McGhies, received a Charter on the thirty pound lands of Cumloden in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright from King Robert the Bruce. These lands were said to be the Bruce’s reward to a widow and her three sons for their assistance to him during the War of Independence. MacKay Genealogies credit the foundation of the Galloway McGhies to Martin of Strathnaver but this theory is doubtful. It has also been claimed that the founder of the Strathnaver MacKays was a native of Galloway who came north to assist King William during his campaign against the Men of Moray. This Galloway MacKay went to Strathnaver where he settled and founded the house of MacKay of Strathnaver. There is little evidence to support this claim. The now accepted origin of descent from the Royal House of Moray, through the McEths, is fairly well established’

“ You will notice that the MacKies of Galloway are thus supposed to be a branch of the family of The McGhies. This is mentioned in the *Book of MacKay*, where it is said :

‘ The family of McGhie of Balmaghie are thought to be of Irish descent and this opinion seems in some measure confirmed by that family using the arms of MacKay, Lord Reay, whereas the MacKies before mentioned, have since the days of Bruce for their arms two ravens proper on a chief argent with an arrow through both their heads, gules, the field gules. These MacKays must have been planted for many centuries in Galloway from the circumstance that a parish there is called Balmaghie, i.e. MacKaytown ’.

“ Your most interesting letter weighs heavily upon the Irish origin of the family, and while it is probably a fact that many McKees are native Irish, I think you will also find that a great many who came from Ireland to America were in fact descended from McKees who had emigrated from Scotland to Ireland in the Tudor and Stuart reigns.”

“ As you know, there is a great deal of doubt about the origin of the Scottish branches but they certainly appear to have been Celtic and I suppose it is possible that the original ancestors of the Scottish branches may have gone from Ireland to Scotland at some extremely remote period.”

“ I notice in John O’Hart’s *Irish Pedigrees* (with which you are no doubt very familiar) that Sir Patrick McKee of Larg was one of the Scottish settlers obtaining lands in North Ireland during the Ulster Settlement, that is about 1610 or earlier. I have no doubt that during the next hundred years many of his clansmen moved to Ireland from Scotland.”

¹“ . . . the clan Aidh . . . cannot be identified with any modern clan, but a Gillamithil, son of Aidh, the eponymus of the clan, falls about the same time with Gillemychel M’Ath, father of Duncan, who, in 1232, excambes a davach of land in Strathardel, called Petcarene, with the bishop of Moray for the lands of Dolays Michel in Strathspey.” *Celtic Scotland*, William F. Skene, D.C.L., LL.D., p. 344.

These are quite probably the same person : McEthe and M’Ath are but variant spellings of MacAidh or MacAoidh. In the present author’s opinion, the Christian name Gillamithil, Gilmybel, and Gillemychel are different ways of spelling the Gaelic name *Gillamichael*, meaning servant or follower of Michael. The name Gilchrist was similarly composed, and was quite often spelled Gillcrist, while Gillaadomnan was the usual form taken for a follower of Adamnan.

"The Genealogical Office seemed to think that my branch of the Kees may have been connected with a family of McKee who were settled for several generations at Templepatrick in County Down. There are a number of monuments still in existence there, for example :

1. *William McKie*, who died 7th November 1733 aged 78 years.
2. *William McKee*, who died 14th June 1743 aged 77 years.
3. *Alexander McKee*, who died 31st January 1748 aged 56 years.
4. *Robert McKee*, who died 31st January 1782 aged 88 years.
5. *William McKee*, who died 23rd May 1785 aged 91 years.
6. *David McKee*, who died 16th August 1788 aged 87 years.
7. *John McKee*, who died 2nd June 1734 aged 26 years.

"I thought this interesting, because in the work you refer to, *McKees of Virginia and Kentucky*, it is said that :

'In 1738 when a large migration of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians to Pennsylvania and the valleys of Virginia took place, some brothers McKee, variously estimated from five to ten or eleven, sons of one who had borne a part in the defence of Derry, arrived in America'

"You have mentioned that various branches of the family have different coats-of-arms and this of course is true. I have mentioned the arms of the McKees of Galloway (the ravens). The arms of Lord Reay, the Chief of the Scottish Clan MacKay, appear also to have been used by the McGhies (or Maghies) of Balmaghie in Galloway and also by branches of the Maghies in Ireland. John O'Hart in his *Irish Pedigrees* shows a coat for the Irish McKays or MacKays which is very similar to that of Lord Reay, but for the ancient Irish McKee he shows a very different coat."

"Fairbairn, in his *Book of Crests* (1911) shows no less than nine crests for MacKie, MacKay, MacKey, McKie, McKay, and McGie, of English, Irish and Scotch residence."

"The Genealogical Office gave me a great deal of information on various McKees (and variants) but they are really of very little use as it is impossible to tell whether they were native Irish or came from Scotland or how (if at all) they were even remotely connected."

"I have never had a great deal of faith in the old Irish pedigrees as shown, for example, in O'Hart, as he shows families which may have been originally Celtic but which were certainly living in Scotland for generations before the ancestor he assigns to them."

"There are quite a few Kees scattered throughout the United States and particularly in West Virginia. I used to correspond with a Mr. Hunter Kee, who was a pharmacist in Marlinton, W. Va., and the story he had was that in 1785 five men of the name of Kee came from Strabane, Co. Tyrone, and landed at Wilmington, Delaware, whence they moved into Virginia and settled in what is now West Virginia. He must be wrong in his dates, however, because the First Census for the State of Virginia (taken in 1782 and 1784) lists some seven Kees, but two of these appear in 1782 as 'Kee' and in 1784 as 'Key.' The 1782 census, however, does mention a James Kee, a John Kee, a Robert Kee and a William Kee, all of which look like Kee (and McKee) names."

"I must end this letter before it becomes a book, for the book I will certainly leave to you. If you think it would be of any interest in your book to include a chapter on the Kee branch, or the McKees of Templepatrick or the McKees of Galloway, I will certainly be glad to supply whatever you want."

Sgd. D. Thurston Kee

Under the date line of September 11, 1956, Isaac McKee, 166 Ark Lane, Glasgow E1, Scotland, wrote me :

“ In the first place you are quite correct ; the McKees, MacKees, McKies are all septas of the Scotch Clan Mackay and therefore entitled to wear the Mackay tartan. I have read this long ago, when as a boy I went to our local Carnegie library trying to ferret out some information about my name.”

“ My paternal grandfather Isaac Park McKee came over to Scotland from North Ireland, that is Ulster”

“ Sir Donald McKee, a Scotch mercenary left his native shores at the time King Gustav Adolphus of Sweden was trying to clean up Northern Europe of the Roman Catholics, just like King Billy of Orange did in Ireland.”

“ In Britain the present organist Dr. ¹William McKee, an Australian by birth, is presiding at the organ in Westminster Abbey, London, and carried through all the onerous duties of the coronation of our Queen.”

On September 12, 1956, Eileen L. McKee, 38 Ryeside Road, Barmulloch, Glasgow, Scotland, wrote me the following information :

“ As the word McKee is an anglicization of the Gaelic name Mac Aodh, and McKay is also an anglicization of the same, the following facts may be of some use to you.”

“ The Clan McKay claims descent from the old Royal House of ²Moray through a junior line springing from Morgund of Pluscarden.

“ There is evidence that they were amongst the Moray men removed in 1160 by Malcolm IV and given lands elsewhere, apparently in Ross, whence they migrated to Sutherland under the auspices of the Bishop of Caithness. Magnus, the great grandson of Alexander, who lived in the reign of William the Lion, fought on the side of King Robert the Bruce at Bannockburn. He was succeeded by his son Morgan. Donald, son of Morgan, was succeeded again by his son, Aodh or Ye, who gave the clan the designation which they now bear, Mac Aodh or McKay.

“ Sir Donald McKay of Strathnaver greatly distinguished himself in the services of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, for whom he raised a large body of men from the north of Scotland. He was raised to the peerage in 1628 by Charles I, under the title Lord Reay, with remainder to his heirs-male bearing the name and arms of McKay, thus tailzieing the Chieftainship. His grandson, Aeneas, who was Colonel of the McKay Dutch regiment, settled in Holland, where his family were ennobled with the title of Baron, and when the Scottish succession ceased, Baron Eric McKay van Ophemert became 12th Baron Reay.”

“ Whilst the Chiefs were distinguished as Royalists, General McKay of Scourie, defeated by Viscount Dundee at Killiecrankie, was an adherent of William of Orange and subsequently defeated the Jacobite army at the Haughs of Cromdale in 1690.”

The slogan of this branch of the Clan Mackay is ‘ Bratach Bhan Chlann Aoidh ’, usually translated ‘ The White Banner of Mackay ’, but which literally translates ‘ White Banner of Clan Aoidh ’. Since Aoidh, Aodh, and Aedh are but vagrant spellings of the same Christian name, we here have collateral proof that this Mackay Clan created *Mackay* from an Aodh ancestor, if indeed the banner is genuinely a Mackay banner. This is the branch whose modern armorial bearings are described as follows :

‘ Azure on a chevron between three bears’ heads, couped, argent muzzled gules a roebuck’s head, erased, between two hands issuant from the ends of the chevron, each holding a

¹ *Reclé* Dr. William Neil McKie, M.A.

² The Moray arms (Aberairmy) are : azure a chevron between three stars argent. Crest, out of an earl’s crown, a star of twelve rays argent.—R.W.M.



Plate 45 MAP OF SCOTLAND SHOWING THE FOUR KINGDOMS (Page 224)



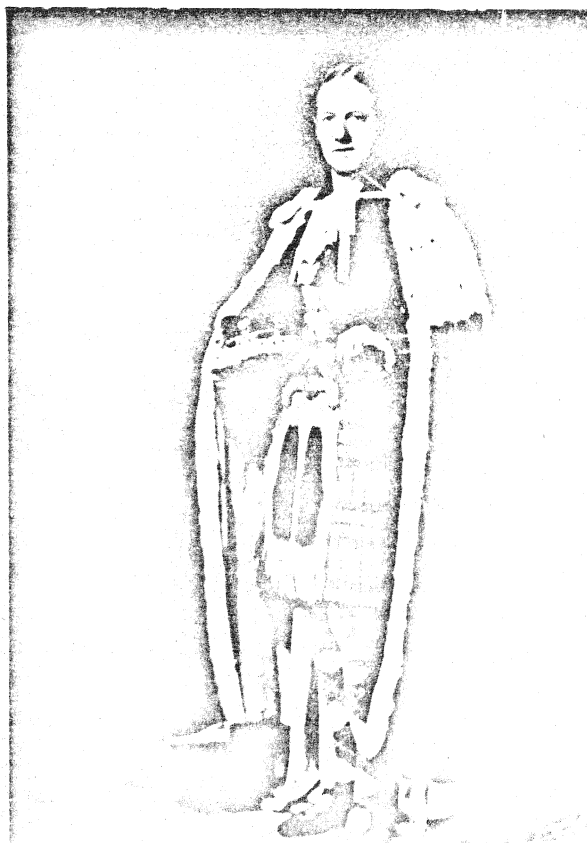
Plate 46 SIR AENEAS ALEXANDER MACKAY, 13th Lord Reay. (Page 249)

[FAYER of London

Plate 48 ISAAC McKEE and FAMILY (Page 248)

Plate 47 SIR A. ALEXANDER MACKAY in Coronation Robes (Page 249)

[FAYER of L



dagger, all proper. Crest, a dexter arm from the elbow, erect, holding a dagger, in pale, all proper, pomel and hilt or. Supporters, two soldiers in military regimentals, their muskets rested on their exterior hands, all proper. Motto, *Manu forti.*'

The present head of this clan is Sir Aeneas Alexander Mackay, Lord Reay, Langlee House, Galashiels, Selkirkshire, the original creation having taken place March 18, 1627, and June 20, 1628. One of the clan's first historic chiefs was Angus Du Mackay (1380-1429). After he was slain, his younger son ruled the clan until the rightful heir *circa* 1437 gained his freedom from Bass Rock, where he had been imprisoned. His son was chief of the clan and its leader at the Battle of Blair Tannic, in Caithness.

Robson's *The British Herald* (Turner & Marwood, Sunderland, 1830) from which the above Mackay arms were taken also gives the Mackie arms as follows :

"MACKIE (Scotland) az. on a chev. or, betw. three bears heads, coupéd, ar. muzzled gu. a roebuck's head, erased, of the last, betw. two hands, coupéd at the wrist, each holding a dagger, all ppr.—Crest, a dexter hand, coupéd at the wrist, grasping a dagger, all ppr."

Their similarity is apparent, suggesting that Mackie and Mackay are but two different spellings of the spoken name of the clan in different localities of Scotland.

To another branch of the Mackay clan in the south of Scotland belonged Brian Vicar McKay of Islay, to whom the Lord of the Isles, Donald MacDonald, granted the noted Gaelic ¹charter in 1408.

¹ CHARTER BY MACDONALD OF THE ISLES TO BRIAN VICAR MACKAY, OF LANDS IN ISLA, DATED 1408.

The charter, very probably the oldest extant in the Gaelic language, was found in the possession of John Magee, county Antrim, a descendant of a family of Macees who were once followers of the Macdonalds of Antrim. The original document is preserved in the Register House, Edinburgh. The following is an English translation of this famous charter :

"In the name of God, amen. I, Macdonald, am granting & giving eleven marks and a half of land from myself and from my heirs to Brian Vicar Mackay and to his heirs after him for evermore, for his service to me and to my father before me ; and this on covenant and on condition that he himself and they shall give to me and to my heirs after me, yearly, four cows fit for killing for my household, and should these cows not be forthcoming the above Brian and his heirs shall give to me and my heirs after me two & forty merks instead of the foresaid cows. And for the said reasons I bind myself and I bind my heirs after me to the end of our lives these lands with their fruits of sea and land to maintain and to secure to the above Brian Vicar Mackay and to his heirs for ever after him in like manner ; and these are the lands given to him & to his heirs for ever after him, viz., Baile Vicar, Machaire, Leargariavach, Ciontragha, Graftol, Tocamol, Ugasgog, the two Glenastols, Cracobus, Cornubus, and Baile-nechton. And in order that there may be meaning, force, and strength in this grant which I make, I again bind myself and my heirs for ever under covenant this to uphold and to fulfil to the aforesaid Brian and to his heirs after him to the end of their lives by putting my hand and my seal down here in the presence of these witnesses below, on the sixth day of the month of Beltane and this year of the birth of Christ, one thousand four hundred and eight.

MAC DONALD

his
JOHN T. MACDONALD
mark

his
PAT III BROWN
mark

FERGUS MACBETH

his
IYE X M'CEY
mark

The following armorial bearings are described for this clan in Thomas Robson's *The British Herald*, Sunderland, 1830 :

MACKIE (England) ar. a lion pass. guard, in chief, and two crows, pendent from an arrow, fesseways, sa.—Crest, two oak branches, in saltier, acorned, ppr.

MACKIE (Bargally, Scotland) ar. in chief a lion pass. az. ; and in base two ravens, pendent from an arrow, fesseways, sa.—Crest, a raven ppr. Motto *Labora*.

M'KIE or MACKIE (Dowlock, Scotland) ar. two crows, paleways, endorsed, sa. with an arrow thrust through their necks, ppr. ; in chief a lion pass. az. ; all within a bordure engr. of the last. Crest, a raven ppr. Motto *Labora*.

As remarked earlier, these arms obviously contain in the two ravens or crows pendent from an arrow an adversion to the marksmanship of a young Mackay or MacKie in the presence of King Robert the Bruce. This legend is related in its entirety farther on.

A volume in the author's library contains arms ascribed to McKee and McHugh, which, described in non-heraldic language, consist of : a green saltire, that is to say, a cross, the arms of which form an X, on a silver or white shield. In the upper space provided by this cross is a red right hand, the Red Hand of Eirinn, also called the Red Hand of Ulster, elsewhere described in this volume ; in the left and right spaces a shamrock or trefoil ; in the lower or base portion a galley type boat with ten oars but no sails. No motto is noted.

These arms, obviously meant to be Irish in origin, were never provided by the Irish or Ulster King of Arms, as they are not registered at Dublin Castle. In the absence of that confirmation they may be spurious. However, it must also be borne in mind *that arms antedated Colleges of Arms by many, many centuries* ; for this reason they are very possibly the ancient display on a banner that floated above the Irish Clan MacAodh, which I have attempted to trace herein, succeeding, I must confess, in a somewhat hazy manner. They are certainly reproduced as authentic, but with no documentation or reference to their source, by several heraldic volumes. Notwithstanding, the present author finds himself unwilling to accept without reservations a great number of the long pedigrees rather facilely supplied by authors like O'Hart ; for although the pedigrees *had to exist* in some form, there is a lurking suspicion that several writers filled gaps with fabrications of their own. It seems very probable that the Irish arms above delineated were in actual use in substantially the form described.

Arms were confirmed to Rev. John Reginald McKee September 12, 1912, by Sir Neville Wilkinson, Ulster King of Arms. He was the only son of John McKee of Chanbury, Carrickfergus, who was the only son of Rev. Joseph McKee, Presbyterian minister of Killeat, who was born at Carncastle, County Antrim. The grant recites that similar arms appear on a tombstone to the family in Carncastle Churchyard in 1706. These granted arms are described as :

Arms vert three bears' heads coupéd or.
Crest, a cross pattée fitchée vert, fimbriated or.

As these embody the principal charge of the modern (17th century) armorial bearings of the northern Mackays of Scotland, it suggests that Rev. John Reginald McKee believed his ancestor, on whose tombstone the differenced Mackay arms were cut, was of that clan. Moreover, he convinced the King of Arms that he and the ancestor were in some wise entitled to employ differenced Mackay arms, or at least arms that to a layman resemble the Forbesified Mackay arms. He was a minister of the Church of England, but eventually became a Catholic priest and was for many years at Brompton Oratory, London, England. I com-

municated with Reverend William H. Munster of the Oratory, who wrote to me on November 27, 1955, to confirm that the arms of Father John Reginald McKee appear as a stained glass window in Brompton Oratory ; that he was born near Belfast June 2, 1865, went up to Exeter College, Oxford, and from there to the Anglican Theological College of Cuddlesdon. Thereafter, he was for some years a clergyman of the Church of England. In 1900 he was received into the Catholic Church and studied in Rome where he was ordained priest in 1904. He joined the congregation at Brompton Oratory, known as the Oratory of St. Phillip Neri, in the autumn of 1904, where he remained until his death May 7, 1927.

Father Munster wrote me on March 11, 1956, as follows :

Dear Mr. McKee :

Thank you so much for your very kind letter and your very generous offering which will be a great help to me for one of my parish organizations. I am most grateful to you.

I am so very glad to know that the Book Plate reached you safely. The arms in the memorial window in our church are most definitely those shown in the Book Plate. And I can confirm that Father McKee many times told me that he was absolutely Irish on his father's side. And no one who ever met him could have taken him for a Scotch man. He was very proud of his Irish descent. Though he died in 1927 I remember him very well, and actually I lived with him at the Oratory from 1909 to the date of his death.

Please accept again my very grateful thanks and my best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

William H. Munster.

These arms are in the memorial window which is next to a similar one erected to the Earl Marshal, The Duke of Norfolk, and opposite to one to Anne, Duchess of Argyll.

Reverend William H. Munster wrote on October 6, 1956 :

' I have now examined the window with the aid of glasses, and as far as I can make out, the two fluted pillars supporting a capstone are absent. The hat, however, with the tassels is depicted and below the three bear heads in gold and apparently on a green background with some other devices.'

He has since sent a bookplate that contains the described arms. It and a photograph of the window are reproduced herein. The principal charge of the three bears' heads is beautifully executed, and it will be noted that the motto ' Concordia ' has been substituted for the motto on the Carncastle tombstone arms of ' Concordat '.

Mary Elizabeth McKee, 32 Buccleuch Street, Glasgow, Scotland, wrote me on September 24, 1956, as follows :

" My brother has passed your letter to me knowing how thrilled I am over such projects. (J. J. McKee, 37 Queen Mary Ave., Glasgow).

May I say, ' More power to your elbow ! ' and how delighted we all are.

I have a few facts to give you which you can knit together as you think correct.

Personally, I incline towards No. 3 of your facts. The reasons herewith.

In the 11th and 12th centuries there was a drifting of Irishmen to Scotland. It is quite authentic that the rise of the Clan Mackay took place about the beginning of the 13th century.

Mac Aoidh, son of Aoidh

Mhic Aoidh, daughter of Aoidh.

Arms of
JOHN REGINALD MCKEE
From HIS BOOKPLATE
(Page 250)

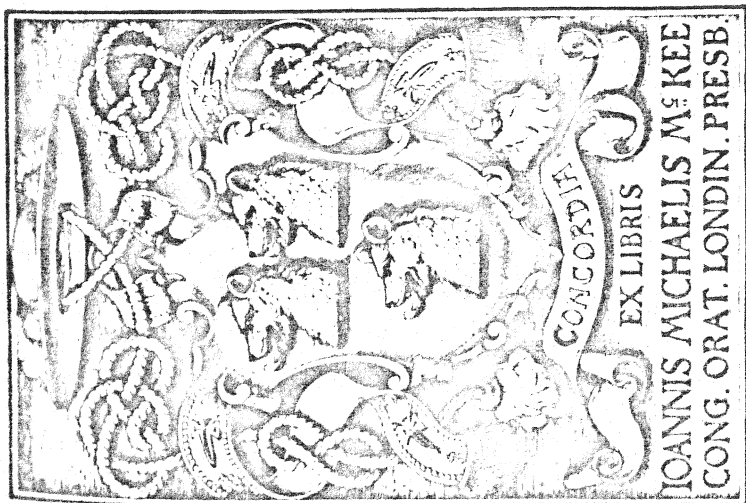


Plate 50

Arms of
JOHN REGINALD MCKEE
FROM
BROMPTON ORATORY
WINDOW
(Page 251)

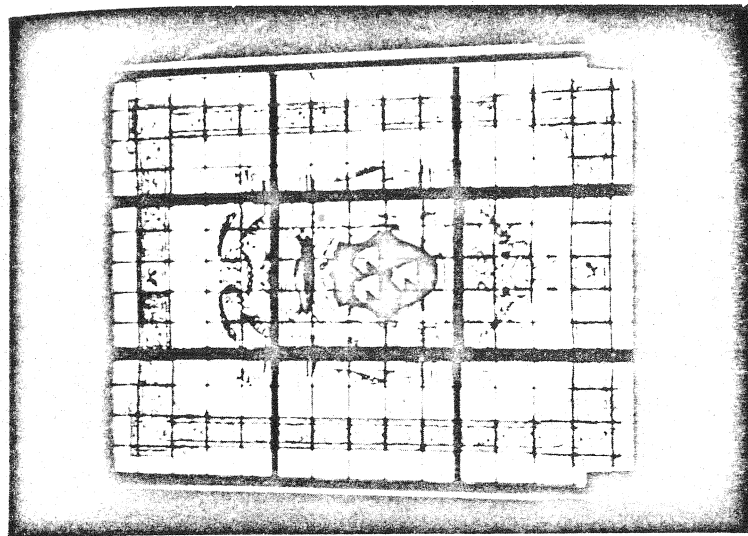


Plate 51

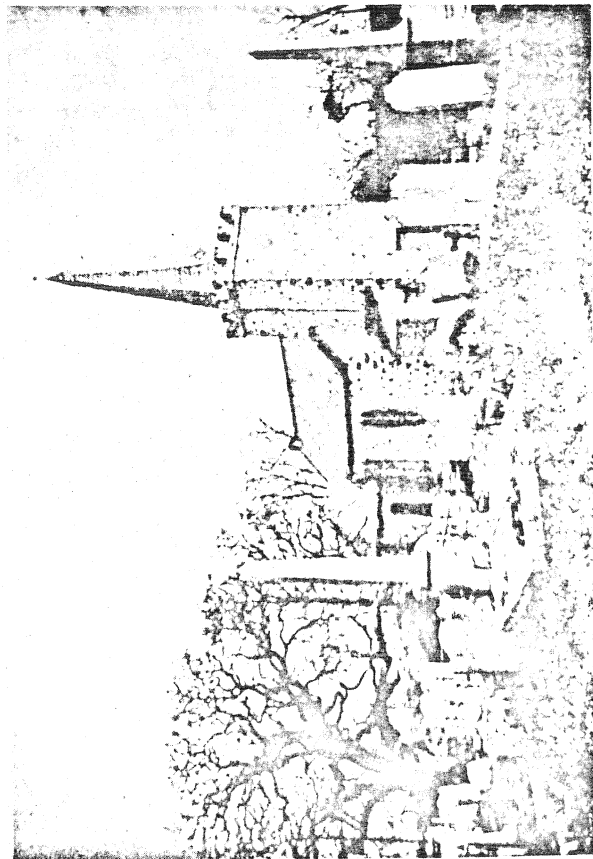
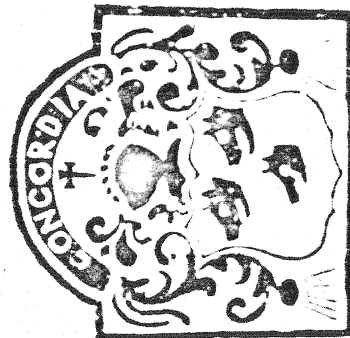


Plate 52

CARNCASTLE CHURCHYARD, ANTRIM

(Page 251)

MCKEE.



Here
the
body
of
Robert
McKee
who
died
August the 12th 1756
aged
9 years

the
of
Robert
McKee
died
aged

MCKEE ARMS ON MONUMENT—CARNCASTLE CHURCHYARD
(Page 251)

The 'dh' in Aoidh are silent ; therefore 'Aoi' was pronounced as 'ay,' as in stay or way. Because of local dialect this readily became Mackay.

The names of McKie and McKee are of considerable antiquity in Stirlingshire and can be traced in Stirling to the 15th century.

We have on record a William McKee as witness to a Scone charter in the year 1409.

Another record shows one John McKee witnessing a document 10th Mar. 1540 as Sheriff of Bute.

Patrick McKee had a grant of half the lands of Dungalid, Bute, in 1506.

A man named Lang McKee was taken forth of the stokkis wherein he had been placed by Simon McCristin, Sheriff-depute in Wigton 1513.

¹(Rustling of cattle was common in these times !)

Vthrlid McKee was accused of slaughter in 1606. (Christian name sounds Danish).

In the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries numbers of these Mac Aoidhs, or McKees, returned from Galloway and Argyllshire to Ireland. The McKees of Mid-Galloway, a powerful and prosperous family of the 16th and 17th century, were enthusiastic supporters of the Covenanters.

Marriages with the Forbes' of Aberdeenshire brought the McKees to N.W. Scotland. Translation of Mac Aoidh 'the fiery or impetuous one.' The McKees and Mackays originally came from the Mac Aoidhs of Ireland, many of whom returned to Ireland as McKee. (Co. Down and Armagh). Nowadays we have 'Bratach chan MacAoidh,' 'The White Banner of Mackay' which has been officially ²allowed and recorded in Lyon Court."

Early in 1957, Iain Moncreiffe of Easter Moncreiffe, former captain Scots Guards, and presently Unicorn Pursuivant and a Royal officer of arms in Scotland, wrote the following to H. Malcolm McKee of Bangor, North Ireland, in response to a request for his opinion concerning the antecedents of the Mackays :

"Ancient armorials give various arms for Mackays and Mackies : in Lyon Register, Mackie of Dowloch matriculated in 1674 'Argent two ravens endorsed sable with an arrow in bend through their necks Proper, in chief a lion passant, all within a bordure engrailed azure,' and in 1863 Mackie of Auchencairn was granted 'argent on a chevron sable between a lion passant azure in chief and a raven sable in base a tower argent.' The name Mackie (McKee, etc.) appears in Stirlingshire from the 15th century, and was prominent in Galloway during the 16th century.

But if the brothers who went to Ulster with Dutch William used bears' heads, it looks as though they regarded themselves as Mackays (McKees, etc.) of Lord Reay's clan. This is the more possible in that the Lords Reay were strong Protestants, and many of their kindred served with distinction in the Dutch service.

I myself have probably more Mackay blood than that of any other family, as my great-great grandmother Helen Mackay (Lady Moncreiffe and Countess of Bradford) descended from a long line of Mackay cousin-marriages : many of them connected with the Dutch service.

¹ An odd comment on her observation is that Major David McKee, upon his return to Missouri from the California Gold Rush of 1849 founded, organized, and was for many years president of Anti-Horse-Thief Association, which had more than 50,000 members in Missouri, Kansas, Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas and western Illinois.

² The Lord Lyon, Sir Thomas Innes of Learney, entertains considerable doubt on the score of its authenticity as a Mackay banner. See his letter reproduced herein that so states.

The Mackays assumed the bears' heads during the 17th century, in the time of the 1st Lord Reay, because of a very old belief in their family that they came of the same stock as the Lords Forbes. Certainly, the Forbes clan held lands near the area whence the Mackays are now generally supposed to have originated.

It is now supposed very possible that the Mackays were the descendants of the deposed male line of the ancient ruling house of Moray, and that they were transported *extramontans Scotiae* to their present territory in the extreme North when the Kings of Scots (Malcolm?) finally subdued the Mac Eth (i.e. Mackay) rulers of Moray in about 1160.

This is of interest heraldically, as in 1503 the arms of the Mackay chief were (this was before they adopted the bears' heads) 'Argent over three mullets azure a hand naked Proper.' Now, the arms borne by the Murrays or Morays, the ruling house in Moray after the conquest, (and possibly sprung in the female line from the old house, though Flemish in the male line) were 'azure three mullets argent': and the Flemish house of Innes in Moray, believed to have married a daughter of the old race, bear 'Argent three stars azure.'

The name Mackay (Mackie, McKee, etc.) simply means 'son of Aodh,' more anciently Eth or Aed. It is an old Gaelic name meaning 'Fire.' The name *Aed* was popular among the early dynasty from Ulster who ruled Dalriada, and continued among the later rulers of Moray (who descended from this family in the female line—possibly in the male line too, for their male descent is not known: Moray was a great Pictish kingdom, and they presumably had the Pictish royal blood, but this always came in the female line and so their male line was very possibly Scots, i.e. Ulster. After the downfall of Moray in 1160, it (the name Aed) continued in Strathnaver among the Mackay chiefs.

Of course, there were other people in other parts of Scotland called Mackay or McKee because they descended from some other Aodh, or even as a contraction of Mac Dhui (son of David). But the combination of bears' heads and a Dutch military connection does point to the great Protestant clan of Lord Reay, in whose line the name Aed seems to have continued longest in Scotland and who may well have derived it from the old Gaels of Ulster through Dalriada and Moray. In this family, the name Aed or Aodh has long been Englished rather quaintly as 'Aeneas.'

Of course, all this is historical conjecture, for the Mackay chiefs can only be traced connectedly on record evidence back to the Middle Ages; but since they were able to raise very considerable forces at their earliest appearance on record, they were not nobody in the world of the Gael!

With every good wish for ²Hogmanay.

Yours sincerely,

Iain Moncreiffe of Easter Moncreiffe
Unicorn

¹ This reference is to the custom of the Picts by which the crown descended through the cognatic rather than the agnatic line. Legend and early Irish annals tell us that when the Picts asked Heremon's permission to land and found a colony in Erin it was refused. However, they were advised to proceed to Alban, now Scotland, across the channel; when they pleaded that all their women had died, Heremon gave them the wives of the Milesians whose husbands were killed or drowned in the first landing in Eirinn, but with the abjuration that the crown must forever descend through the female line.

² Hogmanay is celebrated in Scotland on the last day of the year, when children shout the word to householders and expect a treat, much as American children exclaim 'Trick or treat!' on Hallowe'en. The word as well as the custom is probably of French origin, where in the middle of the 16th century there are accounts of mummers going about in fantastic dress on the first of January, crying *Au gui menez*. On Hogmanay Night it is a Scot custom to kiss whatever girls come to hand, just as we do here at midnight December 31st.

An interchange of correspondence between the author and the Unicorn Pursuivant of Arms ensued, so that the latter added the following to the comment he made earlier to H. Malcolm McKee :

Telephone 338

From UNICORN PURSUIVANT OF ARMS, Easter Moncreiffe
Bridge of Earn, Perthshire

1st May, 1957.

Dear Mr. McKee :

This is to thank your very much for your letter I no longer doubt that the ¹Murrays were Flemings in the male line. I am away from home, and so cannot check details for you

Your must not forget that many different people bore the Christian name Aed, and that entirely separate families of McKees or Mackays will descend from different Aeds living some centuries ago. So it is not very likely that the Reay Mackays and the Magees in the Irish Channel were of the same stock at all. However, my recollection is that c. 1400 a chief of the Reay Mackays married a daughter of the Macdonald lord of the Isles ; and I can't remember when the Magees first appear in the Isles. But Lyon knows far more than I do about the Magees.

I feel sure that the Lord Lyon will be able to advise you about the probabilities of your ancestry, but it is important to draw his attention to the comparatively early date at which your McKee forbears were using 3 bears' heads in Ireland, and to remind him of the Dutch connection ; as it was in the 17th century that the Reay Mackays first adopted the bears' heads and first acquired their Dutch connection.

With every good wish

Yours sincerely,

Iain ²Moncreiffe of Easter Moncreiffe
Unicorn

James Robert McKee of Los Angeles, California, compiled and caused to be printed under date of December 31, 1900, a Genealogical Summary of considerable magnitude, which he entitled *American Genealogy of the Allied Families McKee, McClintock, Mills, Stipp and Stewart*. From a photostatic copy obtained from the Library of Congress the following is quoted, since it clearly discloses the conclusions of a researcher of more than half a century ago :

"J. Alex McKee, of Kingsville, Kentucky, after many years of research has traced the name McKee for eleven centuries to one of the earlier clans of Scotland, and from his compilation the following is here embodied : The name McKee comes from and is a branch of the Clan Mackay, a name that appears on the pages of history at a very early date. They were a powerful clan as early as the eight century and were numerous for centuries thereafter. McKay was one of the Highland Clans that fought under Robert Bruce at Bannockburn, late in the 12th century. In 1427 Angus Donald McKay commanded 4,000 men. In 1626 Donald McKay led 3,000 men in the armies of Gustavus Adolphus, fighting for liberty

¹ Murray is a later spelling of Moray, referring to the Pict Royal House of Moray, from which the Mackays of Strathnaver are believed to have descended in the cognatic line.

² Sir David Moncreiffe was most unfortunately burned to death in his five storey mansion, Moncreiffe House, at the Bridge of Earn, near Perth, late in 1957. The title passed to his cousin, Capt. Rupert Iain Kay Moncreiffe, the Unicorn Pursuivant who supplied the above opinion.

and freedom of thought. Hugh McKay was the favourite general of William of Orange, fought at the battle of the ¹Bourne (Boyne ?) and gave up his life at Steenkerke, 1692, when England's king led the combined forces of Protestantism against those of Rome in Holland."

"The House of McKay in Sutherland and Caithness in the north-east part of Scotland were energetic and untiring, a fighting race but seldom aggressive. Romanism never held dominion over them and when Presbyterianism arose in 1556 they espoused that belief and have ever been its staunch defenders."

"In 1437 the Clan McKay received its first royal grant of land. Though intermarrying with other clans, McKays maintained their clan identity through all those troublous generations. In 1628 Sir Donald McKay was made a peer of Scotland by Charles I. In the later centuries the members of the clan scattered into all parts of the civilized world, and, though modest and retiring, became leaders among men. They did not seek preferment, but readily responded to any cause appealing to their sympathies. The records do not disclose one ²criminal or mendicant among them to this day."

"About 1660, the clan suffering defeat in a war with the ³McIntosh and other clans, the chiefs and many followers went to France, but religious persecution drove them to Holland, whence they emigrated to the North of Ireland. There for loyalty to Cromwell they were given estates that had been confiscated by Cromwell for treason. Since the time of Cromwell the name of McKay rarely appears on record, but is superseded by McKee, a process caused by new environment."

Since the earlier of the foregoing pages were written the present writer has procured a copy of the excellent volume *The Book of Mackay*, by Angus Mackay, M. A. (St. Andrews

¹ General Hugh Mackay was not present at the Battle of the Boyne :

"After the well-known battle of the Boyne, and the surrender of Waterford to General Kirk, King William, on the 9th of August, 1690, laid siege to Limerick, but raised it next day ; and upon the same day, he set off for England, leaving the command to Count Solmes, who likewise quitting the army soon after, it devolved upon General Ginkell, who was destined to finish the civil war in Ireland. That the chief command in Ireland was not conferred on Mackay, who was now lieutenant-general, may probably be accounted for, from the following nearly just remarks of a generally-known writer, who knew him well : 'Mackay, a general officer, that had served long in Holland with great reputation, and who was the piouset man I ever knew, in a military way, was sent down to command the army in Scotland. He was one of the best officers of the age, when he had nothing to do but to obey and execute orders : for he was both diligent, obliging, and brave ; but he was not so fitted for command : his piety made him too apt to mistrust his own sense, and to be too tender, or rather fearful in anything where there might be a needless effusion of human blood.' It is also most likely, that the command was given to Ginkell before Mackay had gone to Ireland, which was several months after the former had been there." *The House and Clan of Mackay*, by Robert Mackay, Edinburgh, 1829, p. 476.

"King William landed at Carrickfergus at 3 o'clock on June 14, 1690, accompanied by Prince George of Denmark, his brother-in-law, and attended by the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Oxford, Portland, Scarborough, and Manchester, and several other distinguished individuals.

It is said that his army consisted of sixty-two squadrons of cavalry, and fifty-two battalions of infantry, in four divisions. The van-guard was commanded by Lieutenant-General Douglas ; the right wing by Major-General Kirk ; the left wing by the Earls of Oxford and DeSolms ; and the main body by His Majesty, in person, the Duke of Schomberg, and Monsieur de Scravemoer." The foregoing is excerpted from an article appearing on page 130 of *The Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Volume I, 1853.

² From this, one is compelled to the conclusion that it was for some trivial offense that Lang McKee was placed in the 'stokkis', from which he was taken forth by Simon McCristin, Sheriff-depute in Wigton in 1513.

³ Robert Mackay contradicts this as to earlier centuries, and inferentially, by omitting an exception, as to later centuries :

"Love and amity," had indeed always subsisted between the houses of Mackintosh and Mackay.' P. 156.

'It does not appear that any feud ever subsisted between the Mackays and Mackintoshes ; on the contrary, they were always on friendly terms ; whereas a long and destructive enmity had obtained between the latter and the Camerons. The two hostile clans must have been living not very distant the one from the other ; but Mackay and Mackintosh were so far separated, that they had neither property, nor matters of honour, or precedence to contend for . . . There is, in fine, the most cogent reasons to think, that the Opponents of the Mackintoshes were the clan Cameron.' *History of the House and Clan of Mackay*, by Robert Mackay, Edinburgh, 1829, p. 52.

University), privately printed by William Rae, Wick, Scotland, in 1906. Only 500 copies were issued, all autographed by their author.

A great deal of the matter that follows will be directly quoted from this volume, and it is the present writer's hope that a foundation may thus be laid for deriving many lines of McKees. Also, he has obtained a copy of Robert Mackay's *History of the House and Clan Mackay*, frequently quoted herein.

Concerning the name *Mackay*, Angus Mackay has this comment, based apparently on a good bit more than superficial research :

I. THE NAME MACKAY

“ An examination of the public record shows that the name Mac Kay was spelt in a great variety of ways. The Strathnaver or northern MacKays appear as Makky, Macky, Maky, McKye, Mckeye, Mackie, Mckie, Mackey, but the commonest form was McKy. The Islay MacKays, whose Charter in Gaelic, of eleven and a half merk lands from Macdonald of the Isles in 1408, is well known, appear as McCe, McAy, etc. The MacKays of Garachty in Bute, one of whom, John McGe, witnessed a document, 10th Mar. 1540, as Sheriff of Bute, appear as Makkay, Makkee, and even Makcawe, but for oftenest they are represented, from 1515 downwards, as Mackaw. The MacKays of Ugadale, who were crowners of north Kintyre from time immemorial, held of the Lords of the Isles as is stated in a charter of confirmation by the king, given 11th Aug. 1542, and possessed of the four merk lands of Ugadale and Arnigill in virtue of their office, appear as McKey, MakKay, MaKKaye, but most commonly as McCay. The Galloway MacKays, of whom there were various families holding a considerable amount of land in Wigton, Kirkcudbrightshire, etc., such as Camlodane, Balgarne, Craichlo, Mertoun, Balmagee, etc., appear as Makke, Makee, Makge, Makgee, Makgie, McGie, McGhie, and Mackghie, but towards the close of the 16th century they appear generally as McKie and McGhie.

MacKay represents in English the Gaelic name Mac Aoidh, a compound of *mac* (son) and *Aoidh* the genitive of the proper name Aodh. Aodh frequently appears in the literature of the Gael as the name of Picts, Scots, and Irish ; but its present aspirated form indicates a harder formation, AED, which indeed is found in earlier Irish writings, and is supposed to mean “ the fiery or impetuous one.” Some authorities have equated Aodh with Hugh, but we do not accept that view, as Hugh, which stands for the Gaelic Huistean, is generally represented in Latin documents by Hugo, while Aodh is transformed into Odo or Odoneus. Nay more, there are various instances in which two brothers may be found, the one Aodh and the other Hugh, as, for example, the family of Donald 1st Lord Reay, whose first and third sons were so named respectively. This shows that they were considered two different names then, just as is the case today among Strathnaver people. Probably the best English equivalent of Aodh is Iye, if it can be called an equivalent ; and it is a pity that this name, as characteristic of the Mac Kays once as Rorie is of the MacLeods or Ranald of the Macdonalds, is not more commonly used nowadays. Among Strathnaver people at the present day, a person addressed as Iye, in Gaelic, signs his name and is addressed, in English, as Isaac. The surname Mac Isaac, to be found in the West Highlands, may be a corrupt form of Mackay. Like the name MacKay, Aodh also has been twisted into a great variety of forms to suit the fancy of different writers. In the ¹*Earldom of Sutherland*, written about 1630 by Sir Robert Gordon, the name is spelt Iye, and in some cases Y simply. In the 1415 charter by the Lord of the Isles to Angus Du of Strathnaver, it is spelt Eyg, and in the will of Sutherland of Dunbeath, dated 1456, it is spelt Aytho :

¹ The present writer has succeeded in obtaining a copy of this rare volume from Edinburgh.

'I geve and assigns to my douchtir Marion al the lave of my landis that I have undisponyt upone, and sa mony Ky ald and zong as I have wyth Aytho Faurcharsonne, or wyth MacKay Benauch (Bonar) and sa mony ky as scho aucht to have of William Polsony's ky.'

'Mariota filia Athyn,' the first wife of the 'Wolf of Badenoch' and the mother of his children, was a daughter of Athyn, another form of the name Aodh. In some of the Latin documents included in the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, in Fordun's *Annalia*, etc., Malcolm Mac Eth or Mac Kay, who claimed the earldom of Moray, and became first Earl of Ross about 1157, is variously denominated Mac Eth, Mac Heth, Mac Ed, Mac Head, etc. Dr. Macbain, who edits the second edition of Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, writes at page 414: 'The name Heth is the most ill-used syllable I know of. It appears as Head, Ed, Eth; the Gaelic form of all these monstrosities can easily be identified. It is the very favourite name of Aed or Aodh, later translated as Hugh. Macheth is an old form of MacKay.'

In the chapter *The O'Neills of Ulster*, mention is made of correspondence between H. Malcolm McKee of Bangor, North Ireland, and the present author, wherein the former related that many years ago his brother Dr. McKee had been assured by another Dr. McKee that *McKee* means 'Con the Kitter'. The word *kitter* is the approximate pronunciation of the Gaelic word *Keetagh* of *Kittagh*, meaning 'left-handed', and the two of us concluded that the allusion was most probably to a physical idiosyncrasy of the Con so named, rather than one of the oblique meanings that are sometimes attached to the English expression *left-handed*, as for example illegitimacy.

I have found only three instances where the agnomen 'left-handed' is integrated with the personal name of a significant historical personage in Ireland's or Scotland's history. They are as follows:

Alexander, or Allaster, MacDonnell was the son of Coll, surnamed *Kittagh*, or left-handed, who was the son of Gillaspick, who was the son of Colla surnamed *duv na-gCappul*, or "Black Colla of the Horses," who was the son of Alexander of Isla and Kintyre, who was the son of John executed on the Burrow Muir, near Edinburgh, in 1493, who was the son of John surnamed *Mor* or "large-bodied," (married to Margery Bissett of the Glynnys of Antrim), who was the son of the "good John of Isla," Lord of the Isles by his second wife, Margaret Stewart, daughter of Robert II. Coll *Kittagh*, so well known in Scotland during the civil war in the reign of Charles I, was born at Carnrig, or rather on a small island in Loughlinch. When his grandfather, Colla *duv na gCappul*, died at Kinbann Castle, in 1558, his father Gillaspick, then a mere youth, was sent to foster with O'Quinn, the chief of Carnrig, whose daughter he afterwards married. Gillaspick was heir to the Route, through his mother, who was a daughter of Macquillan, but he was killed, (it was said accidentally) at a bull fight which took place at Ballycastle, to celebrate his coming of age. His wife, with his son Coll, afterwards surnamed *Kittagh*, was compelled to take refuge in Colonsay for protection against Sorley Boy (Mac Donnell, or Macdonald. R.W.M.), who refused to acknowledge the child's claim to the inheritance of his father. The second Earl of Antrim's grandfather, Sorley Boy, and Allaster Mac Donnell's great-grandfather, Colla of Kinbann, were brothers.—*Old Manuscript of the Mac Donnell Family*. See 'The Stewarts of Ballintoy,' Rev. George Hill, p. 23, Vol. VI, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 1899.

It is an interesting commentary that it was Allaster MacDonnell's forces who assassinated Shane O'Neill, Shane *an diomais*.

Somehow, it seems a remarkable coincidence that *Coll the Keetagh* of the Macdonald clan should so closely approximate *Conn the Keetagh* which H. Malcolm McKee's brother heard, from another McKee, *was the meaning of McKee*. Possibly he meant to suggest he was the progenitor of the McKees, as the source of the name is beyond cavil MacAodh. The

Mackays and McKees have been associated with and have intermarried with the Macdonalds for centuries ; just as an isolated example, the charter from Macdonald of the Isles to Brian Vicar Mackay, dated 1408, reproduced in this chapter was witnessed by Aodh M'Ceil, and was in the 18th century found in the possession of John Magee of county Antrim, ' a descendant of a family of Macgees who were once followers of the Macdonalds of Antrim '.

The second such reference is :

" 724 A.D. After him (Fergal Fogartach, son of Niall. R.W.M.) Cinaedh was King of Erin for four years. It was to him, while he was in his mother's womb, Adamnan had promised that he would attain to the sovereignty of Erin. The reign of this Cinaedh was good."

" 727 A.D. In this year Cinaedh Caech (the blind), son of Irgalach, was slain, and none of his descendants assumed the monarchy of Erin. Flaithbheartach, son of Loingseach, was he who killed him." *Annals of Ireland, Three Fragments*. Copied by Dubhaltach Mac Fírbisigh from Ancient Sources, and edited with a translation and notes from a manuscript preserved in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, by John O'Donovan, LL.D., M.R.I.A. Printed 1860 at the University Press, Dublin, for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society.

The third adversion to 'left-handed' that I have noticed in Scot annals and which incorporated itself into a name was the Scot monarch Kenneth-Cear :

"¹Aidan (574-606 A.D.) was succeeded in the throne by his son ²Eocha-bui, or the 'yellow' (606-629 A.D.), who reigned sixteen years. He carried on war with the ³Cruithne of Ulster. After him came his brother ⁴Kenneth-Cear, or the 'left-handed,' who was followed by Ferchar, son of Eogan, of the race of Lorn." *History of the Highlands & Highland Clans*, Keltic, 1887.

Returning now to Angus Mackay's invaluable work *The Book of Mackay*, he continues :

II. ORIGIN OF THE MACKAY FAMILY

"There is a pretty general agreement that the MacKays and Forbesees sprang from the same stock, or were closely connected in the distant past. Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonston, son of Alexander, 11th Earl of Sutherland, and tutor of John, 13th Earl, during his minority, wrote a history of the earldom of Sutherland about 1630, which gives a vast amount of information, not only about the Sutherland family, but about the Mackays, Sinclairs, and many other northern clans. Sir Robert, however, is notoriously unjust to every family who did not happen to be on friendly terms with his own, and particularly so to the MacKays, whom he bastardizes with great freedom. His hostile spirit towards this family is nakedly shown in the *Farewell Letter of Advice*, of which we give extracts in our Appendix No. 36 :

No. 36. Extract from the FAREWELL LETTER OF ADVICE by Sir Robert Gordon to his nephew the Earl of Sutherland. Circa 1627 :

Sir Robert Gordon proceeds : If you shall happen to buy or purchase any lands in Strathnaver, use kindly the natives you find upon the land, that thereby you may purchase their love and alienate their minds from Mackay. And be not too hardhanded to them at first, for by a little frienes and liberality you may gain them, which is the nature of all highlanders. Yet by progress of time, I wish you to send some of your own people to dwell amongst them . . .

¹ Aodan mac Gauran, per Roderick O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, was Scotland's seventh king, great-great grandson of Fergus.

² O'Flaherty names him *Achy the Red*, and assigns him a reign of 23 years from 606 to 629 A.D.

³ Cruithne is the name by which the Picts of Antrim were sometimes called.

⁴ Kenneth-Cear is named by anglicization Connad Kerr by O'Flaherty in *Ogygia*, which completely smothers the real meaning of his name. Kenneth is an anglicization of Cian-Eth or Cian-aodh, that is descendant of Aodh, while Cear is Englished Irish for 'left-handed'. He was great-great-great-great grandson of Fergus.—R.W.M.

Have ever some trusty secret friend both in Caithness and Strathnaver whom you shall entertain as your secret pensioner, that he may still advertise you of all things either spoken or devised against you or yours

Make all diligence to settle and establish your sheriffship of Sutherland and Strathnaver, if I do it not to your hand, and cause distinguish the same from the sheriffship of Inverness, making your own accounts to the exchequer. And if at any time your prince be earnest to have your sheriffship, let him have it for payment, providing that his majesty will be pleased to settle your regality ; else not. For seeing that all Sutherland (for the most part) doth hold of you and your regality, you need not care much for the sheriffship. But dispoise not to his majesty the sheriffship of Strathnaver without Macky his consent, seeing you are bound to warrant the same unto him.

Keep a steadfast and perpetual amity with the house of McKy. Use McKy rather as your vassal than as your companion ; and because they are usually proud and arrogant, let them know that you are their superior. Let McKy his pincell (banner) never be displayed where yours is, whether you be personally present or some other having your place, let him have his pincell folded up when yours is displayed. Suffer not any clan or family in Sutherland to be so bold as to make particular conventions and meetings of their own for any cause whatsoever without your special attolerance and command.

There be two chief things that are likely to breed discord betwixt you and McKy which you shall endeavour in all haste to remedy, if it be not done before your majority. The one is your marches ; the other is warrantice of Strathnaver, whereunto your father did tie himself in the infeftment granted by him to Macky the year JMVIC six years. I doubt not but McKy by virtue of this warrantice will press to deprive you if he can of the superiority of Strathnaver, that he may hold of the king ; which to remedy you shall urge the minute of Achindore, passed betwixt your father (Earl John) and McKy in the year of God JMVIC thirteen years. It will compell Macky to renounce the warrantice if he refuse to do it willingly ; which if he do not, then do you remove him from the lands of Durness, whereof he has no right as yet, but a little ticket of your father's subscribed by him upon his death-bed, which will not avail much by law—I suspect that the Lord Forbes lost this minute. Press to keep Macky himself rather than his countrymen ; if you have Macky you shall have them ; if you want him, they can little profit you. The contrary hereof you shall observe with Caithness. If you may purchase the love of the inhabitants of that country, you shall care the less for the earl's friendship or favour . . .

There is one other matter which may breed a jar betwixt you and Macky, depending of the forenamed warrantice, which is this :—Houcheon Macky of Farr had a daughter by his first wife, the Earl of Caithness his daughter. Houcheon married also Jane Gordon, daughter of Alexander Earl of Sutherland by whom he had Sir Donald Macky. Houcheon having served himself heir to his father Iy Macky, by a precept of *clare constat* given him by Alexander Earl of Sutherland to that effect, he resigned Strathnaver unto his superior Earl Alexander his hands, for new infeftment to himself and to his son, Sir Donald. This new infeftment was given by Earl Alexander without warrantice. Your father Earl John renews this infeftment to Houcheon Macky and to his son Sir Donald, with warrantice, wherethrough proceeds all this controversy. The question is, whether Houcheon Macky was infeft in the lands of Strathnaver before he did renounce the same in his superior's hands. If he was infeft or served heir to his predecessors (as I am assured he was) you are safe enough ; and this you may know of Henry Fermer his protocol, which is among your father's writs. If Houcheon Macky was not infeft, or that his seising cannot be found, then you are in danger thus :

The lawful heirs of Iy Macky (father of Houcheon) may serve themselves heirs unto the said Iy Macky whereby they may evict the lands of Strathnaver from the heirs of Sir Donald, who may return back upon you for warrantice ; and Sir Donald and his heirs agreeing with the heirs of Iy Macky, may so cause you renounce the superiority of these lands, for

to be red of the warrandice. I can perceive no remedy to prevent this, but either to defend yourself with the minute of Achindore (if it can be found) against the heirs of Sir Donald, or else to reduce Sir Donald his last infestment granted by your father ; which may be reduced, because (as I think) his seasing and his infestment do not agree. For his seasing is united and taken in one place, which union is not in the infestment. If this cannot help you, then you must agree for some composition of money with the heirs of Iy Macky if they do appear ; which I wish you rather to do than to renounce the superiority of Strathnaver. The heir of Iy Macky is either Christian Macky, daughter to the said Houcheon by the Earl of Caithness his daughter, which Christian died without children ; or else the heirs of Angus Macky, the grandfather (or the great-grandfather) of the said Iy Macky, who can hardly be found out ; and tho' they were found, their claim is now lost by prescription I hope. Sir Donald Macky hath neither served nor doth not intend to serve himself heir to his father or grandfather.

There is one other remedy which you may use to free yourself from Macky his warrandice, and this is it. Bishop Reid of Orkney obtained a gift of Strathnaver before the Earl of Huntly by reason of Donald Macky his bastardy, which gift of Huntly is the ground of Iy Macky his claim. This former right was bought by your father from Bishop Reid's heirs, and the gift was taken in my name. Keep this right quiet until you do see yourself straited by the other, and then defend yourself thereby as you can. If there be any defect in Bishop Reid his right by law, press to amend it before you have to do therewith. But I hope (God willing) to end these controversies with Macky if I can possibly

Use your diligence to take away the reliquies of the Irish barbarity which as yet remains in your country, to wit, the Irish language, and the habit. Purge your country piece and piece from that uncivil kind of clothes, such as plaids, mantles, truses, and blew bonnets. Make severe acts against those that shall wear them, etc., etc."

"Sir Robert says that the MacKays sprang from 'one called Walter, reported by some to have been the bastard sone of the Lord Forbese his predicesour, who at that time was not yet of the surname of Forbese'."

To the present writer this statement by Sir Robert Gordon brands itself a transparent calumny by the employment of the phrase 'reported by some'. Had there been an even insubstantial foundation for Gordon's allegation, he would have *named* his authority.

In Adamnan's *Life of Saint Columba*, written in the seventh century, several mentions are made of a place denoted as *Ethica insula* or *Ethica terra*. It is described as four or five hours sailing time from Iona with a good south wind, either direct and across the open sea, or by a more or less weaving course among the smaller islands. In Vol. 2 of *The Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, published in Belfast in 1854, the Reverend William Reeves, after a conversation with the Scot historian William F. Skene of Edinburgh, who expressed his conviction that *Ethica Terra* as *Terra Ethica* was none other than the island of *Tiree*, proceeds to develop the thesis with convincing plausibility that it is also identical with the *Tir Heth* mentioned by Adamnan in his *Lives of the Irish Saints* ; thus : "Also, in the monastery which is called *Mag-lunga*, and which was founded by St. Columba in *Terra Heth*"

Ussher also notices a visit in the year 514 to the island by St. Brendan the Voyager : "Brendan son of Finnloga, in his return to Britain from Ireland, whither he had gone to salute St. Brigid, founded a church called *Bledach* in the *Region Heth*".

Then Reverend Reeves falls into a palpable error by attempting to account for the *Heth* part of *Tir Heth* by relating it to the Irish words for corn, *Ith*, *Ioth*, *Etha*, and *Eatha*. He shows honest but almost childish bewilderment by adding the following tremendously significant footnote, implying that he fails to see the connection between *Tiree* and *Tir Aodha* :

"Scotichronicon, Lib. ii., c. 10. (Vol. 1. p. 46. Ed. Goodall.) The Scotch tract in the Books of Ballymote and Mac Firis seems to derive the name of the island from *Tir-Aodha*; (pronounced *Tir-ee*), 'the Land of Aodh,' which is the origin of the baronial name Tirhugh (*Aodh* is persistently and erroneously translated *Hugh* by nearly every Irish writer, even though they have neither the same meaning nor sound. *Aodh* cannot be translated into English. R.W.M.) in the county of Donegal. Under the pedigree of the Clann-an-Mail, or Mac-an-Mail, occurs the following: 'Cormac son Airbheartach occupied twelve houses in Fionnlochlan, namely Greagraighe of the Heroes, which is named Muile (Mull) and *Tir Aodha* and Cruibh-inis or Craobh-inis,' (probably Coll)." MSS. Royal Irish Academy.

In other early writings of the sixth century the island is alluded to variously as *Land of Eth* and *Eth*. Thus we note that *Eth*, *Heth*, and *Aodh* are variants of the same name, and that they were pronounced *ee*. Further, we are led to wonder if the progenitor of the Mac Eths, or Mackays, did not in some misty century following the Incarnation bestow the island's name of *Tiree*, *Tir Aodh*, meaning *land-of-Aodh*.

To continue from the *Book of Mackay* :

" 'This Walter,' he (Sir Robert Gordon) proceeds, 'became chamberlain to the Bishop of Caithness, married his daughter, and obtained from the said bishop church lands in Strathnaver.' From the long genealogical account which follows, Walter must have lived about 1150, a period sufficiently remote to preclude any knowledge of his legitimacy or otherwise, we should say. The only fact which interests us presently in this account is the statement that the MacKays and Forbesees were supposed to have had a common origin."

"In 1652 the eccentric Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty wrote the *True Pedigree and Lineal Descent of the most Ancient and Honourable Family of Urquhart, in the House of Cromarty, from the Creation of the World until the year of God 1652*. He solemnly tells us that in the 8th century of the Christian era NOCOMPOS, head of the House of Cromarty, 'had to his second brother one named Phorbas Urquhart, and Hugh to the third; of whom, some few hundred years after that, the names of Forbes and Mackay had their beginning.' We laugh at Sir Thomas' crazy genealogies, but note the fact that he records the MacKays, Urquharts, and Forbesees were 'of the same stock.'"

One assumes Angus Mackay was affronted by Sir Thomas Urquhart's asseveration that he had traced his lineage to Adam. Actually, this is not impossible if the author is willing to accept the genealogies contained in the Old Testament, and the thesis that the human race was destroyed in the Flood, save Noah and his family. The human race must, perforce, be descended from Noah and his sons. The Milesian race has, by carefully preserved oral tradition and later by written record, maintained a running account of the genealogies of its members. The present writer, after several years of slightly sceptical investigation, is of the opinion that the ancient Irish genealogies from *circa* 1,700 B.C. were in some degree authentic, and that those which attempt to retreat to Noah have precisely the same claim to credibility as the Old Testament of that ancient and honorable race, the Hebrews.

"In 1667 William Forbes edited and drew up a preface for the *House of Forbes*, compiled by Mathew Lumsden in 1580. In this preface he says Ochonochar, an Irish lord who came over to Scotland, had a son Ochonochar, and that this second Ochonochar had three sons, who became the respective progenitors of the families of Forbes, Urquhart, and MacKay. He proceeds :

'Ochonochar's third son, called Walter Forbes, went to Kaitness, and attended the Bishope thereof, and he being familiar with the Bishope's daughter, begate her with child, with whom, fearing the Bishope's wrath, he fled to Strathnaver, and possessed himself of the twelve davoch

and land of Dromesos (Durness), then belonging to the Bishope; whereupon the Bishope, raising a number of men, went to Strathnaver, and possessed himself again of the said lands. Walter and the Bishope's daughter being fled, left behind them their little sone; and it being told the Bishope that the child was his daughter's begotten by Walter Forbes, the Bishope caused immediathe fenss the court in the name of the child, who was called John Forbes, of whom descended the House of MacKay who is now Lord Rea

This narratiome of the originall of the House of MacKay, the first Lord Reay did relate to credible gentlemen who related the same to the writer hereof, etc.'."

This qualifies as hearsay emerging from earlier hearsay, if ever I have seen a case of it.

Concerning this supposititious derivation of the Mackays, Sir Thomas Innes of Learney, Lord Lyon King of Arms, wrote to me under date of 18th May, 1957, and branded this source false. Since he is the highest living authority on the matter, I am content to accept his decision without knowing the sources of the information on which it is grounded. He said :

" Investigation does not support the alleged connection of Forbeses and Mackays, in which Lord Forbes apparently persuaded Lord Reay that his descent was from an illegitimate son of an early Forbes chief, whereas his arms and tradition were of a descent from the Pictish Royal House of Moray, in which it seems possible that, as in the Macdonald case, use of a hand was a difference indicative of proximate heirship to the holder of the plain arms, and cannot, so far as I can see, be related to Irish or O'Neill connections.

There are a considerable number of Mackies in Aberdeenshire, and it now strikes me that it is this local family in the near neighbourhood of the Forbes country which may have derived from the younger son of an early Forbes Chief, and is probably the grain of truth behind the legend which Lord Forbes built up into a claim that the Strathnaver Mackays from Morayshire were cadets of the Lord Forbes.

It now strikes me that it was this adjacent Aberdeenshire family of Mackies which were cadets of an early Forbes Chief, and who instinctively used Forbes arms, and out of which Mackie connection Lord Forbes built up the supposition that the smaller, but structurally different, name and race of Mackay were to be roped in as his cadets.

The Mackays of Strathnaver from their old arms are indeed shown to be a cadet branch of the Royal House of Moray, and their new arms are fairly distinct from those of the Forbeses, though not satisfactorily so."

Reverend Angus Mackay was strongly influenced by the unaccountable and strange act of the early Reay Mackays incorporating Forbes in their name :

" These three writers—others also might be quoted to the same effect—agree in saying that there was an original connection between the Strathnaver Mackays, who live in the extreme north of Scotland, and the Forbeses, who live in the old provinces of Moray and Buchan. Sir Robert Gordon and Forbes expressly state that they had had their information from the MacKays themselves. Sir Thomas Urquhart, no doubt, obtained his from the same source, as he was on very intimate terms with the McKays, who, like himself, were staunch supporters of the two Kings Charles. They were associated in the northern campaign of 1649 when Inverness was captured by the royalists, and again at the battle of Worcester, in 1651, Captain MacKay of Borley, at the head of some MacKays, fought alongside the Knight of Cromarty. But what these writers assert is borne out by the warm friendship existing between the two families for some centuries. As shall be afterwards shown, Donald MacKay of Strathnaver

¹ Fraser, in the *Wardlow MS*, e.g. writes, " A pretty fellow called Alexander Buys, killing a boar by singular manhood, Bruce called him Fear Buys, whence is the original of the Forbes, and his son Ihe gave origin to the McKeyes. (' Fear ' means *man* in Gaelic.—R.W.M.).

helped the Forbesees in their Aberdeenshire feuds about 1534 ; his son Iye Du (MacKay) lived in close amity with them up to his death in 1572, as various documents show, while the sons of Iye Du went even the length of calling themselves ' MacKay-Forbes.' That is to say, Huistean MacKay of Strathnaver, Donald of Scourie, and William of Bighouse, are styled in various documents ' Mackay-Forbes.' Donald, afterwards, 1st Lord Reay, sometimes put this addition to his surname, and at least two of his sons were so styled. In the days of John, 2nd Lord Reay, Forbes bishop of Caithness, a cadet of the house of Forbes, befriended the MacKays with regard to church lands which the Sutherland family managed to get a hold of ; and even in the days of Lord George, grandson of Lord John, the friendship of Mackay and Forbes was maintained. Thus from about 1500 down to the time of the Marr rebellion in 1715, there is documentary evidence of such a close friendship existing between these two families, living so far apart, as to strongly confirm the common tradition that they were of a kindred stock."

" Skene, in his *Highlanders of Scotland*, suggests that the Mackays were descended of the ancient Caithness Maormars (spelled also *mormaer*). He writes :—

' It happens unfortunately for the solution of this question that the Clan MacKay is not contained in the manuscript of 1450 (a Gaelic genealogical MS in the Advocates Library) ; and in the absence of direct testimony of any sort, the most probable supposition seems to be that they were descended from the ancient Gaelic inhabitants of the district of Caithness. If this conclusion be a just one, however, we can trace the early generations of the clan in the Sagas, for we are informed by them that towards the beginning of the twelfth century "*there lived in the Dolum Katanesi (or Strathnaver) a man named ¹Moddan, a noble and rich man,*" and that his sons were Magnus Orfi, and Ottar, the Earl in Thurso. The absence of all mention of Moddan's father, the infallible mark of a Norwegian in the Sagas, sufficiently points out that he must have been a native ; but this appears still more strongly from his son being called an earl. No Norwegian under the Earl of Orkney could have borne such a title, but they indiscriminately termed all the Scottish Maormors and great chiefs earls, and consequently Moddan and his son Ottar must have been Gaelic Maormars of Caithness, and consequently the MacKays, if a part of the ancient inhabitants of Caithness, were probably descended from them '."

" As regards Moddan and his son Earl Ottar of Thurso, we venture to suggest that they were descended of an earlier Moddan, who fell at Thurso about 1040. In the Orkneying Saga we read that King Karl Hundi (whom Dr. Skene identifies as King Duncan, son of Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, by his wife, a daughter of King Malcolm ²MacKenneth) gifted Caithness to Moddan, his sister's son, conferring upon him at the same time the dignity of an earl. As Caithness was at this time under the sway of the Norsemen, to secure the royal gift meant stern fighting. Earl Moddan is reported to have marched north with a large army, and taking up his quarters at Thurso, was there surprised and slain. We hear no more of this Earl Moddan, but it is not at all likely that his family would lightly relinquish their claims to lands which the king gifted, and consequently we think that "*Moddan the noble man of Dolum Katanesi,*" who flourished about 1100, was the son or grandson of Moddan, nephew of Duncan, King of Scots. Skene, in the extract quoted above, gives substantial reasons for believing that

¹ Page 30, *History of the House and Clan of Mackay*, Robert Mackay, Edinburgh 1829 : " While the Earls of Orkney possessed the northern parts of Scotland, they occasionally resided at the castle of Thurso, afterwards called the castle of Ormly, built on a rising ground, termed the Brown Hill, about 300 yards from the old town ; but their principal residence was at Kirkwall. *Scrabster Roads* was the only safe anchorage on the coast of Caithness, which occasioned Thurso to become a place of much resort, at a very early period. Torfocus mentions, that in the beginning of the eleventh century, Count Moddan (see elsewhere herein the derivation of the name *Moddan*.—R.W.M.) quartered his army at Thurso, "*the town of Caithness*", and that they were plentifully supplied by spoil from the neighbourhood, until subdued by Thorkel. He adds, that Moddan had his camp on the promontory of Thurso . . . where parts of a wall fortifying the camp along a hollow extending to the whole breadth of the head or promontory, are still to be seen. Barry writes, p. 154, that " Harold's mother, Helga, was a daughter of Moddan, a man of great wealth and influence in Caithness, whose son was Count Ottar of Thurso."

² An anglicization of Mac Cianaodha.

the Moddan family was Celtic and not Norse. This view is further strengthened by the fact that the name Moddan is purely Celtic. It is a compound of Mo-Aodh-an, and means "a votary of St. Aidan," while the name Aidan is a Gaelic diminutive of Aodh. This we state upon the authority of Professor Mackinnon, Celtic Chair, Edinburgh. From the account given in the Sagas this family appears to have latterly lived on more friendly terms with the Norse Earls of Orkney, who were overlords of Caithness, than with the Scottish kings. But there is nothing surprising in this. In course of time they may have found it better policy to court the favour of the Norsemen, rather than maintain a struggling allegiance to the distant and unstable Scottish throne."

"Moddan, who lived in the Dales of Caithness, had two sons, Earl Ottar of Thurso and Magnus *the generous*; he had also two daughters, Helga and Frakork. Helga married Earl Hakon¹, Paul's son, and bore to him Ingibiorg, who married Olave the Red, King of Man and the Isles, whose daughter Ragnhild became the wife of Somerled regulus of Argyle. Frakork, the other daughter of Moddan, married Liot, 'a great man and chieftain in Sutherland,' says Torfoeus. The two sons of Moddan may be the *da mac Matni* (the two sons of Matan), who are said, in the *Book of Deer*, to have witnessed at Ellon, along with the nobles of Buchan and others, the solemn mortmaining of offerings by Colban Mormaer of Buchan to the monastery of Deer, shortly after 1132. Distant though Caithness be from Buchan, there is nothing unreasonable in this surmise, for there was in ancient times a close ecclesiastical connection between the province of Caithness and the territories of Moray, Buchan, and Aberdeen, as Dr. Stuart, editor of the *Book of Deer*, observes. And if the Moddan family came originally from the north-east shoulder of Scotland, as we suspect, the surmise is all the more reasonable."

"The *Highlanders of Scotland*, in which it is suggested that the MacKays are descended from the Moddan family, was written by Skene when a young man, in 1836; but before the conclusion of his great work, *Celtic Scotland*, in 1880, some of his earlier and immature views underwent considerable change. Dr. Aeneas Mackay, lately lecturer on Constitutional Law and History in the University of Edinburgh, afterwards Sheriff of Fife, and the author of various learned historical works, informs us that Dr. Skene, in his later years, was inclined to believe that the MacKays, formerly called Clan Morgan, passed over from Moray and Buchan to Strathnaver when King Malcolm cleared that part of Scotland of its rebellious inhabitants, about 1160. This also seems to have been the view of the well known Gaelic scholar, the late Rev. Dr. Maclauchlan, Edinburgh, who, when discussing the Mac-Heth claimants to the earldom of Moray, writes: 'The race of Mac-Heth may appear among the MacHeths or Mac-Aoidhs, the Mackays of Sutherland, nor is this rendered less probable by the Morganich or sons of Morgan, the ancient name of the Mac Kays, appearing in the *Book of Deer* as owning possessions and power in Buchan.' Curiously enough, this is exactly the position taken by the Blackcastle manuscript (compiled by Alexander Mackay, F.S.A., of Blackcastle, near Edinburgh, and finished in 1832; it consists of 574 foolscap pages), which claims that the MacKays of Strathnaver are descended from Malcolm Mac Eth, first Earl of Ross."

MALCOLM MAC ETH

In the year 1130, the forces of King David, under the command of the King's cousin Edward, himself a son of Siward who was earl of Mercia, defeated Angus Mac Eth, or Mac Heth, earl of Moray, who had invaded Scotia from Moray with some 5,000 men. Angus Mac Eth was slain in this battle, which was fought at Stracathro in Forfarshire. Aengus Mac Eth was a son of Lulach's daughter, and since Lulach was a Scot king for seven months in A.D. 1057, it is interesting to discover that Lulach's father was Gilcomgan, Mormaer

¹ On an island in Loch Hakon, a considerable sheet of water about three miles south of Tongue House, may be seen the ruins of a house called Grianan (sunny), which is traditionally reported to have been the summer resort of a Hakon and his lady. Was this Earl Hakon and his wife, Helga, the daughter of Moddan?

of Moray, while his mother was a granddaughter of Boete, the latter a brother of King Malcolm II.

In the preceding century, King Malcolm invaded Moray in 1078 A.D. The hereditary ruler of Moray at this time was Maelsnectan, the son of Lulach, and it appears from the *Saxon Chronicle* that :

“ in this year King Malcolm won the mother of Maelslaecht . . . and all his best men, and all his treasure and his cattle, and he himself escaped with difficulty.

It is believed that Maelsnectan may have taken refuge in the remote stronghold of Loch Deabhra in Lochaber, which according to St. Berchan had been the abode of his father Lulach. He is said to have died there in A.D. 1085, as *The Annals of Ulster* relate that in that year ‘ *Maelsnectai mac Lulaigh Ri Muireb, suam vitam feliciter finivit* ’.

From the record available to us it seems fairly evident that the earls of Moray suffered great provocation from various Scot kings. *The Annals of Ulster* comment on King David's slaughter of Angus Mac Eth in 1130 :

“ Battle between the men of Alban and the men of Moray, in which fell four thousand of the men of Moray, with their King Oengus, son of the daughter of Lulag, a thousand also of the men of Alban in the heat of battle.”

Concerning ¹Malcolm Mac Eth, an historian who was alive and personally knew and had conversed with him was one William of Newburgh. He relates what the Historiographer-Royal for Scotland, William F. Skene, characterizes as ‘ one of the strangest incidents which occur in the history of Scotland at that period ’. A monk named Brother Wymundus first appears on the stage in the Cistercian monastery of Furness, this monastery having only been founded in 1124 A.D., a few years before the slaughter of Aengus Mac Eth. William of Newburgh described him by saying, ‘ he possessed an ardent temper, a retentive memory, and competent eloquence, and advanced so rapidly that the highest expectations were formed of him ’. In 1134 A.D., Olave, the Norwegian king of the Isle of Man, granted lands in that island to Yvo, abbot of the monastery at Furness, to found another Cistercian monastery at Russin, and Brother Wymundus was sent with some monks to fill it. Says William of Newburgh of him, ‘ he so pleased the barbarous natives with the sweetness of his address and openness of his countenance, being also of a tall and athletic make, that they requested him to become their bishop and obtained their desire ’.

The king of the Isle of Man, Olave, complied with their wishes by applying to Thurston, archbishop of York, to consecrate Wymundus their bishop. A short time later this mysterious person announced that he was the son and rightful heir of Angus Mac Eth, earl of Moray, who was wrongfully murdered in 1130 by King David, and that the king had deprived him of his inheritance. He soon collected a following of supporters who took an oath of allegiance to him, and abandoning the name Wymundus he took his true name of Malcolm Mac Eth. It is an important buttress to the probity of his claim that the Norwegian king of the Western

¹ Skene observes that William of Newburgh, who was a contemporary of Malcolm Mac Eth, and who as mentioned had an opportunity not only to see him but also to talk with him, was uncertain as to his earlier history. He said that Malcolm Mac Eth was born ‘ *in obscurissimo Angliae loco,* ’ that he acted as a scribe to certain monks, connoting above-average education, but did not indicate the localities. He further stated concerning him, ‘ *Ego Wymundus sanctae ecclesiae de Schid,* ’ or Skye, which means he came from the Isles. This leads us to wonder if his father Angus Mac Eth did not spirit him away as a tender youth to relatives in Skye before undertaking his fatal expedition against the Scot king David sometime prior to 1130 A.D.

Isles recognized it, as did the Celtic regulus of Argyll, the mighty Somerled. The latter gave Malcolm Mac Eth his own sister in marriage, an alliance scarcely thinkable if the man's claim were suspected of being even slightly tinctured as an imposture. It should be remembered that in those early centuries the population was thin, the members of the royal families and nobility numbered, and the chances of an impostor gaining recognition practically non-existent.

'Every day', continues William of Newburgh, 'he was joined by troops of adherents, among whom he was conspicuous above all by the head and shoulders : and like some mighty commander, he inflamed their desires. He then made a descent on the provinces of Scotland, wasting all before him with rapine and slaughter ; but whenever the royal army was despatched against him, he eluded the whole warlike preparation, either by retreating to distant forests, or taking to the sea ; and when the troops had retired, he again issued from his hiding-places to ravage the provinces'. Finally, the king obtained the assistance of a Norman army and took Malcolm Mac Eth prisoner in 1137 A.D. He was confined in the castle of Marchmont, according to Fordun's *Annalia*, but at Roxburgh according to the *Chronicle of Melrose*.

Robert de Brus in 1138 renounced his fealty to King David, and in the course of his eloquent remonstrance with his sovereign significantly asked :

"Recollect last year when thou didst entreat the aid of the English in opposing Malcolm, the heir of a father's hate and persecution, how keenly—how promptly—with what alacrity, Walter Espec and many other English nobles met thee at Carlisle ; how many ships they prepared,—the armaments they equipped them with,—the youths they manned them with ; how they struck terror into thy foes until they took the traitor Malcolm himself prisoner, and delivered him bound to thee."

From this future famous king's expostulatory remarks we learn that Malcolm Mac Eth was no mean adversary in the field ; that the great Robert Bruce entertained no doubt as to his real identity as the rightful earl of Moray 'heir to a father's hate and persecution' ; and that Norman Knights and their archers overcame him and delivered him bound to David.

It is fascinating to follow Roderic O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, written circa 1684, published by W. M'Kenzie in Dublin, 1793, where commencing in Volume I, page 251, he says :

"Aodh Finn, the son of Achy the second (Ecoid Rinemail. R.W.M.) the twenty-fourth king, succeeds Achy the fourth in the year 748.

Kineth the first, the thirty-fourth king, correctly known as Cionaodh mac Ailpin, succeeded his father in the year 838 as king of Albany (he had earlier conquered the Picts, and from here early authors including Giraldus Cambrensis date the foundation of the Albanian monarchy, including Pictavia. R.W.M.).

Constantin mac Cionaodha, the thirty-sixth king, (became king) in the year 862.

In the year 876, Constantin Mac Kinaodha died. (This is the same as Constantin mac Cionaodha. R.W.M.).

Aodh mac Cionaodha, in the year 876. Aid, (by others called Eth), the son of Kineth the first Constantin mac Aodha, in the year 900. Constantin, the son of Aid

Macduibh, in the year 997. Macduibh, that is the son of Dubhodo ('Dubhodo' means 'black aodh,' the Gaelic word 'dubh' meaning black, and 'odo' being a latinization of 'aodh.' R.W.M.), whom I find to be properly called Kineth, reigned king of the Picts eight years.

Malcolm mac Cionaodha, in the year 1004. Malcolm (the second) the son of Kineth the second

Macbeth, the fiftieth king. Macbeatha mac Fionnlaich, in the year 1040. Macbeth, the son of Finnlaich, and grandson to Malcolm the second by his daughter Donada, succeeded Donnchad the first, and king of Scotland, and reigned seventeen years.

Lulach, the fifty-first king. Lulach, in the year 1057. Lulach, the son of ¹Macbeth, succeeded his father in the year 1057, and reigned six months. In the year 1058 Lulach, king of Albany, was killed by Malcolm, the son of Donnchad.

Malcolm the third, surnamed Kennmor was king of Scotland thirty-five years. (1058-1093)."

The reader cannot help noting the repetition of *aodh*, *eth*, and such derivations as *cionaodh* and *kineth*. The proud, conscious, deliberate, preservation down through centuries of 'aodh', in that form or as *eth* and *heth*, in Scot monarchs' names, and the same practice among the Mackays, Mac Eths, Mac Heths, even if the circumstance stood naked and alone, would suggest that the two lines may have had a common ancestor. Of course, we must never lose sight of the fact that two different Aodhs may have thus been venerated, by being chosen the tribal *eponymus*, by two distinct early lines.

Reverend Angus Mackay further says in *The Book of Mackay* :

"The Strathnaver Mackays were known in ancient times as the Clan Morgan ; in the *Earldom of Sutherland*, Sir Robert Gordon repeatedly applies this epithet to them. In one of the Clan Ranald Mss., commonly called *Little Book*, the writer gives the names of various Highland chiefs who flourished during his youth, when Charles, son of James sixth, was king ; and among them mentions *Donald Duabhail MacKay, chief of the Clan Morgan*. This was Donald, afterwards 1st Lord Reay, chief of the Strathnaver MacKays. He was and is still known to the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders of Strathnaver as Donald Dughall. To the old Highlanders the Danes were Du-Ghalls, 'black strangers,' and the Norwegians were Fion-Ghalls (white strangers), for what reason we cannot say. It was because the first Lord Reay served for some time under the King of Denmark that he came to be nicknamed Dughall. That the Clan MacKay was once called Clan Morgan has never been disputed by competent authorities. The earliest reference to the Clan Morgan, of which we have any knowledge, is to be found in a Gaelic entry in the *Book of Deer*, dated a few years later than 1132 ; and in this entry we find the toisheach of the clan, his two sons, and the two sons of Matan, witnessing a legal transaction at Ellon, the old capital of Buchan. We proceed to give a literal translation of the entry, and the entry itself we give in a footnote (omitted here, as it is in an early Gaelic) :

'Colbain, mormaer of Buchan, and Eva, daughter of Gartnait, his married wife, and Donnachadh son of Sithig, toisheach of Clan Morgan, immolated all the offerings given to God and to Droston and to Columkill and to Peter the Apostle, free from all the burdens for a share of four davachs of what would come on the chief monasteries of Scotland generally and on the chief churches. Before these witnesses : Broecin, and Cormac abbot of Turbruid, and Morgan son of Donnachadh, and Gilli-Petair son of Donnachadh, and Malaechin, and the two sons of Matan, and all good ones of Buchan in witness hereof in Elon'."

"The name Morgan or Morcunn comes from the Gaelic word Mor, 'the sea,' and is said by the author of the Gaelic Etymological Dictionary to mean 'sea bright.' The place-name Moray, which appears in the older forms Murev, Murav, etc., comes also from the root

¹ While Roderic O'Flaherty states positively that Lulach was the son of Macbeth, the historiographer-royal of Scotland said, "Lulach, who was the son of Gilcomgan, Mormaer of Moray, and the heir to whom the hereditary rule over that province fell on the death of Macbeth, while his mother was a granddaughter of Boete or Bodhe, and through her he inherited whatever rights to the Scottish throne that family possessed . . ." *Celtic Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1886, p. 411.

Mor, and means 'the sea-side.' As *Catuv*, the locative case of *Cat*, denotes *Catland* or *Sutherland*, and *Galluv*, the locative case of *Gall*, denotes the Norseman's land or *Caithness*, so *Moruv*, the locative case of *Mor*, denotes the sea-side land of *Moray*. And just as the inhabitants of *Sutherland* are called in Gaelic to this day *Cattich*, and those of *Caithness* *Gallich*, so probably did the name *Morgan* arise to denote *Moraymen* in general, or a certain section of that people. We are justified in concluding that there was some connection between the names *Morgan* and *Murray*, as both sprang from the same old Gaelic root *Mor*, the sea."

"The editor of the *Book of Deer* is perplexed over grants of land by *Moraymen*, such as *Malcolm* the son of *Maclbrigte* and *Maelsnechte* the son of *Lulach*, to a monastery in the rival province of *Buchan*. We fail to appreciate his difficulty, for the church was not a provincial institution. To us it seems most natural that officials in *Moray* should help a neighbouring monastery of such standing as that of *Deer*. As *Toisheach*, first or leader, is supposed to have been the official next in order after the *Ri*, petty king, or the *Mormaer*, overlord, it may be that *Duncan* of *Clan Morgan* appeared at *Ellon* on this occasion to represent the *Moraymen*, seeing that they were without a *Mormaer* since *Angus* fell at *Strathcathro* in 1130. Indeed, this solemn assembly on the moot-hill of *Ellon*, where representatives from *Caithness* and *Moray*, as we believe, were present with the nobles of *Buchan*, may have been due to the anxiety of the *Deer* officials to secure their church lands by as legal and binding a title as possible, in view of the then distracted state of the country, owing, among other factors, to the growing feudalism of the Scots kings."

"Dr. *Macbain*, in a note to his edition of *Skene's Highlanders of Scotland*, says: 'It is remarkable that the *Sutherland Mackays* claim kinship with the *Forbeses* of *Aberdeenshire*, and about 1608 actually adopted *Lord Forbes'* arms, with cadet differences . . . but it is also remarkable that the name *Morgan* exists, or in historic times existed, nowhere else than in *Aberdeenshire* and among the *Sutherland Mackays*.' Of course, he is speaking of *Scotland*; but he is not justified in strictly limiting the south *Morgans* to *Aberdeenshire* alone—a portion of the province of *Buchan* in olden times. They also meet us in *Moray*. About 1226 *King Alexander* gave in excambion to *Andrew*, bishop of *Moray*, some forest-lands, a part of which was 'dimidiam daucham in landa Morgund' (half a *davach* in the *Morgan-lands*). These lands were in the neighbourhood of *Pluscardine*, between *Forres* and *Elgin*, and probably became the *Crown's* property through *escheat* from the former owners. Not less remarkable than those which *Dr. Macbain* points out is the fact that, in the early genealogies of the *Highland Clans* given in the *Advocate's Library Ms.* of 1450, and in the still earlier *Irish manuscripts*, the name *Morgan* is never found in a *Highland family* except that of *Moray*."

"Let us now see where we stand. We found that, about 1039, *King Duncan* gave *Caithness* to his nephew *Moddan*, who lost his life at *Thurso* soon thereafter endeavouring to wrest the *King's* gift from the *Norsemen*. About 1100 we saw that *Moddan*, a noble and rich man, occupied the *Dales of Caithness* (or *Strathnaver*), on friendly terms with the *Norsemen*, and concluded that he was a son or representative of the earlier *Moddan* thus endeavouring to secure the *King's* gift. As the province of *Caithness* had been then for about two centuries in the possession of the *Norsemen*, we presumed that the earlier *Moddan* was not a native of that part of the country, but a *Celt* of *Moray* or *Buchan*, and for that presumption we got some support from the fact that two sons of a *Moddan* witnessed a very solemn legal transaction in *Buchan* about 1133. We also found that the *Clan Morgan* was located in these north-eastern parts about this time, that its *toisheach* acted in his official capacity along with the *mormaer* of *Buchan*, and that the name *Morgan* in *Scotland* was peculiar to *Moray* and *Buchan*, but reappeared in *Sutherland* at a later period. The question we now have to face is, how did the *Clan Morgan*, of whom we got a glimpse in the northeast of *Scotland*, about 1133, reappear afterwards in distant *Strathnaver*, and there continue to be known by exactly the same title? We believe the solution of the problem is to be found in the transportation of the *Morayman* about 1160, in consequence of their continued rebellion culminating in that of *Malcolm*

the elder son and his heirs. He concluded, through lack of an adequate knowledge of Gaelic, that Ymar was a mode of spelling Iye Mor, and that Ymar, the father of Gilchrist, was none other than Iye Mor II. He also concluded that as Gilchrist the younger was designated his father's heir in Kintyre, the elder Ymar must have been passed over because he succeeded his supposed uncle, Donald III ; and that in Ymar, the son of Gilchrist, we have none other than Iye IV., who was killed at Dingwall in 1370. This acknowledged theory is utterly wrong. Ymar is a mode of spelling Ivor, without a doubt. It is possible that the said Ivor was a son of Iye I, but we have no means of connecting them. If we blot out this interpolated and acknowledged theory, Donald III is succeeded by his son Iye IV, and the two tables in direct descent practically agree thenceforward. Let us now compare the two tables a little more closely :

STRATHNAVER MACKAYS

COMPARATIVE GENEALOGIES

TABLE I (per Sir Robert Gordon)

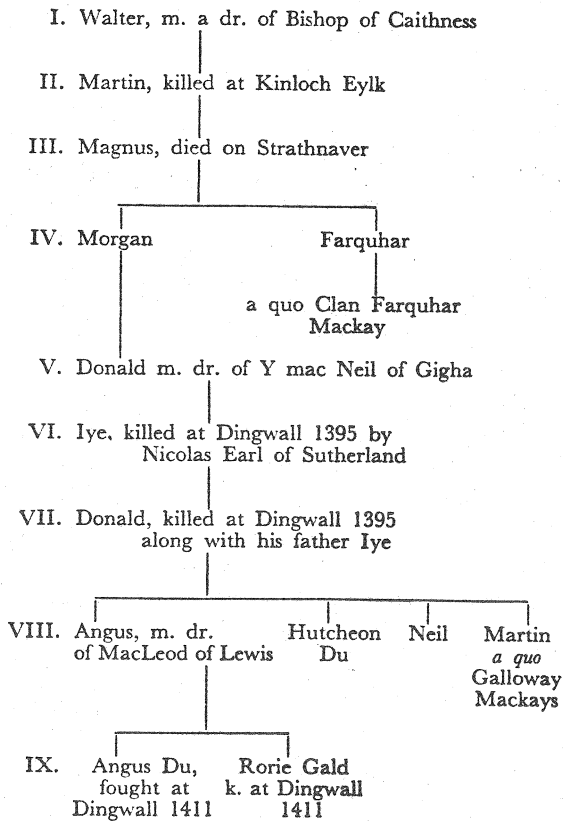
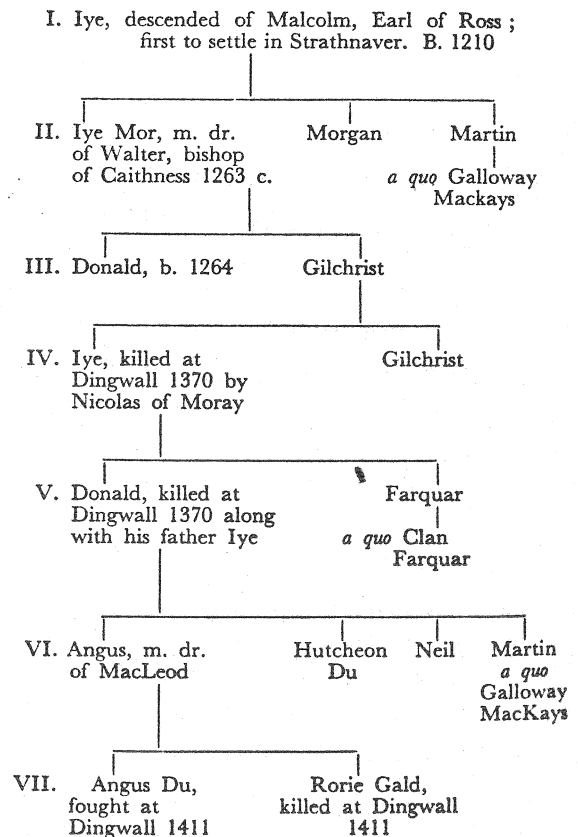


TABLE II (per Blackcastle Manuscript)



Upon reading the manuscript of this chapter, Captain H. Malcolm McKee of Bangor, North Ireland, took issue with the starting point of both Sir Robert Gordon's table and the one supplied by the Blackcastle Manuscript. The descent traced by Skene (William F. Skene, D.C.L., LL.D., Historiographer-Royal of Scotland, in his *Celtic Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1890) is as follows :

Ethach munreamhar

Erc

Loarn mor

Muredaig

Ethach

Buadan

Colman

Sneachtain

Fergus

Feradach (King of Dalriada. d. 697)

Ferchar fada (Chief of principal branch of the Cinel Loarn)

Aircellach

Ruadri

Cathmail

Donald

Morgan

Donald

Ruadri

Maelbrigda

Malcolm d. 1029
(King of Moray)

Gillacomgan (Mormaer of Moray) d. 1032
(burnt with 50 of his men) married to
granddaughter of Boete who was a brother
of King Malcolm II (MacCianaodha)
reigned 1004-1034 A.D.

Findlaech (Mormaer of Moray)
slain A.D. 1020 by nephews.

Macbeth (King of Scotland)
d.1057 (slain 8.15.1057)

Lulach (King of Scotland 7 months)
d. 1058 (slain 3.17.1058)

Maelsnectai (King of Moray)
d. 1085. Defeated by King of Scotland,
Malcolm, in 1078.

daughter, married
Heth, i.e. Aoidh

Aengus (King of Moray)
slain in 1130

Malcolm Mac Eth (Mac Heth)
created Earl of Ross in 1157 by King
Malcolm ; deposed by inhabitants.

“ Sir Robert Gordon, as Table I shows, says that a certain Walter married the daughter of a nameless bishop of Caithness, and that from this union the Strathnaver MacKays trace their descent ; whereas Table II says that Iye Mor married the daughter of a Walter, Bishop of Caithness. Now, *it so happens that a Walter de Baltrodi became 6th bishop of the see of Caithness in 1263.* (Emphasis supplied. R.W.M.). Here we have something definite to go upon. Table I leaves us in the clouds, but Table II gives us some foothold on facts. That the compiler of the earlier family account knew nothing of de Baltrodi is some confirmation of the accuracy of his genealogy.”

“ There is a striking discrepancy between Tables I and II in the position which they respectively assign to Farquhar, the progenitor of the Clan vic Farquhar. In Table I (Sir Robert Gordon's) Farquhar is represented as being the great-great-great granduncle of Angus Du (MacKay) ; in Table II he is made to appear as the granduncle of the said Angus Farquhar, as placed in Table I, was too far removed for Sir Robert to know much about him, but as placed in Table II lingering traditions of him might survive. Nay more, the *Reay Papers* show that Farquhar of Table II is correctly placed. Among these papers there is a Charter of Confirmation by King Robert II (4th September 1379) of a gift by his son Alexander, lord of Badenoch, of the lands of Hope and Melness, in the parish of Durness, to Farquhar, a physician, and another charter by the same king, (31st December 1386) bestowing on the said Farquhar all the islands lying between the Stoirhead of Assint and the Aird of Farr. The dates of these charters correspond with the position assigned to Farquhar in Table II, and prove that Table I is far astray on this particular point.”

“ Donald Mac Corrichie, ‘ a descendant of Farquhar,’ sold these lands of Hope and Melness to Iye Roy and his son John (30th September 1511) but retained the islands. William McCallan, a descendant of McCorrichie, sold these islands to Sir Donald MacKay, afterwards 1st Lord Reay, on the 6th October 1624. The said William McCallan had a brother Angus, whose son William mac Angus McCallan had some rights over Strathan-Melness, as appears from a sasine of these lands dated 11th April 1670. The son and heir of the latter William had a precept of clare constat, on the 23rd April 1686, as ‘ William mac William mac Angus alias McKy,’ in order to secure a legal title to the lands of Strathan-Melness. Thus we see that what appeared as simply Farquhar in 1379 blossoms, in his descendant of 1686, into the full-blown ‘ alias McKay (McKy),’ proving amply that *Farquhar was a MacKay,* and that Table II is correct.” (Emphasis supplied. R.W.M.).

“ The descent from the Earl of Ross claimed in Table II is further corroborated by the fact that the MacKays had interests in Ross from a very early date. In 1430 King James I gave to Neil Neilson (Mackay) the lands of Creich in Sutherland, and those of Gairloch and others in Ross, as formerly possessed by his brother Thomas MacKay, a cousin of Angus Du (MacKay). Sir Robert informs us that Angus Du opposed the Lord of the Isles (this would be the MacDonald. R.W.M.) at Dingall in 1411, because the said lord had molested some of Angus' people in Ross.”

At this particular point it is high time we make a quick, commonsense appraisal of what Angus MacKay is telling us about the antecedents of the MacKays. First, is he sufficiently qualified as a critical scholar to evaluate the treasures of ancient documents that have come into his hands, and to measure their actual import for our single purpose ? In the present author's opinion, he is a man of sufficient intellectual and educational attainments to qualify him for the task. Moreover, the simple fact that he did *choose* the task further qualifies him. He did not bother to copyright his work, from which the McKays, Mackays, McKies, and McKees who read this may safely conclude it was a labor of love. It is fairly obvious that Angus Mackay was something of a Gaelic scholar, else he had constant access to such a person.

Gaelic is possibly the most ancient language on our planet, antedating Hebrew by many centuries ; and in a few fundamental respects it is said to be identical with the Phoenician

language in phrases, verbs, nouns, and idiomatic expressions. If we McKees are Milesians, and I believe we probably are, we stem from a race that wrought its trunk on the banks of the Euxine Sea when David was preparing to father another significant segment of *homo sapiens*. The history of the Mac Eth, MacAodh, MacKee, McKee, Mackay, antecedents would have had to be recorded in Gaelic, and it therefore seems a most fortunate circumstance that a man of the intellectual stature of Angus Mackay undertook the assignment of exploring the Mackay line. I believe his solution of a descent from Malcolm, Earl of Ross, is reasonable, while the prejudiced account by Sir Robert Gordon may be intentionally spurious. If a McKee is convinced he is a member of the branch that descended from or was a sept of the Mackay Clan, then the present chapter will very likely supply him with sufficient background material to enable him to connect his known ancestors back to one or another of its branches. Returning now to Angus Mackay's work :

"Both these facts clearly show that the Mackays of that period had some hold upon the lands in Ross. And Hector Boece records that Angus Duff 'tuk an gret prey of gudis out of Murray,' which shows the length of his arm and his connection with that quarter. For the cumulative reasons given above, we consider the genealogy of Table II by far the more accurate of the two on the points in dispute between them, with the exception of the descent through Gilchrist as already explained, and consequently accept the *Blackcastle Manuscript* account of the early descent in preference to that of Sir Robert Gordon."

IV. THE MACETHS OF MORAY

"Between the rulers of Moray and the kings of Scotland there was a long and bitter conflict, which arose apparently out of a claim by the former to the Crown. On the death of Malcolm II about 1034, the descendants of Kenneth MacAlpin, the founder of the Scottish dynasty, became extinct in the *male line*. The next king was Duncan, son of Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, by his wife a daughter of Malcolm II. To secure Duncan's succession, Malcolm before his death passed a special ordinance making heirs in the female line eligible, and at the same time took the precaution of slaying the rightful male heir, a son of his brother Boete. Gruoch, however, a daughter of Boete was married to Macbeth, the powerful mormaer of Moray ; and King Duncan, Malcolm's grandson, found it necessary or wise to endow Macbeth with a considerable amount of power. When the arms of Duncan suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Thorfin the Norseman, Macbeth not only deserted his cause, but turned upon him and slew him. The children of King Duncan fled into England, and Macbeth became king of Scots, a position which he occupied for no less than seventeen years. That he reigned so long implies that his right to the throne, through his wife Gruoch, was acknowledged by a considerable body of the people. It is now universally acknowledged by modern historians that Shakespeare, the dramatist, did not do justice to Macbeth and his lady. They were not the cruel, ambitious couple he represents them ; and if they slew King Duncan, the grandson of Malcolm II, they were avenging Malcolm's cold-blooded murder of Lady Macbeth's brother, the rightful heir."

"In the meantime Lulach¹, a second cousin of Macbeth, and, as some hold, the son of Gruoch by a former husband, became Mormaer of Moray. Eventually Malcolm (afterwards known as Malcolm III or Canmore) the son of the slain Duncan, returned from England and with English help overthrew and slew Macbeth at Lumphanan in 1057, after three years' fighting. But the supporters of Macbeth were not utterly crushed. They now set up as king of Scots, Lulach, Mormaer of Moray, who had a claim to the throne through his mother, a

¹ Lulach was the son of Gillicomgan, the son of Maelbridge, the son of Ruadri, the son of Donald, the son of Morgan ; and Macbeth was the son of Finlæic, the son of Ruadri, the son of Donald, the son of Morgan. Macbeth and Lulach were thus first and second cousins. See genealogies of the Highland Clans in *Col. de rebus Alb.*

daughter or granddaughter of Boete. Lulach, however, was not able to withstand the victorious Canmore for more than seven months, and fell in battle 17th March 1058, leaving a son Maelsnectan who became Mormaer of Moray, and a daughter who married Aed, afterwards mormaer of the same province. In 1078 Malcolm Canmore again turned his attention to the Moraymen, administered some punishment and secured some spoil, but Maelsnectan managed to keep up the fight till he died in 1085."

"The next ¹Earl of Moray was Aed, who married the daughter of Lulach. Little is known of Aed. He is identified as the Earl Aed who witnessed charters by King David I, son of Malcolm III. Whatever he may have been during the chequered years which immediately followed the death of Canmore, the fact that he witnessed royal charters later on may indicate that he lived at peace with King David. He also appears to have become Earl of Moray in virtue of his marriage with Lulach's daughter, and may have sprung from a collateral noble family of Moray. He was succeeded by his son Angus, who again raised the standard of revolt and renewed the old conflict. The occasion of it was as follows: David I became unpopular among his Celtic subjects owing to his introduction of feudalism from England. A nephew of his, Malcolm, counting on the support of the disaffected, endeavoured to wrest the sceptre from his uncle the king, and found Angus, Earl of Moray, only too ready to join. But with English aid David was enabled to overcome this formidable combination at Strachathro, Forfar, in 1130, where there "fell (*Annals of Ulster*) 4,000 of the men of Moray with their king Oengus, son of the daughter of Lulach." ²The title Earl of Moray was suppressed on the death of Angus, and was not again revived until King Robert the Bruce bestowed it upon his nephew Randolph."

"After the fall of Angus, his son Malcolm Mac Eth fled to the western isles, where he was beyond the power of the Scots king among a people who owned allegiance to the Norse crown, and gathered strength to recover his lost province. It is impossible to give a correct account of his doings, as they are inextricably mixed up with those of a cleric of the name of Wymund, Bishop of Man, who about the same time made insurrection and claimed to be a descendant of the House of Moray. Somerled, regulus of Argyle, espoused the cause of Mac Eth and gave him his sister in marriage. About 1134 he took the field, and seems to have carried on a system of guerilla warfare for a considerable time, retiring to the mountains when hard pressed, but returning again and again to the conflict and appearing in most unexpected places. After giving an immense amount of trouble, he was captured in Galloway with English assistance, and imprisoned in Roxburgh tower about 1137. Robert de Brus, in his reported speech before the battle of the Standard in 1138, reminds King David how he was supported by the English the previous year, against 'Malcolm, heir of his father's hate and persecution.' But this did not end the struggle, nor was it the end of Mac Eth."

"On the death of David I, his grandson Malcolm IV succeeded in 1153; and again we hear that the sons of Malcolm Mac Eth, supported by their uncle, Somerled, took up arms and 'caused disturbance throughout a great part of Scotland.' Donald, son of Malcolm Mac Eth, was captured at Witherne in Galloway (1156), and imprisoned along with his father in Roxburgh tower. The warfare, however, was continued by the Mac Eths and Somerled until the following year, when the king found it good policy to set Malcolm Mac Eth at liberty and 'gave him a certain province, which suspended the incursion he had instigated,' as William of Newburgh informs us. The province bestowed upon Malcolm Mac Eth was Ross. About this time we find him witnessing a charter by Malcolm IV to the monastery of Dunfermline, as 'Malcolm Mac Eth.' The earldom of Ross, however, was but the north-eastern portion of the province of Moray, and as Mac Eth considered himself entitled to the

¹ About this time the old Gaelic title Mormaer was replaced by the Saxon title Earl.

² *Annals of Ulster*, translation of B. MacCarthy, D.D., M.R.I.A., Dublin, 1893, Vol. II, p. 125: "Kalends of Jan. on 4th feria, 18.h of the moon, A.D. 1130—War between the Men of Scotland and the Men of Moray, around their king, namely Oengus, son of the daughter of Lulach, one thousand also of the Men of Scotland (fell) in the contest." This is exactly transcribed from *Annals of Ulster*.—R.W.M.

patrimony of his ancestors, he naturally felt discontented, and renewed the struggle to his own undoing. In the ensuing tumult Mac Eth was at last overcome, captured, and blinded, about the year 1160. Then King Malcolm IV in sheer desperation determined to remove the Moray supporters of MacEth, and to plant the province with a people loyal to his throne. Fordun thus describes the event in his *Annalia*, of which we give the English Translation :

'At this time the rebel nation of the Moraymen, whose former lord, the Earl Angus, had been killed by the Scots, would, for neither prayers nor bribes, neither Treaties nor oaths, leave off their disloyal ways, or their ravages among their fellow countrymen. So having gathered a large army, the king removed them all from the land of their birth, as of old Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, had dealt with the Jews, and scattered them throughout the other districts of Scotland, both beyond the hills and this side thereof, so that even not one native of that land abode there, and he installed therein his own peaceful people.'

"As is customary with early ecclesiastical writers, Fordun does not do justice to the claims, rights, and virtues of the Moraymen in his zeal for the Crown. We must not conclude that they were by any means less virtuous than their contemporaries although they were unfortunately in conflict with the Crown."

"In consequence of this treatment many of the Moraymen, and among them the Clan Morgan, fled northward over the hills of Ross into Strathnaver, where the Norsemen gave them shelter ; others found a refuge in Argyle and the Isles, beyond the King's power, whence came the Bute, Kintyre, and Islay MacKays ; while some fled to the wilds of Galloway, then also under the Norse sway, and founded there a branch of the family. Those who settled in the Strathnaver valleys would receive a kindly welcome from Harold, the Norse earl of Caithness, whose interest it was to befriend the enemies of the Scots king. And they certainly had a good friend in Harold's wife, Gormlath, blue eyes, the daughter of Malcolm Mac Eth, who as might be expected hated the Crown so cordially that King William, when making terms with Harold in 1196, endeavoured to stipulate, but in vain, that the earl should put her away. If our theory as to the Moddan family be correct, that they were a people of Moray extraction who found it to their interest to ally themselves with the Norsemen, it is natural to conclude that the Moddans also assisted the Mac Eths under the influence of Harold, who was himself a great-grandson of Moddan through his daughter Helga. It is even possible that the Moddan and Mac Eth families eventually merged into one people through marriage."

"Fordun's statement, that the royal policy was to plant strangers in Moray, is supported from other sources of information. About this time Berowaldus, a native of Freisland, appears in the *Cartulary of Moray* as a holder of land in that province, and so does Freskin the progenitor of the house of Moray. Chalmers derives Freskin also from Fresia, and Cosmo Innes in the introduction to the *Cartulary of Moray* approves of that view. Be that as it may, the application of this policy extended northwards as the king's enemies fell back, and Freskin's son Hugo, thus came to have landed rights in south Sutherland. For two generations thereafter, and possibly for three, the descendants of Hugo continued to reside in Moray ; their hold on Suderland was anything but secure until Earl William married the daughter of King Robert the Bruce. It is very evident that the Freskin family obtained its title and possession in Suderland as a reward for helping to curb the turbulence of the northern peoples, both Celtic and Norse."

"In 1179 William the Lyon, brother and successor of Malcolm IV, finding the people of Ross turbulent, marched thither with a large army, inflicted some punishment and built two fortified places in Ardmanach, or the Black Isle. Again in 1196 William pursued his enemies into the province of Caithness, which at that time included the present counties of Caithness and Sutherland. Fordun describes the incident thus :

'In that year (1196) there was so grievous a famine that men were starving everywhere. That same year King William led an army into Caithness. Crossing the river OiKee, he killed some of the disturbers of the peace, and bowed to his will both provinces of the Caithnessmen,

routing Harold the earl thereof, until then a good man and trusty, but at that time goaded on by his wife, the daughter of Mac Eth'."

"There are traces of that royal visit yet, both on the hill-sides and in the traditions of the people. Near the top of Strathnaver there is an old battle-field strewn with tumuli, called Dall-Harrold, and overlooking the field is a small eminence, Cnoc Ri, King's hill, whence the king is said to have directed operations. Harold fell back down the strath and made his final stand on Fiscary hill, overlooking the township of Farr. His battle front, as the abounding tumuli show, extended for about a mile and a half east and west; his right wing rested on the spur above Crask, and his left on the rocks above the Swordly valley. His left face was covered by Loch Salchie, and from thence to the right there was a good deal of soft ground over which his assailants had to advance to the attack. The position was very strong, with Borve Castle on the sea-rocks about two miles to the rear; but King William was not to be denied. After fighting of the fiercest character—the ground is literally covered with graves—Harold was routed and driven to the sea. Some of the survivors fled to their boats in Rhivaal Bay, about a mile east of Borve, as the gruesome trail of graves, which becomes a perfect cemetery above the landing place, shows. They must have fought desperately there to cover the embarkation of the survivors. Others may have fled to Borve Castle, an impregnable fortress perched upon a high rocky isthmus. We have ourselves seen a sword dug out of the Fiscary moss, with the characteristic Norse hilt, a relic of that bloody battle. Harold, however, and his followers continued to maintain the struggle for some time longer in Caithness, Ross, and Moray, as Fordun proceeds to show."

Robert Mackay commented and quoted as follows about these times and events :

"Alexander Pope, minister of Reay, who has been much spoken of as an antiquarian and chronologist, having been applied to by Pennant the tourist, for some notices regarding these northern parts, amongst others, sent him the following: "Lord Reay's family derived their original from Ireland in the 12th century, when King William the Lion reigned. The occasion of their settling in the north, is mentioned by Torfoeus, as captains of a number of warriors, to drive the Norwegians out of Caithness." He adds: "The ancestor of Lord Reay's family drove the Danes from these parts." He does not, however, mention in which of Torfoeus' works he had found the above. That writer (Torfoeus) states, that the king of Scotland, William the Lion, with a strong army from the Hebrides and the west of Scotland, from Kintyre northward, including a considerable body from Ireland, defeated Harold, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, subdued all Caithness, and severely punished the inhabitants for the cruelty exercised upon Bishop John." *History of the House and Clan of Mackay*, p. 28, by Robert Mackay, Edinburgh 1829.

Returning to Rev. Angus Mackay's *Book of Mackay* :

"In 1214 Alexander II succeeded his father, William the Lyon, and the very next year the family of Mac William, who laid some claim to the throne of Scotland, together with the family of Mac Eth, burst into the province of Moray at the head of a large army. They were opposed by Farquhar mac in Tagart; and Kenneth Mac Eth, whom we take to be a grandson of Malcolm Mac Eth, lost his life in this struggle. It is very probable that the *Mac Eths so designated themselves to perpetuate in this way their claim to the earldom of Moray, as descended of Aed*, who married the daughter of Lulach. (Emphasis supplied). In 1223 we find the disaffected ones still fighting, and now the scene of conflict is again Strathnaver."

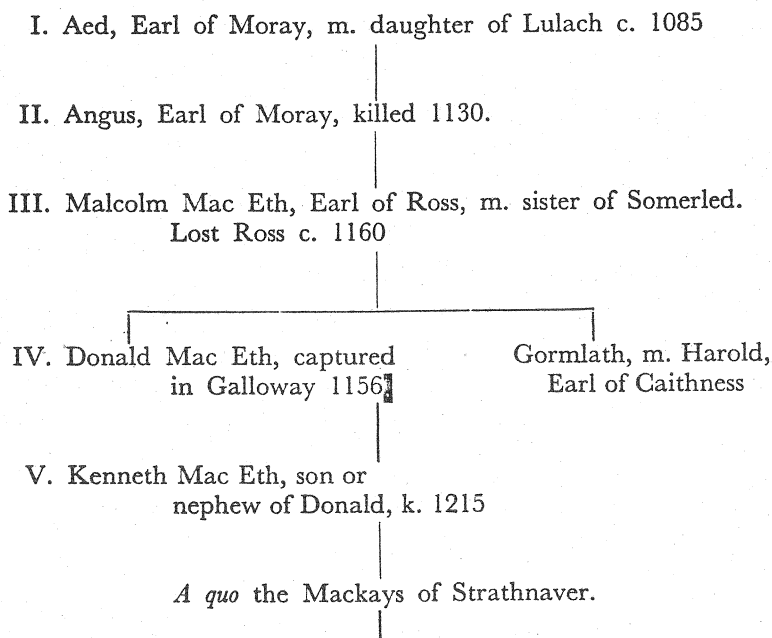
Balfour's Annals, Vol. 1 :—'This year (1223) also King Alexander levies an army and takes Gilespick and his three sons, with Roderick, the remaining firebrands of Mac William's rebellion in Strathnaver, and hangs them with diverse of their followers on gibbets.'

"The Scottish annalists persistently record very little more than their defeats, but we feel sure that a race, who fought so determinedly as the Mac Eths did for over 130 years against

the kings of Scotland, won battles as well as lost them. In fighting against the Crown they were practically fighting against fate, which fortunately destined the consolidation of Scotland into a homogeneous nation, the common heritage of Celt, Saxon, and Norseman."

"Buchanan writes, that Malcolm's predecessor, Macbeth (King of Scotland 1040-1057 A.D., R.W.M.) put to death the thanes of Caithness, Ross, Sutherland, and Nairn ; but it is most probable that all these were Danes ; *for that people commanded these northern parts then* (emphasis supplied. R.W.M.), and for some generations after. It seems to be better entitled to credit, that William, whom Sir Robert (Gordon R.W.M.) denominates the Fifth, was the first Earl of Sutherland of the line which he describes. The date of the earldom in the Scots peerage is 1275, which, it is likely, lay in the crown until then from the year 1231, when it was taken from Magnus ¹as above. It would seem that Alexander the third ²King of Scotland, conferred the dignity on William, in consequence of the defeat given by his father, William of Sutherland, to the Danes betwixt Dornoch and the Little Ferry, in which it is not improbable he was assisted by his contemporary and neighbour Morgan Mackay, who was no less concerned to rid the country of that troublesome and oppressive enemy." *History of the House and Clan of Mackay*, by Robert Mackay, Edinburgh, 1829.

"The following presents in tabular form the descent of the Mac Eths from Aed their progenitor (Aed, Aodh, Aedh, and Aoidh are different spellings of the same name. R.W.M.) :



V. STRATHNAVER

"At present, by Strathnaver is meant the strath along the river Naver from Lochnaver to the sea, but at an earlier period it was the name of an extensive tract of country in the north-western quarter of the province of Caithness. In the tract *De Situ Albani* (1165) it is stated, upon the authority of Andrew, Bishop of Caithness, that this province was the seventh

¹"Doctor Barry, who derives his information chiefly from Torfocus, says, that about the year 1231, 'Alexander king of Scotland took from Magnus the second, Earl of Orkney, the county of Sutherland, which had been considered before as constituting a part of the earldom.' Barry's *History of Orkney*, page 183.

²He was king 36 years from 1249 to 1282.—R.W.M.

in Scotland and was divided in the midst by the range of the Ord mountains. That is to say the range which runs from Helmsdale to Cape Wrath divided the province in two. In the *Brevis descriptio Regni Scotii* (1292), Caithness is described as 24 leagues in length by 40 in breadth. On an examination of the map it will be seen that the distance between John O'Groats in the north and Creich in the south, its length, is to the distance between John O'Groats and Cape Wrath, its breadth, as 24 is to 40. When Bishop Gilbert divided the diocese of the province into its fourteen parishes about 1225, it consisted practically of what are now known as the counties of Caithness and Sutherland, with the exception of the parish of Assint which pertained to the province of Ross. In course of time the name Caithness came to be applied to that part now called the county of Caithness; the parishes of Kildonan, Loth, Golspie, Rogart, Lairg, Creich, and Dornoch were embraced in the geographical unit Suderland, the southland; and Edderachilis, Durness, Kintail of ¹Tongue, and Farr, the old *dolum Cathanenu*, formed the unit ²Strathnaver, while Assint formed part of Ross."

"In the contract between King Charles I and John, Earl of Sutherland, for the resignation of the regality of Sutherland, dated 18th July, 1631, the eastern boundary of Strathnaver at the north sea is described as being 'the strip called Fae-Halladale which divides Strathnaver from Caithness.'" This Fae runs along Drumholstein overlooking the valley of Halladale, and is to this day the march between Caithness and Strathnaver, or what is now sometimes called the land of MacKay. Cordiner, in his letters of 1776, states that he entered Strathnaver shortly after leaving Sandside, on his way to Bighouse at the foot of the Halladale valley. It is thus made clear that the eastern boundary of Strathnaver is Drumholstein. The western boundary is the march between Assint and Edderachilis. Hector Boece, whose history of Scotland was published in 1526, describes the western boundary thus:

'merchant with Ross lvis Stranavern, the outmaist boundis of Scotland: of quihilk the se cost lvis north-north-west, and crukis in agane sometime fornens Almani (Minch) seis.'

"Hollinshead's *Chronicles*, dated about 1572, state:

'next unto the said Ros lieth Stranawrne, as the uttermost region of Scotland, the coasts whereof abutting for a while upon the Deucalidon sea.' (Minch).

Various old maps also show Strathnaver marching on the west coast with Assint, the northmost part of Ross at an early period."

"In the Charter of Regality by James VI to the Earl of Sutherland, 29th Apr. 1601, the lands of Eriboll and Strathmore in Durness, and also the lands of Edderachilis, are described as 'lying in Strathnaver.' In the Disposition by Donald, Lord Reay, to Hugh Mackay of Scoury, the 27th June 1634, of the lands of Kylestrom, Douartmoir, Douartbeg, Geiskill, Badcall, Skouriemoir, Skouriebeg, Tarbat, and so forth, these places are described as 'the said lands of Edderachilis . . . all lyand within the parochin of Ardierurness in Strathnaver.' In the agreement of 1638 between John, bishop of Caithness, and Lord Reay for the erection of the parish of Kintail, Durness is described as a part of the 'countrie of Strathnaver.'" In various documents among the *Reay Papers* lands in Edderachilis and Durness

¹ "The parish of Tongue, from the water of Borgy to Strathmelness, is about thirteen miles long and about the same breadth from Skerray to Dinachory. Above Tongue, *one of Mackay's ancient seats*, stands a lofty hill, called Knock-en-frectan, or Watch-hill, having been, no doubt, anciently used for that purpose, for which, from its elevated round head, it is remarkably well suited. About four miles distant, Ben-Loyal shows its majestic front, supporting three towering rocks, like pyramids, often enveloped in clouds, which are termed Skor-Chinside, Skor-Unnich, and Skor-Vatten: there is a tradition current amongst the people, that a portion of Skor-Chinside always falls on the death of a chief of the family of Mackay, Near the top of the mountain, and between the two former pinnacles, the ruins of a building called Drowle-Castle . . .' *History of the House and Clan of Mackay*, (p. 6), by Robert Mackay, Edinburgh, 1829.

² Strathnaver is the Nabarus of Ptolemy's map. Farr, Farrar, and Farr, the two latter in Inverness-shire, come from the same root, which is probably Pictish. Assint derives its name from St. Assin, a Columban, who had dedications in Skye, Easter-Ross, etc. Edderachilis means between the two kyles. Durness, which appears under the forms Diurness, Deerness, etc., is a Norse word. Tongue is Norse, a tongue. Kintail is a Gaelic compound, ceann sail, head of the salt water.

are said to be in Strathnaver, and nothing to the contrary is ever met with in any of these papers. Sir Robert Gordon, however, repeatedly and persistently says, without giving any authority whatever, that Edderachilis and Durness were not parts of Strathnaver, and that Strathnaver was practically limited to the parish of Farr. Sir Robert had an evident motive in so saying: he sought to lessen the importance of the territorial designation 'Mac Kay of Strathnaver.' It is ever so with Sir Robert; but the facts given by us, and to which we could add considerably by quotations from documents among the papers of the Reay family, are all against him."

"The boastful supercilious tone of the *Earldom of Sutherland* is unfortunately adopted in *Dates and Documents of Sutherland* (1852), by Mr. James Loch, commissioner to the Duke of Sutherland. In the latter book the charter of regality given by King James to the Earl of Sutherland in 1601, in which the lands of Strathnaver were included, is printed off with great *eclat*; although it is well known since the Sutherland peerage case that this charter of regality was granted by the king, on the representation that the Sutherland family is lineally descended from Margaret, daughter of King Robert Bruce. As the only son of this marriage died without issue, the 1601 charter of regality to Sutherland, which involved superiority over MacKay, was obtained upon a false statement. Mr. Loch, who knew this well, might have fluttered the said charter with a little less air of triumph. In the same book Mr. Loch, after noticing the charter of King James IV to Iye Roy MacKay of 4th Nov. 1499, proceeds: 'after this date the family of MacKay are generally styled of Strathnaver, having been previously styled in Strathnaver.' This emphatic statement is not only uncalled for, but is at the same time notoriously *untrue*. The said Iye MacKay had a Precept from the said King, dated 18th July 1496, in which he is designated 'Odo McKy de Strathnauer.' Eighty years earlier still, Angus du MacKay, in the charter of 1415 by Donald Lord of the Isles, is styled 'de Strathnawir.' And again in 1427, when Angus appeared before the king at Inverness, he is called Angus Duf or Makgye of Strathnavern. This system of glorifying one family at the expense of another is not only unfair, but it is sure to provoke reprisals. *The Book of Sutherland* (3 vols. 1892) by Sir William Fraser, is written in an excellent spirit as might be expected from this well-known author; and he has often to contradict the partisan statements, as well as to condemn the tone of Sir Robert Gordon, whom Mr. Loch unhappily aspired to emulate."

"In 1539 the king granted in heritage to Donald MacKay the lands of Strathnaver, together with Dirlet, Cattack, and Broinach all in Caithness, Kilcallumkill of Strabrora, Kinald, and Golspie in Sutherland; when all these lands were erected into the free barony of Farr. From that date till the family was dignified, the chiefs of MacKay were sometimes designated of Farr, and sometimes of Strathnaver."

"Durness, says Sir Robert Gordon, 'is not a portion of Strathnaver, neither hath MacKay as yet the heritable right thereof. . . . Durness is the bishop of Catheness his propertie, and was given of late in feu by the bishops of that diocie to the Erles of Sutherland.' Sir Robert takes several liberties with truth in this quotation, but we shall only refer to one of them meantime. Durness was not the property of the bishop of Caithness, but the church owned fifteen davochs of land in the said parish, viz., Gauldwall, Keoldale, Cranega, Borley, Slanis, Alshermor, Alsherbeg, Sandwood, Carrowgarve, and Carnnmannach. This is but a mere fraction of the extensive parish of Durness, and any claim which the Earl of Sutherland may have acquired to this portion, he obtained from his brother-in-law, Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, afterwards Earl of Lennox, whose sister Eleanor became the second wife of Sutherland. To legalize this marriage a dispensation from the Pope had to be obtained, as Lady Eleanor had a bastard son some time previously. The Sutherland family often found Papal dispensations handy, while on the other hand the MacKays neglected to make use of what would have often saved them from a deal of trouble. Of this marriage Sir Wm. Fraser says, 'the church lands of Caithness were at this time somewhat a bone of contention among the neighbouring landowners, and probably this fact had some influence in the promotion of the marriage.'"

"The earliest holder of land in Strathnaver of whom we have documentary evidence was Lady Joanna de Strathnaver, who bestowed the lands of Langdale, Rossal, the Tufts of Dovyr, Achness, Clibrig, Andovyr, Corynafearn, and four other davochs of land in Strathnaver, on the church of Moray. This lady was dead before 1269. She married Freskin de Moravia, and bore him a daughter who married Reginald Chein. The said daughter eventually brought these lands to her husband Chein. These lands are frequently designated in the earlier documents among the *Reay Papers* as Kerrow na Shein, Chein's quarter. Dr. Skene surmised that Lady Joanna was a daughter of Earl John, son of Harold Madadson of Caithness, and that she was a hostage of the king who gave her in marriage to Freskin de Moray. Sir Wm. Fraser shows that this could not be: Matilda was the name of the hostage daughter of the Earl of Caithness. Who Joanna was we cannot say; but there is no doubt that the de Morays tried to get a grip of lands in these quarters by this marriage, and it is clear that for some generations the said lands were a bone of contention between the Moray of Duffus and MacKay families."

"On the north coast of Strathnaver there are three islands in close proximity. Isle Colme lies on the west side of Naver Bay, and had once an extensive Columban ecclesiastical establishment. Close by, and further west, lies Rona isle, which also had an ecclesiastical institution dedicated to St. Rona, as its name implies. Still further west, and lying athwart the bay of Tongue, is Ellan nan Gall, island of the strangers. It was from these islands that the Columbans endeavoured to christianize Strathnaver in early times, and these institutions lying close by the Naver bay indicate not only the comparative importance of the place, but may also serve to show how one strath came to give its name to a whole territory. But why two ecclesiastical institutions so close to one another as those on the islands Colme and Rona? They were rival institutions. Dr. MacLauchlan in his *Early Scottish Church* and Dr. Skene in his *Celtic Scotland* show that about 720 A.D. a schism took place in the church of Iona, one party cleaving to the old way, and the other party, headed by St. Ronan, diverging Romewards. The division in course of time became so pronounced that rival establishments were set up in close proximity to the older ones by St. Ronan. Thus, close by the mouth of the Naver, the Columbans held forth on one island and the Romish Ronans held forth on the other."

"On the east bank of the Naver, and about half a mile from the sea, stood once the strongly fortified Tor on Tigh vor, the Bighouse heap. About half a mile further up, and on the opposite side, there was once the flourishing Balmargait, Margaret's town. Just below this town the river forms into the deep sheltered lagoon, Pol na Marraich mor, the Lagoon of the Great Seamen, where the boats of the Norsemen were wont to lie in safety. On a rock, Ca an Duin, above the town may be seen the ruins of a round tower; and in the year 1900, after a severe storm which blew away the sand, the present writer was able to trace at least four similar round towers placed in various positions around, and presumably for the defence of the said town.² The ruins of Balmargait and the institutions on the islands in the neighborhood already referred to, clearly indicate that there was once upon a time more life along the valley of the Naver than there is now."

¹ Strath (Gaelic *srath*), a valley traversed by a river and bounded on both sides by hills.—R.W.M.

History of the House and Clan of Mackay, by Robert Mackay, Edinburgh, 1829: p. 4. 'Strathnaver, there is reason to think, had its name from the clan Abrach, descendants of John-Abrach Mackay, who possessed it from near the beginning of the fifteenth century. In the Gaelic language, the inhabitants of Strathnaver are called *Naverich*, and that tribe are called *Aberich*. From *Strath-na-Aberich*, in Gaelic, the transition is natural and easy to *Strath-n'-Averich*; and this is countenanced by the roll annexed to the Scots Act of Parliament 1587, cap. 94. in which that clan are termed *Clan MacKeane Auiright*, and by other documents, as shall be afterwards noticed.'

² Apparently Angus MacKay was unacquainted with the researches of Dr. George Petrie, R.H.A., V.P.R.I.A., concerning the round towers of Ireland, and his monograph entitled '*The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion; comprising an Essay on the Origin and Uses of The Round Towers of Ireland*,' Royal Irish Academy, through M. H. Gill, Printer; sold by Hodges and Smith, Dublin, Ireland, 1845. Antiquarians consider that Dr. Petrie's carefully conducted and documented researches satisfactorily settled the origin and purpose of the Irish and Scot round towers. They were the clergy's refuge against predators, and thoroughly effective. Their counterparts exist among the ruins of ancient civilizations in Europe and Asia, which probably had a similar purpose.—R.W.M.

I. IYE MACETH, Born Circa 1210 A.D.

“As the son of Iye Mac Eth married the daughter of Walter (de Baltrode), Bishop of Caithness, somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1263, it is reasonable to conclude that the father was over fifty years of age at the time of the son's marriage, especially seeing that the son was then old enough to act the part of chamberlain to the bishop. We have therefore fixed the date of Iye Mac Eth's birth as about 1210. But Kenneth, the leading representative of the MacEth family, fell in 1215, as already shown, so that as far as dates are concerned, Iye Mac Eth may have been his son or his nephew—from lack of evidence on this point, we cannot be more definite. This descent would make Iye Mac Eth the great-grandson of Malcolm Mac Eth, Earl of Ross, but whether through Kenneth or not remains uncertain. That he was a descendant of Malcolm (Mac Eth), Earl of Ross, and the first of the family to settle permanently in Strathnaver, is all that the old family manuscript account, on which the *Blackcastle Manuscript* bases its genealogy, seems to have recorded.”

“In our introductory chapter we briefly showed how Malcolm IV, King of Scots, his brother William the Lyon, and Alexander II, son of the latter, assailed the MacEths, until in 1215 Kenneth Mac Eth was slain by Farquhar Macintaggart, afterwards Earl of Ross; and we also showed how King Alexander pursued the rebellious ones to Strathnaver in 1223. The reign of Alexander II was marked by great vigour. Caithness, Galloway, Argyle, and even the western isles, the quarters in which his sovereignty was disputed, he repeatedly attacked with wisdom and energy. Of some he took hostages, the lands of others he bestowed upon his friends. In 1249 he made his last effort. With a large army he invaded Argyle, collected ships and prepared to sweep the Norsemen from the western isles, vowing that he would not desist until he had set his standards east on the cliffs of Thurso. Before he had practically begun operations, he was seized with illness and died, leaving his son and successor, Alexander III a minor of only eight years of age. During the long minority of Alexander III, the reins of government naturally fell loose, and Iye Mac Eth managed to secure some foothold in Strathnaver.”

“The known issue of Iye Mac Eth¹ was three sons :

1. Iye Mor (Mor equals ‘the great,’ in Gaelic, when suffixed to a Christian name. R.W.M.), who succeeded, and of whom an account follows.

2. Morgan, of whom nothing further is recorded.

3. Martin who is said to have settled in Galloway. It is pertinent to observe that years before this date the Mac Eths are found fighting in Galloway, and that Donald the son of Earl Malcolm was captured there. Owing to Norse influence in Galloway, the Isles, and Caithness, the adherents of the various rulers in these quarters passed to and fro. In the manuscript of Andrew Symson, preserved in the Advocates' Library, the Mackies are said to have been in Galloway in the time of King Robert Bruce, and to have supported his cause. In 1339 Michael Mac Ge, a landholder in Galloway, submitted to Edward III of England. As evidence of the supposed connection between the Mackays of Strathnaver and the Mackies of Galloway, we may mention that Sir Patrick Mackie of Lairg in Galloway led a company of the regiment commanded by Sir Donald (Mackay), afterwards Lord Reay, in the service of the King of Denmark.”

II. IYE MOR (MACETH) m. 1263, c.

“In 1263 Walter de Baltrodi, formerly a canon of Caithness, was confirmed Bishop of the diocese by Pope Urban IV. Iye (Mac Eth) became chamberlain to the bishop, married

¹ It should be borne in mind that Angus Mackay had completely satisfied himself that Iye Mac Eth was an early spelling of Aoidh MacKay. Other stray evidences of this exist; for example, the Island of Tiree was variously called by very early authors Tir Aodh, Tir Eth, and Tir Heth, ‘tir’ in Gaelic meaning ‘land’.—R.W.M.

his daughter, and thereby obtained considerable power in Strathnaver. It is stated in the *Houss of Forbes* that the bishop's son-in-law possessed himself of twelve davochs of land in Durness, and that eventually the bishop gave legal title over these lands to his grandchild (apparently Iye Mor. R.W.M.). We have already shown that there is documentary evidence to prove that the church of Caithness owned fifteen davochs of land in Durness. In a document describing the estate of Lord Reay (1797), preserved among the *Reay Papers*, we read, 'Durness is a dry pretty spot ; the soil sandy, well peopled for its extent. It lies upon a bed of limestone which is here found in the greatest abundance. It is considered the best grass and pasture ground in the north of Scotland, and it was of old the bishop of Caithness' sheiling or pasture farm.'

" Sir Robert Gordon says that the son-in-law of the bishop was called Walter, and the 1883 edition of the *Houss of Forbes*, from which we gave an extract in our Introductory chapter, agrees in this. But the version of the *Houss of Forbes* given in MacFarlane's *Genealogical Collections*, printed by the Scottish History Society, says that his name was John, and proceeds to say that the child borne to him by the bishop's daughter ' after the country fashion was called McKy, which is the son of John.' We believe the 1883 edition was amended to bring it into conformity with Sir Robert Gordon's account, and not so trustworthy as that of MacFarlane, which was copied out about 1750 by an acknowledged genealogist. But the phrase ' McKy which is the son of John ' is a manifest contradiction in terms. If the son was called McKy to indicate his father, the father's name must have been Iye. To this extent the *Houss of Forbes* bears out the contention of the old family manuscript account, that the son-in-law of the bishop was Iye Mor."

" During the minority of Alexander III, Farquhar Macintagart, Earl of Ross, harried the western isles, especially Skye. His followers not only burnt villages and sacked churches, but ferociously ripped open pregnant women and raised on their spear-points helpless infants. Hakon, King of Norway, the nominal overlord of these islands, remonstrated with King Alexander, but in vain. In the summer of 1263 Hakon sailed for Scotland with a large fleet, and after various vicissitudes came at last to grief at Largs, more by stress of weather than by the prowess of the opposing Scottish army. With the remnants of his once imposing fleet he sailed away northwards, called at Alsher on the west coast of Strathnaver, rounded Cape Wrath and came to anchor in Loch Eriboll. A party who landed at Eriboll in search of food and water were roughly handled by the natives of the place. It is probable that Iye Mor took an active part in this exploit, as the Bishop of Caithness, whose chamberlain he was, owned a considerable amount of land in the neighbourhood of Loch Eriboll, and it was the duty of Iye Mor to protect it. It is also probable that this incident gave rise to the common tradition, that the Mackays obtained their first footing in Strathnaver in consequence of their prowess in opposing the Norsemen. The Mac Eths and the Norsemen often fought side by side, but now times were changed and they changed with them. Shortly thereafter, King Alexander for a sum of money purchased from the Norsemen any rights which they may have claimed over the western isles or other lands in Scotland, and thus settled the vexed Norse question."

" A contemporary of Iye Mor was John Gruamach MacKay. Gruamach mean taciturn. It is stated in the *Knock Manuscript* that Angus Mor (MacDonald) of the Isles, the great grandson of Somerled, had, by the daughter of John Gruamach MacKay, ' the mother of the first laird of Macintosh ; for a son of MacDuff, thane of Fife, coming after man-slaughter to shelter himself in MacDonald's house, got her daughter with child, went to Ireland with Edward Bruce, where he was killed ; by which means Mackintosh is of natural descent, his progenitor being got in that manner '."

The foregoing paragraph contains, in the present author's opinion, an ambiguity, so that it is not possible to decide whether it was John Gruamach MacKay's daughter who became

¹ This apparently should read ' grandson '.—R.W.M.

mother of the Macintosh ; the confusion arises from a doubt concerning the antecedent of *her* in the phrase *got her daughter with child*. Whose daughter ? It seems to clear in the following comment, though :

“ As Angus Mor of the Isles was present at the Scottish parliament of 1284 and died before 1300, John Gruamach MacKay must have flourished during the time of Iye Mor (MacEth, MacKay), but we have no means of connecting the one with the other. He may have been a brother but he cannot have been a son of Iye Mor, for according to the *Knock Manuscript* his granddaughter was old enough in 1315, when Edward Bruce passed over to Ireland, to bear a son to MacDuff.”

From this paragraph, we are led to conclude that the ambiguous paragraph before was meant to say that Angus Mor Mac Donald married a daughter of John Gruamach MacKay, and that the daughter born of this marriage was seduced by a son of Mac Duff, thane of Fife, the result of which union was a son who became the first laird of Macintosh.

“ Perhaps we should not say that this was impossible, but it is more likely that John Gruamach (MacKay) resided in the neighbourhood of Islay, the seat of Angus Mor (MacDonald).”

“ In our Introductory Chapter we noticed how Mr. Mackay of Blackcastle fell into the mistake of making Gilchrist MacIvor MacIye of Kintyre a son of Iye Mor of Strathnaver, and we need not enter further into the matter here. The lands which King Robert the Bruce confirmed to Gilchrist and his heirs were the two twopenny lands in Kintyre, viz., the pennyland of Ardermede, the pennyland of Balloscalfis, the pennyland of Kyllewillan, and pennyland of Skelkamonsky. ‘ These lands,’ says Blackcastle, ‘ lie near Campbelton in Kintyre and belong to MacNeil of Ugadale, whose ancestor, Torquil Mac Neil, married about 1690 Catherine, daughter and heiress of Mackay of Ugadale ’.”

“ The known issue of Iye Mor (MacEth, MacKay) was Donald (MacEth, MacKay) of whom we now proceed to give an account.”

III. DONALD (MACETH, MACKAY) c. 1300-30

“ As Iye Mor married the daughter of Bishop Walter about 1263, we presume that Donald was born sometime between that date and 1270. He married a daughter of Iye, son of Neil of Gigha, an island lying close to the coast of Kintyre, between that and Islay. The distance to which Donald went in search of a wife, combined with the neighborhood in which he found her, seem to indicate that there was at this time a close connection between the Mackays of Strathnaver and those of that name on the west coast of Argyle. We have found Mackays holding land in Kintyre at this early period, and there were others in the same quarter. The *Knock Manuscript* describing the state of matters during the time of *Angus Og of the Isles*, the attached friend of Robert the Bruce, proceeds :

‘ The constitution or government of the Isles was thus : MacDonald had his council at Island Finlaggan, in Isla, to the number of sixteen, viz., four Thanes, four Armins, that is to say lords or sub-thanes, four Bastards, i.e., squires or men of competent estates who could not come up with Armins or Thanes, that is freholders or men that had their lands in factory, as MacGe of the Rinds of Islay, Mac Nicol in Portree in Skye, and Mac Eachern, MacKay, and Mac Gillevray, in Mull ’.”

“ Thus we see there were contemporary with Donald of Strathnaver landed men of the name of Mackay in the Rhins of Islay, in Mull, and in Kintyre ; while at a little later period Mackays appear in the registers holding lands and office in Bute. See our account of the Argyle Mackays.”

"It would be interesting to know what part if any Donald of Strathnaver took in the struggle for independence under Wallace and Bruce, when Scotland, Highland and Lowland, was stirred to its depths. In Hervey's *Life of Bruce*, in Gordon's *Life of Bruce*, and in General Stewart's *Sketches of the Highlanders*, the Mackays of Strathnaver are mentioned as being present at the battle of Bannockburn. We are not aware that they have substantial documentary evidence for this statement; but there is no doubt that the Mackays of Isla, Mulls, etc., who were dependents of Angus Og (Mac Donald) of the Isles, supported the cause which their superior so warmly espoused. Barbour, who is a competent authority, informs us that at Bannockburn the Earl of Moray commanded the centre, Edward Bruce the right, and Sir James Douglas and Walter the Stewart commanded the left on that fateful day. The same authority states that Bruce and Angus of the Isles commanded the reserve, consisting of the men of Argyle, Carrick, Kantire, the Isles, and Bute. When Donald of Strathnaver's wife's relatives and his kinsmen of the west were ranged under the banner of Scotland's deliverer, it is very likely that the Strathnavermen were not far away although Barbour does not chronicle the fact."

"In Haddington's *Collection of Ancient Charters* (the Earl of Haddington was Lord Clerk Register for Scotland in 1612) there is the following excerpt from a charter by a King Robert to a Mackay, of which we give a translation:

'King Robert's charter to MacKay for attending annually at our war when it shall happen with forty days sustenance for his armed foot-men, and for performing other services as far as pertains to the said lands.'

"This fragment does not tell us which King Robert it was, what the lands were, nor who the Mackay that possessed them. No doubt the original charter, which cannot now be found, made all this clear; (1300-30) but as in Haddington's day the prominent family of Mackay was the Strathnaver one, he may have concluded that the bold statement 'Charter to Makaj' was sufficient for the purpose of identification. The King Robert, however, may be Robert II, who was on friendly terms with the Strathnaver Mackays, as shall soon appear."

"The known issue of Donald by the daughter of Iye of Gigha was a son, Iye, of whom an account now follows.

IV. IYE (MACETH, MACKAY) 1330-70

"Between Iye of Strathnaver and the family of Sutherland there existed a protracted feud, which caused much bloodshed on either side, and occasioned the murder of Iye in 1370.¹ Sir Robert Gordon says, 'the Earl of Sutherland had great controversy with the house and family of Mackay, chief of the Clan Vic-Morgan of Strathnaver, which did continue a long time between the inhabitants of Sutherland and Strathnaver, although with some intermission.' This account exactly corroborates Earl William's complaint in 1342, when he applied to the Pope for a dispensation of marriage with Margaret Bruce, against 'an ancient enemy' who caused 'wars, disputes, and many offences' in these parts. In the Papal dispensation, which is given at large in Theiner's *Monumenta Vetera*, p. 278, reference is made to the application thus:

'It sets forth that between the Earl and Margaret and their forefathers and friends, by the wicked procuring of an ancient enemy there have arisen wars, disputes, and many offences, on which account murders, burnings, depredations, forays, and other evils have frequently happened and cease not to happen continually, and many churches of these parts have suffered no small damages, and greater troubles are expected unless prevented by an immediate remedy.'

¹ Sir Robert Gordon committed some mistakes in his account of this incident. He says Iye was murdered in 1395 by Nicholas, Earl of Sutherland, the predecessor of Earl Robert. But Sir William Fraser shows that there was no Earl Nicholas, and that the immediate predecessor of Earl Robert was Earl William, who flourished 1333-70. Consequently, on Sir Robert's own showing, the author of this deed was Earl William, and it must have taken place in or before 1370.

“With reference to the complaint, Sir William Fraser observes, ‘in this case it may refer to the disturbed condition of the country or perhaps of Sutherland.’ We believe his surmise is correct. If the Mackays are descended from Malcolm Mac Eth, Earl of Ross, as we contend they are, the family might well be called an ‘ancient enemy’ who gave trouble to the Scots kings and their henchmen in the far north, the Earls of Sutherland. And according to Hailes, Cosmo Innes, and so forth, it was only in the second or third generation after Hugo Freskin that the family of Sutherland was able to effect a permanent settlement in Suderland—that is to say, in the days of the grandfather or father of this Earl William. From the time of this latter Earl William we have authentic evidence that the Sutherlands and Mackays were at daggers drawn; before his time the mist lies too heavy for us to know much. In the circumstances, we repeat, the family of Mackay might well be called an ‘ancient enemy’ of the house of Sutherland. The *Blackcastle Manuscript* reads:

‘In consequence of disputes existing at this time between the Earl of Sutherland and MacKay a meeting was agreed upon to settle the matter in dispute. The meeting took place at Dingwall in Ross in 1370, at which were present the Earl of Sutherland and his brother Nicolas, and MacKay and his son Donald, and other chieftains to act as umpires and decide in the matter submitted. MacKay was about to succeed in his claim, and the Sutherlands became so irritated and enraged that Nicolas Sutherland rose in the night-time and basely murdered MacKay and his son Donald. Nicolas leaving Dingwall Castle fled and escaped, although pursued by MacKay’s attendants.’

“Sir Robert Gordon, whose version of the affair is in substantial agreement with the above, except in the details already pointed out, says that the meeting took place in Dingwall Castle, and that one of the arbiters was the Lord of the Isles. We may also conclude that the Earl of Ross was one of the arbiters of a case tried at his own castle, and it is not unlikely that the Earl of Buchan, justiciar for the north, would likewise be present.”

“We are not told what were the subjects in dispute, but we have not far to go in search of one bone of contention. On the 10th October 1345 King David conferred by charter the earldom of Sutherland in regality upon William, Earl of Sutherland, and his spouse Margaret, the king’s sister, and upon the legitimate heirs begotten between them (*heredes inter ipsos legitime procreandi*). This charter gave Earl William almost kingly power in Suderland, which he would not be slow to put into execution against the ‘ancient enemy’ of his house. Of this marriage between Earl William and Margaret Bruce only one son, John, was born when Margaret died, and William married a second time. As King David was childless he intended John of Sutherland to succeed him in the throne, and bestowed lands north, south, east and west upon the Earl of Sutherland, who in turn gave many of these lands away to Scottish nobles, in order to secure their support when the time came for his son to claim the throne of Scotland. But John of Sutherland died of the plague in London, leaving no issue, shortly before the demise of his uncle the King, and the hopes of both David and the Earl of Sutherland were thus balked. By the death of his son, Sutherland’s regality so far as his descendants were concerned went up in smoke; he had now no heir by Margaret to retain these charter rights.”

“King David, the unfortunate and worthless son of the great Bruce, died on 22nd February 1370, and was succeeded in the throne by his nephew, Robert II. It is notorious that the relations between David and his nephew, Robert, were of a strained character, partly on account of David’s partiality for his nephew of Sutherland. As Robert II, though a fair and just monarch, was only human, it is natural to expect that he would make the Earl of Sutherland realize how changed his position now was. About this time the king’s physician was Farquhar, the son of Iye (Mackay) of Strathnaver, a scion of the house of the ‘ancient enemy,’ and one who had a charter from the Earl of Buchan, confirmed by his father, the King, 4th September 1379, of the lands of Melness, etc., in the parish of Durness, as ‘*Fercardo medico nostro*.’ With the Earl of Buchan, Robert II’s son, justiciar of the north, it suited the royal policy to bring pressure

upon the Earl of Sutherland by favouring the 'ancient enemy,' Mackay of Strathnaver. Although the regality of the Earl of Sutherland only extended to Suderland and did not include Strathnaver, Iye Mackay had lands in Suderland down to the borders of Ross which would be involved, as is abundantly proved by the extensive possessions of the family in these parts a generation later, when documents begin to turn up. Iye (Mackay) of Strathnaver, resenting the vexing claim to Sutherland's powers of regality over him, sought to have the matter submitted to arbitration in the then favourable circumstances. When he was just within sight of a favourable judgment, the knife of the assassin, Nicolas, finished the unsuspecting father and son at the dead of night in Dingwall Castle."

"The claim of feudal superiority by the family of Sutherland over that of Mackay, from this date henceforward, made so unjustly, persistently, and offensively by Sir Robert Gordon, cannot be allowed to pass without further notice, because 230 years later it developed into a shameless imposition upon King James VI. On the 29th April 1601 James VI was led to give a charter to John, Earl of Sutherland, and to his heirs, by which the charter of regality granted by David II in 1345 to the Earl of Sutherland as aforesaid was confirmed, under the impression that it was still valid, and extended now so as to include Strathnaver. That this was an imposition upon the king is proved by the fact that in the document resigning the heritable sheriffship of Sutherland, dated 26th August 1631, and forming part of the regality, it is clearly stated that the charter of 1601 was given by King James under the impression that the then Earl of Sutherland was a descendant of Margaret Bruce, daughter of King Robert. Sir William Fraser in the *Sutherland Book* puts it mildly when he says, 'It was long a belief in the Sutherland family, which was fostered if not originated by Sir Robert Gordon, that by the marriage of William, 5th Earl of Sutherland to Margaret Bruce, the blood of the royal family of Bruce ran in their veins.' The truth is Sir Robert was the author of a fraud in 1601. But of this matter enough anon."

"By this time the Clan Morgan of Strathnaver must have attained to considerable power before it could give so much trouble to Earl William of Sutherland, notwithstanding his royal backing. When the veil over early Scottish history is removed a little further, about 40 years after this date, we shall find members of the clan occupying land in Suderland and Ross, and the Chief strong enough to beard Donald, Lord of the Isles, at Dingwall. The known issue of Iye (Mackay) was :

1. Donald (Mackay), who was killed along with his father at Dingwall Castle, and of whom a short account follows.

2. Farquhar (Mackay), who was a physician to King Robert II, and in favour with the King's son, the Earl of Buchan. In the old family manuscript account he is claimed as a son of Iye ; and in our Introductory chapter we have shown by documentary evidence how his descendants signed themselves Mackay. He obtained by royal charter the lands of Melness, Hope, etc., in 1379, and the islands lying round Strathnaver in 1386. The writer of the *Old Statistical Account* of the parish of Edderachilis asserts, without giving any reason but tradition, that Farquhar was a Beaton and a native of Islay. He also gives a very incorrect account of the manner in which his lands were secured by the leading family of Mackay. This tradition probably developed from the fact that a Beaton was physician to James VI, as the inscription on the said Beaton's tombstone in Iona, dated 1657, shows.

3. Mariota, who was the handfasted wife of the Earl of Buchan, popularly known as the Wolf of Badenoch, and the mother of his children. We are strongly inclined to believe that 'Mariota filia Athyn' was the daughter of Iye (Mackay) of Strathnaver, and that Athyn is another barbarous Latin form of the much-metamorphosed name Iye. This would to some extent explain the Earl of Buchan's friendship with Farquhar (Mackay), and enable us to find a reason for a party of Mackays supporting Duncan Stewart, son of Buchan, in a raid to the braes of Angus in 1391. If our theory be correct it supplies a motive for Angus Du

Mackay's opposition to Donald, Lord of the Isles, at Dingwall in 1411, shortly before the latter met the Earl of Mar, a son of Buchan, at Harlaw. According to our theory the Earl of Mar and Angus Du (Mackay) would be first and second cousins. The issue of the Earl of Buchan by Mariota was: Alexander, Earl of Mar; Andrew; Walter; James; Duncan; and Margaret, who married Robert, Earl of Sutherland."

V. DONALD (McETH, MACKAY) k. 1370

"Donald (Mackay) was murdered in 1370, along with his father, in Dingwall Castle by Nicolas Sutherland, as already described. His known issue was four sons:

1. Angus (Mackay), who succeeded his grandfather Iye, and of whom an account follows.
2. Huistean Du (Mackay), who became tutor to Angus Du, son of his elder brother Angus, during his nephew's minority.
3. Martin (Mackay), of whom nothing is known save that he settled in Galloway, according to Sir Robert Gordon.

4. Neil (Mackay), who seems to have settled in Creich, for his three sons Thomas, Morgan, and Neil had lands there, and in the neighbourhood. Thomas Neilson (Mackay) held the lands of Creich, etc., of his cousin Angus Du, and was executed at Inverness, probably in 1426, for the slaughter of Mowat of Bucholly. Morgan Neilson (Mackay) married a daughter of Angus Moray of Cubin, and seems to have settled in Brae-Chat. Neil Neilson (Mackay) also married a daughter of the said Angus Moray, and obtained from King James I in 1430 a charter of the lands of Creich, Gairloch, etc., escheated from his deceased brother, Thomas (Mackay). The sons of Neil Neilson (Mackay) were John Bain who settled in Caithness and became the progenitor of the Bains in that county; Angus progenitor of the Siol-Angus; and Paul who became the progenitor of the Polsons and some MacPhails.

"In connection with the signature of a Hugh Polson to a grant of the lands of Thorboll, dated 1472, it is suggested in *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* Vol. II, part 2, p. 686, that the Polsons were descended of a Paul Mactyre who flourished in Creich about a hundred years before that. This suggestion has been accepted by many, but we dispute it. The surname Mactyre continued in use by the family in 1472 and after it. A William McTeyr protested that he was not bound to give attendance at the head courts for the lands of Achnaplad, on 27th February 1483. Achnaplad we take to be Plads near Dornoch. Marsella McTyre had sasine of the lands of Inverathy, as heir to her father, William Mactyre, on 6th July 1489."

"Not only do we maintain that the Polsons are descended of MacKay, but we also maintain that a section at least of the MacPhails sprang from the same root. A cursory examination of the list of tenants on the Reay estates about 1678, printed in our Appendix, will show what a number of MacPhails there were among them."

VI. ANGUS (MACKAY) 1370-1403

"Angus (Mackay), a youth, succeeded his grandfather Iye, and the blood-feud between the Mackays and Sutherlands raged, although somewhat abated, according to Sir Robert Gordon, during the time of Earl Robert of Sutherland who married a daughter of the Earl of Buchan, and succeeded Earl William. It may be significant that Earl William passed away in 1370, the year in which the Mackays, father and son, were murdered. It may be quite true that he got his *quietus* at the hands of the avenging Mackays, as is suggested in the *House and Clan of Mackay*."

"In 1391 Duncan Stewart, son of the Earl of Buchan, invaded the Braes of Angus at the head of a host of Highland caterans, as Bower calls them. They were met at Gasklune, near

the water of Isla, by Walter Ogilvy then sheriff of Angus, Sir David Lindsay of Glenesk, Sir Patrick Gray, etc., when the mail-clad gentry of the east were simply cut to pieces by the tartan-clad mountaineers of the north. Ogilvy with his brother Wat, Young of Auchterlony, the lairds of Cairncross, Forfar, and Guthrie, together with 60 men-at-arms were slain, while Sir Patrick Gray and Sir David Lindsay were sorely wounded. So fiercely did these highlanders fight that one of them, though transfixed by a spear and pinned through the body to the earth swinging his claymore cut through the stirrup-iron and steel boot of his assailant, reaching the bone, and then expired. Among these so-called caterans¹ were John Mathyson and his adherents, Morgownde Roryson and Michael Mathowson with their adherents. The above were clearly, as their names indicate, the Mathiesons of Sutherland and the Morgans of Strathnaver, associated with a son of the Earl of Buchan, now also Earl of Ross."

"Angus married a daughter of Torquil Macleod of the Lews, and had issue two sons. The said Torquil obtained by charter, during the reign of David II, four davochs of land and a castle in Assynt, on the west coast of Sutherland. The two sons of Angus Mackay were :

1. Angus Du (Mackay) who succeeded, and of whom an account follows.

2. Rorie Gald (Mackay), or Rorie the Islander, so called from the fact that he was fostered by maternal relatives in the Lews. Rorie Gald fell in battle near Dingwall when Angus Du endeavoured to check Donald (Mac Donald), Lord of the Isles, in 1411, as shall appear afterwards."

VII. ANGUS DU (MACKAY) 1403-33

"Huistean Du (Mackay), who became tutor to his youthful nephew, Angus Du, on his father's death, offended the widowed mother, whether justly or unjustly we cannot say. The relations between the two became so strained that her brother, Malcolm (Macleod), son of Torquil Macleod of the Lews and Assynt, invaded Strathnaver with a body of men laying waste part of that country as well as Brae-Chat. Macleod was overtaken by the Mackays at a place now called Tuiteam Tarvach, in Strathoikel, making his way back to Assynt encumbered with spoil, and there was defeated and slain about 1406. The battle is known as La Tuiteam Tarvach, the Day of Great Slaughter, of which Sir Robert Gordon records that only one Macleod survived to carry the tale of disaster to the Lews. This need not be strictly accurate, as the same story is told of other Highland battles. Sir Robert also says that the Earl of Sutherland sent his friend, Alexander Moray of Cubin, with a body of Sutherland men to assist the Mackays. This latter statement is not at all likely to be true. The murder of the Mackays, father and son, at Dingwall in 1370, could not yet be forgotten, neither can we reconcile this statement with the bloody feud which we know existed between the Mackays and Cubin a few years later. Sir Robert has a knack, as we shall see afterwards, of generally claiming the credit of what he considers a valorous deed for Sutherland. It is so we believe in this case."

"On the death of Alexander, Earl of Ross, about 1410, his only child, the deformed Euphemia, by his wife a daughter of Robert, Earl of Fife and Duke of Albany, took the veil and resigned the earldom to her uncle, the Earl of Buchan, a son of Albany. Donald, Lord of the Isles, however, claimed the earldom through his wife a sister of the late Alexander, Earl of Ross. Donald's claim seems a just one, as Euphemia by taking the veil became legally dead ; but the prize was too good for the Stewarts to drop without a struggle. The unscrupulous Regent Albany naturally supported the cause of his son of Buchan, and the Earl of Mar, a son of the 'Wolf,' also joined Buchan. Angus Du (Mackay) of Strathnaver was likewise induced to join the confederacy, partly by reason of his relation to the Earl of Mar, whose cousin we believe him to be, and partly in consequence of his landed interests in Ross. When Donald

¹ The name *cateran* is often applied to Highlanders as a term of reproach by historians even of the middle of last century. It is the Anglicized form of the Gaelic, *ceathernach*, a valiant fellow, and cognate with the Latin *quaternion*.

of the Isles marched on Dingwall, in the spring of 1411, Angus Du (Mackay¹) at the head of 4000 men endeavoured to bar the way, but was overpowered and captured while his brother Rorie Gald was slain. Angus Du was sent prisoner to a castle on the west coast, and Donald of the Isles advanced towards Aberdeen to be checked at Harlaw by the Earl of Mar.”

“After Donald’s return from bloody Harlaw he made some alliance with Angus Du, and to this end bestowed upon him the hand of his sister, Elizabeth, in marriage. Shortly thereafter the friendship (Note : This was between Donald MacDonald of the Isles, the conqueror, and Angus Du Mackay, his prisoner. R.W.M.) was still further strengthened by a charter of the lands of Strathhalladale, Creich, etc., dated 8th October 1415, by Donald of the Isles to Angus Du and his son, Neil, by the said Elizabeth. As the sequel will show, these lands were given sometime thereafter by Angus Du to his cousin Thomas Neilson (Mackay) of Creich, probably to cement the families more firmly together.”

“Hector Boece informs us that Angus Du ‘tuk and gret prey of gudis out of Moray and Caithness,’ but Sir Robert Gordon objects to the former raid though he acknowledges the latter. Sir Robert’s objection to the former rests upon the slender ground, that Moray lies at such a distance from Caithness and Strathnaver that a raid across Sutherland and Ross is improbable if not impossible. We hold a different opinion. Nicolas Sutherland, who murdered the Mackay chieftains at Dingwall in 1370, obtained lands in Moray and the half of Caithness by his marriage with a daughter of Reginald Chein. The King of Scots was a prisoner in England, the country was distracted north and south, the strong hand had the guiding o’t, and Angus Du (Mackay) was strong with free access to Ross, as we saw in 1411. What more natural than that he should make a raid upon Moray, now in the possession of the heirs of Nicolas Sutherland ? The murder of the chieftains at Dingwall was not avenged yet, for their fall weakened the Mackays at the time, and Angus VI did not live long enough to discharge this once sacred duty. Sir Robert would have us believe that the Mackays had already forgiven and forgotten the blood so treacherously shed by Nicolas little more than fifty years before. We do not believe a word of it. The Christian grace of forgiveness was not so developed in the Mackays of that period as to make them deaf to the cries of the murdered slain ; and holding that opinion we do believe, upon the authority of Boece, that Angus Du spoilt Moray to his heart’s content.”

“Angus in an impartial spirit next turned his attention to Caithness, where Nicolas had large possessions also. Sir Robert records that in 1426 he invaded ‘Caithness with all hostility and spoilt the same, fighting a pitched battle with the men of Caithness on Harpsdale Hill, about two miles south of Halkirk village.’ Some modern writers, notably the author of *The Gunns*, have supposed that Harpsdale Hill was fought between the Mackays and the Gunns. For this view there is no confirmation, that we are aware of. We do not know of any cause of dispute between these two clans at that period ; but between the Mackays and the descendants of Nicolas, who held lands in Moray and Caithness, there was a bitter feud. But if Angus Du had his revenge, he was soon made to suffer for his summary execution of what he thought to be justice.”

“King James I, who at the age of fourteen was captured by the English in 1405 on this voyage to France, remained a prisoner in England until 1424. On his return to Scotland he found the country in a very distracted state, and inoculated with English feudal ways ; he resolved to apply drastic, if foolish remedies. In 1427 he came north in person and held a Parliament at Inverness, to which he summoned the Highland chieftains as members. These chieftains, unsuspecting of any treachery, trooped to meet their king, but no sooner did they appear than forty of them were clapped in irons, to the great gratulation of the monarch.

¹The author being quoted, also Angus Mackay, for some reason continually employs personal names, but omits surnames. I have inserted the surname in parentheses in many cases.—R.W.M.

Among these were Alexander (MacDonald), Lord of the Isles ; Angus Du (Mackay) of Strathnaver, 'a leader of 4,000 men' ; Kenneth Mor and his son in law ; Angus Moray and MacMathan, each leaders of 2,000 men. Angus Du (Mackay) was soon released, but his eldest son Neil was retained as a hostage and sent for a time to the Bass Rock. The fierce independent chieftains of Scotland resented these autocratic measures, and ten years thereafter King James was murdered at Perth."

"Not long after the Inverness Parliament (1427), Thomas Neilson Mackay of Creich, first cousin of Angus Du (Mackay), fell upon Mowat of Freswick somewhere in the neighborhood of Tain, and pursuing him into the chapel of St. Duthus fired it, killing Mowat. As William Mowat of Loscragy gave the Caithness lands of Freswick and Auchingill in Wadset to his son John, in 1410, it is evident that the Mowats had at this period lands in Moray and Caithness. They were thus neighbours of the Duffus family in both countries, and likely helped them against the Mackays in the prosecution of the feud. We believe this explains the Tain episode. The sacrilege gave great offense. To kill Mowat was one thing, to burn a consecrated chapel was quite another matter. The former might be ignored, but the latter could not. Such were the religious conceptions of the times ! Anyway, Thomas was outlawed, and his lands promised to such as should apprehend him. But we fancy it was not an easy matter to lay Thomas by the heels without some stratagem."

"As fate would have it, Angus Moray of Cubin, a retainer of the house of Sutherland, had two daughters, one married to Neil and other to Morgan, both brothers of Thomas Neilson Mackay. Instigated by Angus Moray, says Sir Robert Gordon, they basely betrayed their brother, who was captured and beheaded at Inverness. The lands of Thomas were divided among the three by charters from the king dated 20th March 1430. Angus Moray got Spinnydale, Invercarron, and Polrossie in the south, and Bighouse, the two Trantles, and the two Forsies in Strathalladale. Neil Neilson (Mackay) got Creich, Garloch, Daane, Moyzelblary, Conzcorth, Tuttin-Tarwach, Langort, and Amayde. Morgan Neilson (Mackay) got Golval, Balnaheglis in Strathalladale, Achanies, Altasmore, Leynfatmore, and Inveran. These lands scattered throughout Strathnaver, Sutherland, and Ross, indicate the vast power and possessions of Thomas Neilson Mackay. Part of these lands, if not all, were held by Angus Du (Mackay) and his heirs on the charter of 1415 from Donald (MacDonald), Lord of the Isles, so that Thomas must have held them of Angus. The king, however, appears to have ignored that charter ; he may not have been aware of its existence at the time. When in 1506, at the instigation of Iye Roy Mackay of Strathnaver, the charter of 1415 was recorded in the books of the Lords of Council, note was taken of the fact that enemies tried to destroy the charter in these words : ' notwithstanding the cancellatione and rivin of the samyne, reklesly and in the bak, be evil disposit persons.' We have no doubt who those enemies were. They were representatives of those who tried to get behind this same charter in 1430. We shall afterwards see that Strathalladale proved something of a white elephant to the Morays owing to the hostility of the Mackays, and that they were glad to alienate their claim to it for the paltry sum of 1000 merks. The Mackays sold it in 1830 for £58,000 sterling."

"The fall of Thomas Neilson (Mackay) of Creich must have been a severe blow to the power of Angus Du (Mackay). It encouraged Angus Moray and his sons-in-law to project an invasion of Strathnaver, in the hope of overthrowing Angus Du himself and possessing his lands. In these projected measures they had the 'attolerance' of the Earl of Sutherland, as Sir Robert Gordon says ; and whatever he would have us understand by the word he makes it clear that in this case it meant his active support. With the men of Caithness thirsting for the revenge of Harpsdale Hill on his left flank, the situation was very critical for Angus Du (Mackay) ; not only did he lack the powerful support of his dead cousin of Creich, but his eldest son, Neil, was still from home a hostage, and he was himself quite unable to lead his men owing to some infirmity. The duty of warding off the attack in this hour of deadly

peril devolved upon Ian Aberach¹, (Mackay) not yet out of his teens, and right nobly did he respond."

"In 1433, according to the Blackcastle Manuscript, Angus Moray of Cubin with all the forces he could muster in Sutherland, to the number of 1500, advanced toward Tongue by way of Lairg, Shiness, and Crask-Rorie accompanied by his sons-in-law, Morgan (Mackay) and Neil Neilson (Mackay). The strategy of Mackay was to lure them on as far as possible before giving battle. They were met at Drum nan coup, at the head of a pass to the north of Ben Loyal within two miles of Castle Varrich, by about an equal number of men under Ian Aberach (Mackay), who was accompanied to the field by his helpless father borne in a litter. When the men of Sutherland understood that the opposing leader was but a lad, they tauntingly shouted, '*Cuiridh sinne buarach air an laogh ud, we will put a cow shackle on yonder calf.*' The Mackays, securely posted with their backs to the brae, hurled defiance at their foes and gave them a long-range discharge of arrows. The Sutherland men came on with great impetuosity and confidence, but the Mackays, who had the advantage of position and were fresh while the former were fatigued with their long march, received the shock firmly, and after some fierce fighting eventually drove them back down the pass in confusion, killing Angus Moray and his confederate sons-in-law. As the weary fugitives swarmed up the slopes of Ben Loyal they were killed mercilessly and in great numbers. The chase was continued to Ath Charrie, a ford on the stream running into Loch Loyal, where a stone marks the graves of the last party killed in the flight. This splendid victory was the Bannockburn of the Mackays—it saved their country from greedy and unnatural usurpers—but it was saddened by the fall of Angus Du (Mackay), slain by the arrow of a Sutherland man lurking in a bush, as he was being carried in his litter over the field after the flight of the enemy."

"In Bower's *Continuation of Fordun*, in Leslie's *Historia Scotorum*, in Balfour's *Annals*, and in Gordon's *Earldom of Sutherland* reference is made to this battle. Bower, who misdates it and from whom Gordon seems to quote, would have us believe that the combatants practically exterminated one another at Drum nan Coup. This is not in agreement with the traditions of the country, and ill accords with what took place soon thereafter at Tom an Dris and at Sandside. The fall of Angus Du himself may have given rise to the rumour of the battle which went south, that the Mackays suffered as severely as the Morays."

'Donald of the Isles,' writes Sir Robert Gordon, 'having detyned Angus Dow a while in captivitie, released him and gave him his daughter in marriage, whom Angus Dow careid home with him into Strathnaver, and had a son by her called Neill Wasse, so named because he was imprisoned in the Basse.'

"Sir Robert is mistaken in saying that the first wife of Angus Du (Mackay) was a daughter of Donald (MacDonald), Lord of the Isles. She was not his daughter, but his sister, Elizabeth, as is clearly stated in the charter of 1415. As this marriage did not take place until after the battle at Dingwall in 1411, and as John, Lord of the Isles (father of Elizabeth by his wife a daughter of King Robert II) died in 1380, according to the *Book of Clanranald*, the lady must have been somewhat advanced in years at the time of her marriage, and incapable of bearing

¹ "Ian Aberach (Mackay) was the eldest son of Angus Du (Mackay) by his second wife, a daughter of Alexander Carrach Macdonald of Keppoch, as shall be afterwards shown; and was fostered by maternal relatives in Lochaber, hence his name Ian Aberach, *John the Lochaber man*. We shall here relate a tradition regarding the meeting of father and son on the eventual eve of the battle of Drum nan Coup. When Ian arrived at Tongue from Lochaber, his father determined to test his spirit in a quaint fashion. He ordered food to be spread for his son in a room where a large boar-hound was placed. The fierce brute, looking upon the food as under its charge, prepared to show fight as soon as the Aberach entered; but Ian nothing daunted drew his dirk, closed with the hound, and soon dispatched it. The father delighted with his son's intrepidity exclaimed, '*Dhearbh thu fuil do chridhe, you have proved the blood of your heart.*' It may well be imagined his clansmen caused these words to ring throughout Strathnaver after the further proof they had of his valour on the field of Drum nan coup. Be that as it may, this incident is traditionally reported to have occasioned the slogan '*Dearbh do chridhe, prove thy heart*', with which the Aberach Mackays were afterwards wont to rush into battle. That of the other branches of the clan is '*Bi treun, be valiant.*' The latter slogan, in the Latin form *manu forti*, is now the motto of Mackay."

many children. It is more than probable that Neil Vass was the only child of the marriage, and that Lady Elizabeth died soon after the charter of 1415 was granted."

"Angus Du (Mackay) married, secondly, a daughter of Alexander Carrach Mac Donald of Keppoch, son of John, Lord of the Isles, by his wife Margaret, daughter of King Robert II. In the *Knock Manuscript* history of MacDonald we read as follows: 'Hugh Mackay of Strathnaver was taken, who married thereafter a daughter of Alexander MacDonald of Keppoch, of whom descended the race of Mackays called *Slioc Ean Abridh*.' The historian here also has committed a mistake in naming a Mackay of Strathnaver *Hugh* instead of Angus; but he makes clear that such a marriage took place, and that one of the sons of this marriage was Ian Aberach (Mackay), from whom descended the Aberach Mackays. We are thus particular because Sir Robert Gordon, who never misses an opportunity of besmirching the family of Mackay, dubs Ian Aberach 'bastard,' and this statement of his has been slavishly copied by other writers since. It ill becomes Sir Robert to sneer at bastards, for he narrowly escaped being one himself. When his father, the Earl of Sutherland, married his mother, the divorced wife of Bothwell, a dispensation from the Pope had to be obtained to make the marriage legitimate."

"Alexander, Earl of Sutherland, discarded his first wife, Lady Barbara Sinclair, daughter of the Earl of Caithness, and married Lady Jane Gordon, the divorced wife of Bothwell. Sir Robert Gordon was a son of this second marriage, and would have been a bastard were it not for the gold which his father paid to the Pope for a dispensation. By the canon law of Rome, which had force in Scotland until after the Reformation, marriage with a deceased wife's niece, or even with a cousin thrice removed, was within the forbidden degree of consanguinity; and as the second wife of Angus Du was a niece of the first, the marriage came under the ban of the Romish Church. That is all. The only difference between Sir Robert Gordon and Ian Aberach (Mackay) is this: the former was made legitimate by a Papal dispensation, as documents extant amply prove, the latter may have been made legitimate in a similar way, but we cannot meantime lay our hands on the documents. The known issue of Angus Du (Mackay) was five sons:

1. Neil Vass Mackay, by the first wife, and of whom an account follows.
2. Ian Aberach (Mackay), by the second wife. He became progenitor of the Aberachs, a branch of which we give a genealogical account later on.
3. Roderick (Mackay), whose son, Donald, is mentioned in a decret of the Lords of Council against the Mackays of Strathnaver in 1501.
4. William (Mackay) who is designated Angus Duff's son, and whose son, John, is included in the above decret.
5. Angus (Mackay), who had a son John, whose son, Angus, is designated of Spenziedale, Creich. This latter Angus (Mackay) granted sasine to his son-in-law, Roderick Murray, on the lands of Spanziedale and Bighouse, as is made clear in the title-deeds of the estate of Bighouse, of which a copy is preserved in the Blackcastle Manuscript. It is more than likely that Murray contracted this marriage in order to fortify his family in the possession of Bighouse, which Angus Du (Mackay) obtained by charter in 1415, but which the king gave to the Murrays in 1430. We shall afterwards show that there was a flaw in the king's gift of 1430, or rather that it was unjust."

VIII. NEIL VASS (MACKAY) 1433-50

"For some years after the death of his father (Angus Du Mackay), Neil (Vass Mackay) continued in captivity, and the maintenance of the interests of the Mackays of Strathnaver devolved during the interval upon Ian Aberach (Mackay). Sir Robert Gordon relates that the Earl of Sutherland was greatly enraged at the news of Drum nan Coup, that he drove Ian

Aberach (Mackay) into the western isles, and that on the Aberach's return at Christmas following he pursued him a second time 'so eagerlie that he was constrained to submit himself, and crave him pardon for his offence, which he obtained upon his submission.' That the Earl of Sutherland was angry is likely, but that he carried out these wonderful expeditions, or that Ian Aberach (Mackay) came to Dunrobin to beg pardon for fighting at Drum nan Coup, we are sceptical enough not to believe. This is, in our opinion, fictional history written to support a fictional claim of Sutherland's 'superiority' over Mackay."

"As Angus Moray, according to Sir Robert Gordon, gathered 'a company of Sutherlandmen with Earle Robert his attollrance,' we are justified in believing that his force of 1500 men represented the collective strength of that country. It is but reasonable to conclude that on such a hazardous expedition all their available strength would be employed; and judging from its population the country was not capable of turning any more men into the field. But this force was effectively broken to pieces at Drum nan Coup and all its leaders slain. As we do not believe the Earl of Sutherland was able to raise the dead on the slopes of Ben Loyal by the blast of a trumpet, we fail to understand where he got the men to carry out these Munchausen expeditions. We do acknowledge, however, that many attempts were made to assassinate Ian Aberach (Mackay) by Sutherlandmen, who came north in various disguises to avenge the death of fallen relatives, and that consequently he often had to pass the night for safety in a most inaccessible rocky fastness, near Castle Varrich, called to this day Leabaidh Ian Aberich, that is John of Lochaber's bed. The Mackays had nothing to fear from the men of Sutherland, who got such a severe handling in 1433 that they had to lie low for many a long day thereafter. Their danger lay in an attack from Caithness, which was delivered, although Sir Robert Gordon is silent on the point."

"According to local tradition, shortly after the battle of Drum nan Coup and before Neil (Vass Mackay) escaped from the Bass, Ian Aberach (Mackay) engaged the men of Caithness at Tom an Dris, on the west bank of the river Halladale, opposite Tor. The fight seems to have been a bloody one, as is evidenced by the abundance of human remains buried in the sandy slope above the ford at Tor. About 1820 a severe storm blew away the sand and exposed a considerable quantity of human bones, which Major Mackay of Bighouse collected and reburied at the foot of the slope, marking the spot by some stones. Human bones have also been found on both sides of the river in the neighbourhood of the ford, and for some distance to the east of it on the way to Caithness. From the configuration of the ground and from the position of the slain, it may be concluded that the Mackays were drawn up on the western slope above the ford to contest a Caithness invasion, and that the latter were driven back losing men for a considerable distance from the actual battle-field, as they were endeavouring to make their way home. The tactics practiced here were exactly similar to those adopted so successfully at Drum nan Coup: the Mackays stuck to a good strong defensive position and waited for an attack with their backs to the brae. Instead of the Earl of Sutherland pursuing Ian Aberach (Mackay) after the battle near Tongue, it is more reasonable to conclude that the men of Sutherland were saved from further immediate punishment at the hands of Ian by the longstanding feud between the Mackays and the men of Caithness."

"In February 1436, King James was murdered at Perth, and shortly thereafter Neil Vass (Mackay) escaped from his prison on the Bass by the help of a kinswoman, the wife of Lauder the governor. The very next year Neil (Vass Mackay) at the head of his clansmen undertook an expedition into Caithness. As Neil had no military experience—he was confined on the Bass at the tender age of 14—the captain of the force was undoubtedly the youthful veteran Ian Aberach (Mackay). The Mackays poured into Caithness by way of Reay, and took the precaution of leaving a strong body posted on Drum Holstein to cover their rear. The main body advanced towards Thurso, plundering and burning as they went. They were met somewhere in the neighbourhood of Thurso by the forces of Caithness, before which the Mackays fell back fighting and carrying their spoil. They retired in good order to Sandside, where

they were joined by their reserves from Drum Holstein, and there the real battle began. By skilful tactics Ian Aberach (Mackay) managed to corner the Caithness men in a loop of the bay below Sandside House, and to inflict a crushing defeat driving many into the sea. The survivors were chased for some distance along the shore towards Dunreay. Around the ancient fort of Cnoc Stangar, between Sandside House and the sea, where the fight was fiercest, the bones of the slain may yet be dug out of the sandy soil. This conflict is known as Ruaiġ Handside Sandside Chase."

"So idolized was Ian Aberach (Mackay) of his clansmen, who had good proof of his qualities during his brother's absence, that they would fain make him their chief, but Ian magnanimously refused to usurp his brother Neil's place, and handed over the government to him on his return from the Bass. This dauntless valour and unselfish chivalry became the heritage and characteristic of the Aberach Mackays, who were ever forward in the fray and but seldom reaped the full fruits of their victories, owing to their devotion to the principal family of Mackay. Neil, however, endeavoured to reward Ian by bestowing upon him lands in Strathnaver, but as there were no sheepskin charters given or asked the descendants of Ian Aberach (Mackay) afterwards saw these lands pass over their heads to the Earl of Sutherland, in the days of Donald, 1st Lord Reay. Neil Vass (Mackay) married a daughter of George Munro of Fowlis by his wife, a daughter of Ross of Balnagown, and had by her two sons and one daughter :

1. Angus Roy (Mackay), who succeeded his father.

2. John Roy (Mackay), who had a son William Roy. The said William is mentioned in a decret of the Lords of Council againt the Mackays of Strathnaver, dated 27th July 1501, wherein he is designated 'Wilziam Reed McKy.'

3. Elizabeth (Mackay), who married John mac Gillion of Lochbuy, chief of Maclean."

IX. ANGUS ROY MACKAY c. 1460-86

"The blood-feud which raged between the Mackays and the Sutherlands since 1370 became so assuaged during a century that a daughter of Angus Roy (Mackay) married Sutherland of Dirlot. As was often the case with marriages, perhaps this one sealed some compact between the two families. The Keiths who were akin to the Sutherlands of Dirlot, both families obtaining their Caithness possessions through marriage with the daughters of Reginald Chein, were at daggers drawn with the Gunns. It is probable that the chieftain of clan Gunn, a man of great power and the crowner of Caithness, resented the intrusions of the Keiths, who like all newcomers were of a pushing disposition, and had much influence at court through Keith marischal. Be that as it may, the relations between them became so hostile that the Keiths determined to crush the Clan Gunn if possible."

"'The Keiths mistrusting their own force,' records Sir R. Gordon, 'they sent to Angus Mackay entreating him to come to their aid,' which he did. What induced Mackay to assist Keith we cannot definitely say. There was an undoubted prospect of plunder, but that was not all. Sir Gilbert Keith of Inverugie was about this time 'customar,' or collector of customs, for Caithness, Strathnaver, and Sutherland; and in the exercise of this function may have not only crossed the Gunns, but befriended the Mackays and secured their help. For whatever cause, Angus Roy (Mackay) advanced into Caithness accompanied by a body of Assynt Macleods, joined the Keiths, and fought the forces of Gunn on Tannach Moor, near Wick. The gallant Gunns overwhelmed by numbers were defeated, but not without great slaughter on either side. Soon thereafter crowner Gunn and some of his sons were massacred by the Keiths in the chapel of St. Tyler, also near Wick. In the Parliament of 1478 measures were taken to put down blood-shed in Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness. Perhaps this had reference to these events."

"A feud now broke out between the Mackays and the Rosses of Balnagown which lasted many a long day and resulted in much slaughter on both sides. The *Blackcastle Manuscript* says that the Rosses made 'a predatory incursion' into the territory of Mackay; Sir Robert Gordon says that Mackay 'often molested with incursions and invasions' the lands of the Rosses. Both statements are probably true. It is to be remembered that the escheated lands of Thomas Neilson Mackay of Creich were bestowed by royal charter in 1430 upon Murray of Cubin, Neil Neilson (Mackay), and Morgan Neilson (Mackay). There is ample evidence that the Mackays of Strathnaver refused to acquiesce in this arrangement, and that they managed to recover some of the lost lands. The evidence is just as ample that the Rosses managed to secure some of these lands lying in the parishes of Ederton and Kincardine of Ross. We believe that the feud arose out of a scramble for the disputed lands. Angus Roy (Mackay), after making various expeditions into Ross attended with greater or less success, was at last overpowered near the church of Tarbet into which he had fled for refuge. The church was fired by the Rosses, and Angus was burnt to death. This happened about 1486."

"There is nothing to show that the civil or ecclesiastical authorities took any measures to punish the sacrilege in the church of Tarbet. The times were painfully out of joint. Many of the Scottish nobles were in conspiracy against King James III; and even his own son and successor, then a youth of 15 years, was in league with them. In 1488 the king fell at Sauchieburn fighting against his own son, afterwards known as James IV. The circumstances explain the Government's neglect; but the Mackays took the matter in hand themselves and executed summary vengeance, as shall soon appear."

"Angus Roy (Mackay) married a daughter of Mackenzie of Kintail, and by her had issue three sons and two daughters:

1. Iye Roy (Mackay), who succeeded, and of whom an account follows.

2. John Riavach (Mackay). Sir Robert Gordon makes him the eldest son, but the *Blackcastle Manuscript* distinctly states that he was the second son. The latter must be correct, for the public records show that John was alive in 1501, and that Iye acted as chieftain some years before that date. In his brother's absence, John Riavach (Mackay) led the Mackays at the battle of Aldycharrish in 1487, and is said to have fallen along with many of his clansmen at the battle of Flodden in 1513.

3. Neil Naverach (Mackay) is mentioned in the decret obtained by the Rosses against the Mackays in 1501 as 'bruder' of Iye MacKay. He married a daughter of Hutcheon Sutherland of Croystoun, by whom he had a son, John, who succeeded his maternal grandfather in the lands of Croystoun. The said John Mackay granted a procuratory to Hugh Rig and David Ireland, advocates, for serving him 'ane of the twa airs of umql. Hucheon Sutherland my guidysre' in all their lands etc., dated 4th November, 1542, and recorded in *Reg. Acts and Decrets*: Bk 1, 393.

4. A daughter, who married Hector Mackenzie of Auchterned, near Dingwall, son of Hector Roy of Gairloch, and had issue as recorded in Mac Farlane's *Collections*.

5. A daughter, who married Sutherland of Dirlot.

X. IYE ROY (MACKAY) 1486-1517

"Soon after the slaughter of Angus Roy (Mackay) at Tarbet, the Mackays under the command of John Riavach Mackay and William Du mac Ean Aberich (Mackay), the latter chieftain of the Aberach Mackays, assisted by some friends invaded Strathcarron of Ross in force. They met the Rosses and their confederates at Aldicharrish on the 11th July, 1487, where, according to Sir Robert Gordon who bases his account upon the *Fern Abbey Manuscript*, 'the inhabitants of Ross being unable to endure the enemies force were utterly disbanded and

put to flight.' He proceeds, 'Alexander Ross, laird of Balnagown, was there slain with seventeen other landed gentlemen of the province of Ross, besides a great number of common soldiers.' From Strathoikel eastwards towards Tain the Mackays left the country blazing and returned home laden with spoil. With blood, fire, and pillage they both punished and avenged the combined sacrilege and slaughter at Tarbet Church in such a thorough fashion, that the neglect or incapacity of the proper authorities was more than compensated. Nay more, five years afterwards they invaded the same district again and took much spoil a second time, as we shall see."

"Sir Robert Gordon, who never forgets his self-imposed task of magnifying the house of Sutherland, calmly informs us that John Mackay, with a view to the invasion of Ross, came to the Earl of Sutherland 'upon whom he depended, and desired, he said, to revenge his father's death; whereunto Earl John yielded and presently sent his uncle, Robert Sutherland, with a company of chosen men to assist him.' In the first place, Mackay in no way 'depended' upon the Earl of Sutherland. The feudal superiority of Sutherland over Mackay, which Sir Robert is continually harping upon, nowhere existed save in his own fertile imagination. In the second place, it is most unlikely that Earl John, who was handfasted if not married to a daughter of Balnagown, would assist to crush his father-in-law. It is possible, but not at all probable. And in the third place, when the raid was judicially enquired into there was no mention of the Sutherlands. 'A remission to John McKeye' was granted by the king at Banff, between October and November 1494. A courier passed from Aberdeen with an 'estreat of a justiceayre to Macintoshe, David Ross of Ballochgowne, and to McKeye,' 8th November, 1494. When the quarrel came before the justiciar at Aberdeen the principals were Mackay, Macintosh, and Ross. Evidently Sir Robert dragged in the other 'uncle Robert' in order to snatch the credit of the victory at Aldicharrish from the Mackays, but facts are against him."

"In 1490 King James IV, as tutor to his brother James, Duke of Ross, granted in heritage to David Ross, nephew and apparent heir of John Ross, and grandson of John Ross of Balnagown, the lands of Strathoikel and Strathcarron, which formerly belonged to Morgan Neilson Mackay. That is to say, as soon as possible after the accession of James IV to the throne, the Rosses of Balnagown took steps to secure by royal charter some of the lands in dispute between them and the Mackays. Nor did the Mackays lag far behind. On the 15th March, 1504, Iye Roy Mackay secured from the king the nonentry of the lands of Ferencostrig, Strathhalladale, Creichmore, Assent, Coigach, Gruids, Strathflete, and so forth. On the 15th February, 1506, he caused the charter granted by Donald (Mac Donald) Lord of the Isles in 1415, and by which the Mackays laid claim to these lands, to be recorded in the books of the Lords of Council. And sometime thereafter he laid claim, as a test case evidently, to the lands and barony of Coigach in Ross. On this latter claim the Lords of Council pronounced a decree, the 9th March, 1512, finding that the lands of Coigach belonged to the umql. Eupham, Countess of Ross, but as she had resigned the earldom of Ross into the hands of Robert, Duke of Albany, and had taken a new charter 'to herself and the heirs of her body, whom failing to the king's progenitors, kings of Scotland, in fee and heritage,' and as the said countess had left no heirs of her body these lands had become the property of the Crown."

"The Council's decree appears to us utterly unjust, and in keeping with many another legal transaction of the same body at this and other periods. Whatever documents Eupham the nun may have signed at the instigation of the notoriously unscrupulous Albany, it is undoubted that Donald (MacDonald), Lord of the Isles, secured and retained the earldom of Ross in spite of them. The said earldom with all its rights passed successively to his son Alexander and thereafter to his grandson John, both Lords of the Isles and Earls of Ross. It is true that John lost the earldom by reason of rebellion, but that should in noway invalidate the legality of the charter granted by his grandfather to the Mackays in 1415. As a brother of King James IV was, however, created Duke of Ross, it was found convenient to rest his title to the lands of the earldom upon the resignation of Eupham, ignoring the MacDonald possession

altogether. This was clearly sharp practice, to say the least of it. The counter claims of Mackay and Balnagown to parts of the lands held before 1430 by Mackay of Creich, who held them of his cousin of Strathnaver in consequence of the latter's charter from Donald, Lord of the Isles, serve to show the origin of the friction between the Rosses and Mackays which resulted in such an explosion at Aldicharrish."

"We saw that John Mackay got a remission from the king in 1494, but this did not quench the embers of strife. It is evident that more blood was shed, for David Ross of Balnagown and Iye Roy of Strathnaver were summoned to appear before the Earl of Argyle, then Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, and on the 4th October, 1496, each of them became bound, by extending his hand to Argyle in the king's name, to keep the peace towards each other, and that their 'folkis sal be harmeless and skaithles,' under a penalty of 500 merks in case of failure.

"Notwithstanding the apparent reconciliation of the parties above mentioned, 'David Ross of Balnagowan and Hucheon Ross his brother, procurators for Giles Sutherland, spouse of umql. Alexander Ross, and Isabella, Margaret and Marion Ross, daughters,' brought an action before the Lords of Council against the Mackays for spoils taken out of the lands of 'Langell, Invercarron, Grewnard, Kincardin, Invercarsley and others within the Duchery of Ross.' The spoils were :

'Twelve hundred Ky, the price of the piece 20s, with the profits of the same for eight years by-gone, extending yearly till the sum of 300 merks ; one hundred horse and mares, the price of the piece overhead 40s, with the profits thereof extending yearly be the said space till £40 ; and one thousand sheep and goats, the price of the piece 2s, with their profit yearly be the said space extending till 100 merks.'

"In this action the Rosses prevailed and decree was accordingly pronounced against the Mackays, who did not put in an appearance at all, dated 27th July, 1501. Roughly speaking, the damages amounted to about 6000 merks, a very large sum in those days ; but what portion of this if any the Rosses were able to recover we have no means of knowing."

"According to the above decret the spoliation complained of took place eight years earlier, or in 1493, while that in connection with Aldicharrish happened during the summer of 1487, as was recorded in the *Fern Abbey Manuscript*. Evidently there two great raids by the Mackays into Ross separated by an interval of five years. Of the first raid the authorities took no notice ; it was apparently considered justified by the code of revenge common then ; but the second raid resulted in an action at law. It is very evident the Rosses had no reason to congratulate themselves upon the burning of Angus Roy Mackay in Tarbet church."

"To reward with gifts of land or otherwise Highland chieftains and headmen, who brought offenders to justice and assisted in the maintenance of order, was part of the settled policy which King James IV adopted in the north. He seems to have been in regular communication with the Mackintosh, Huntly, Cameron, Grant, Mackay, as the national records abundantly show. It was in pursuance of this policy that, on the 18th July, 1496, he bestowed £20 yearly out of 'our lordship of Murray . . . for gud and treu service down to us be our lowit squyr Y McKy of Straithnaver,' to continue until 'we provide one living and fee of land for the said Y McKy in one competent place lyand near the boundis of Straithnaver.' The king in this document expressly addresses Mackay as 'of Straithnaver,' and holds out the prospect of other lands in the neighbourhood when the opportunity presents itself. It did so speedily.

"Sutherland of Dirlot, who was pursued for some debts by Sir James Dunbar of Cumnock, murdered his relative, Alexander Dunbar, stepfather of John Earl of Sutherland, and was in consequence put to the horn. Iye Roy Mackay, who was already bound to the king's service for the maintenance of order, received a commission to apprehend Dirlot and did so. Mackay was rewarded by a charter under the Great Seal, dated 4th November, 1499, of the escheated lands of Dirlot, viz., Farr, Armadale, Strathy, Rennivie, Davach Lochnaver, and Davach Eriboll,

all in Strathnaver, of Kinald, Golspie, and Kilcolumkill¹ in Sutherland, and of Dirlot, Cattack, Bronach, and two pennylands of Stroma in Caithness. As Dirlot was a nephew of Mackay, the apprehension seems somewhat heartless, but there were extenuating circumstances. Dirlot or his father managed to get possession by some means of Strathnaver lands which formerly belonged to the family of Mackay. Of this there can be no doubt. In the sasine which Donald (Mackay), son of Iye Roy Mackay, took of these lands on 16th February, 1540, it is expressly stated that the said lands pertained to, 'the late Odo McKy alias Y McKy, father of the foresaid Donald McKy, and his predecessors held of our deceased illustrious predecessors' (quondam Odamus McKy alias Y McKy, pater prefati Donald McKy, ejusque predecessores per quondam nobilissimos predecessores nostros). Looked at in this light, Mackay's temptation to acquire ancestral lands, which in some way came into the possession of Sutherland, overbore any natural affection which he might be expected to cherish towards his nephew. And besides this, Dirlot on the father's side was a representative of Nicolas Sutherland, with whom and with whose successors the Mackays waged such a prolonged and fierce feud."

"The closing years of the fifteenth and the opening years of the sixteenth century witnessed a great upheaval in the western isles, where the people continued to cherish a hankering after the re-establishment of the ancient lordship of the isles. The king, irritated at the misconduct of the Hebrideans, unwisely cancelled the charters of some of the leading families, and practically goaded them into revolt. Almost at the same moment Donald Du (MacDonald), grandson of John, Lord of the Isles, escaped from his long confinement in the castle of Inchconnal, fled to the Lews, and put himself at the head of the discontented confederates. It took three expeditions, in 1503, 1505, and 1506, respectively, to quell the tumult; and in all these expeditions Iye Roy Mackay did most effective work at the head of his clansmen. In the Parliament of 1505 Torquil of the Lews, who persistently refused to put in an appearance, was found guilty of treason and put to the horn. Huntly was commissioned to proceed with the northern Highlanders across the Minch and capture the recalcitrant MacLeod. To this end ships were collected, cannon brought by sea from Edinburgh Castle, and every nerve strained to make the expedition a success. In 1506 Huntly, Mackay, and others appeared before Stornoway Castle, and after battering it with artillery took Torquil prisoner."

"As a reward for his services in helping to crush the Hebridean insurrections, the king 'gevis and grantis to our lovit Y McKay' the nonentry of the lands in Straithnaver, Slichchilis, Strathhalladale, Creichmore, Assent, Coigeach, Gruids-davach, Edderachilis, the Little Isles of Strathnaver, and a part of the lands of Strathflete, dated 15th March, 1504. The Strathnaver lands in nonentry at this time were evidently those pertaining to the lineal heir of Farquhar, 'the king's physician,' a Mackay who obtained the lands of Melness, Hope, and the Little Isles of Strathnaver from King Robert II, as we saw. On the 30th September, 1511, Iye Roy (Mackay) and his son, John Mackay, purchased the lands of Melness and Hope from Donald McCorrichie, Farquhar's heir, and thus secured them in heritable right, but the Little Isles did not come into the possession of the family until they were purchased by Donald (Mackay), 1st Lord Reay. It is very evident from these transactions that the Mackays held a great amount of landed estate at this period, not only in Strathnaver but in Sutherland and Ross, and that they must have been able to put a large force into the field."

"King James IV having resolved upon an invasion of England summoned his subjects capable of bearing arms, and had a most loyal response from both Highlands and Lowlands. According to the *Blackcastle Manuscript*, Iye Roy Mackay accompanied by his brother John Raviach (Mackay), at the head of a contingent from Strathnaver, joined the royal standard and took part in the battle of Flodden in 1513. Iye Roy (Mackay) escaped with his life from the fatal field, but John Raviach (Mackay) and a number of clansmen fell that day. Among the slain from the far north were both the Bishop and the Earl of Caithness."

¹ This translates from Gaelic as 'church of the Dove of the Church', the allusion being to St. ColumCille who was himself of the Heremonian race, in Ireland.—R.W.M.

"After the fall of the king at Flodden, the islanders made insurrection again under the leadership of Sir Donald MacDonald of Lochalsh, commonly called Donald Galda. John, Duke of Albany, and Colin, Earl of Argyle, were entrusted with the task of suppressing the disturbance of 1515, and were in a measure successful. But Donald Galda managed to renew the conflict in 1517, and gave much trouble to the Earl of Argyle, who had been appointed Lieutenant of the Isles shortly before. When Argyle petitioned the Government for assistance against Sir Donald (MacDonald), letters were ordered to be directed in the name of the King to the head-men of the north, 'as the Lord Lovat, Macintosh, Grant, MacKenzie, McKy, McClod, and so forth, in the parts, to pursue the said Sir Donald and his accomplices,' dated May 1517. What response the Mackays made to this appeal we cannot say, but the affair soon thereafter terminated with the death of Sir Donald (Mac Donald)."

"Iye Roy (Mackay) shortly before his death joined in a bond of friendship with Adam Gordon, Earl of Sutherland, on the 31st July 1517. Of course, Sir Robert Gordon makes this to appear as the act of a vassal towards his superior. It was nothing of the kind, as the document itself shows. To the extent of the lands of Strathflete and others, within the Earldom of Sutherland (which was separate from Strathnaver), Earl Adam (Gordon) was the feudal overlord of Mackay, but no further. Sir William Fraser, discussing Sir Robert's reference to this transaction, writes: 'He also describes it as if it were granted by an inferior to a superior, which is not the case. The agreement, except for the acknowledged fact that Earl Adam (Gordon) was Mackay's overlord in certain lands, is a transaction between equals.'" It was not a case of the Earl of Sutherland calling Mackay to heel, as Sir Robert Gordon misrepresents it, but a case of the Earl of Sutherland soliciting the much-needed support of Mackay in an hour of great need, as shall appear afterwards. So much meantime for Sir Robert's fireworks."

"Iye Roy Mackay, who died towards the close of 1517, married a celebrated beauty, a daughter of Norman, son of Patrick O'Beolan of Carloway in Lewis, as is stated in the *Knock Manuscript*, or as Sir Robert (Gordon) calls her, 'a woman of the western isles.' O'Beolan was the lineal descendant of the well-known priestly family of Applecross, whose progenitor was St. Maolrubha. This marriage was not in conformity with canon law, but Iye Roy (Mackay) duly secured from King James IV, 8th August, 1511, a precept of legitimation for his two surviving sons, John (Mackay) and Donald (Mackay). By the unscrupulous conduct of the Earls of Huntly and Sutherland, Iye Du Mackay, the grandson of Iye Roy (Mackay), got into much trouble in consequence of this marriage notwithstanding the royal precept of 1511, as shall appear. The issue of this marriage was three sons and two daughters:

1. John (Mackay), who succeeded his father in 1517.
2. Donald (Mackay), who succeeded his brother John (Mackay) in 1529.
3. Angus (Mackay), who fell fighting against the Rosses, near Tain, before 1511.
4. A daughter, who married Hugh Macleod of Assynt, and had known issue Neil and Helen. Helen Macleod married her first cousin, Iye Du (Mackay) of Strathnaver, to whom she bore Donald Balloch Mackay of Scoury and John Beg (Mackay), the former becoming the progenitor of the Scoury Mackays.
5. A daughter, who married the Hon. Alexander Sutherland, son of John, Earl of Sutherland, by his second marriage."

XI (1) JOHN MACKAY 1517-29 A.D.

"We have now come to a point where it is absolutely necessary to take a general survey of the situation in Sutherland, owing to the advent of the Gordons and its far reaching effects. John, Earl of Sutherland, who died in 1508, was for some years before his death demented and his affairs in the hands of guardians. By his first wife, Fingole of the Isles, whom he divorced,

he had a son John, who succeeded, and a daughter Elizabeth, who married Adam Gordon of Aboyne, brother of Alexander (Gordon), 3rd Earl of Huntly. By his second wife, Catherine, who survived him and drew widow's terce as late as 1512, he had a son Alexander Sutherland, 'a bastard,' according to Sir Robert Gordon. John the elder son of Earl John was served heir to his father on the 24th July 1509, but soon experienced the power of the Gordons. As sheriff of the north, Huntly had under his jurisdiction Caithness, Strathnaver, Sutherland, Ross, Inverness, Moray, and so forth, and may be said to have had law and justice, such as it was, in his almost absolute hands. Huntly by legal manipulation got John, Earl of Sutherland, who succeeded in 1509, declared idiot and placed under the conjoint guardianship of Elizabeth, his sister, and her husband, Adam Gordon."

"On the death of James IV at Flodden in 1513, Scotland was left under the nominal government of an infant, James V, but one year old, and had to experience the miserable misrule which generally attended royal minorities in the northern kingdom. Huntly, who was practically lieutenant as well as sheriff of the north, had now the ball at his foot and did not fail to play his best. Elizabeth Sutherland, spouse of Adam Gordon, Huntly's brother, was served heir to her brother, John 'the idiot,' at Inverness, the 3rd October 1514; and Alexander Sutherland, her half-brother and rightful heir, complained through his procurator that he could not personally appear at the court to oppose her and make good his own claim, owing to the conduct of Huntly 'the sheriff.' But his protest was of no avail; Elizabeth obtained the earldom, and her husband Adam Gordon was soon thereafter created Earl of Sutherland. The disinherited Alexander Sutherland, however, possessed himself of Dunrobin Castle and cast about for assistance to maintain his doomed cause. Earl Adam, as he was now called, also fished for much-needed assistance to counteract the claimant. In 1516 by a grant of the lands of Strathulie he secured a bond of friendship with the Earl of Caithness, who for these lands engaged to recover Dunrobin Castle for Adam. In 1518, Huntly the sheriff had the Earl of Caithness outlawed for not fulfilling his promise to recover Dunrobin. Such was the administration of constitutional law in those days! To make a long story short, the unfortunate Alexander Sutherland was assassinated near Brora in 1519 by Gordon emissaries, when his head was fixed upon the chimney tops of Dunrobin; and Adam Gordon his brother-in-law, now Earl of Sutherland, soon thereafter resigned the lands of the earldom into the hands of the infant king, represented no doubt in the person of Huntly, who duly conveyed them by royal charter to Adam's eldest son—a slim but common practice in those days. This was how the title and lands of the earldom of Sutherland passed from the line of Sutherland to that of Gordon."

"It was in these circumstances that Iye Roy Mackay contracted the bond of friendship with Earl Adam (Gordon), dated 31st July 1517, which Earl Adam's great-grandson, Sir Robert (Gordon), represents as a covenant of vassalage. Fortunately, the document is still preserved among the *Reay Papers*, and we are able to print it in our Appendix; but unfortunately many another misrepresentation of his, equally gross with reference to the Mackays, we cannot so satisfactorily demolish for lack of the necessary evidence. At the advent of the Gordons into Sutherland, notwithstanding the discreditable circumstances above described, Sir Robert Gordon plays 'cock of the north' with a strut that is often annoying though sometimes ludicrous. He dubs John Mackay of Strathnaver 'bastard'—he does the same to Alexander Sutherland—and proceeds to describe a prolonged intestine war in Strathnaver between John (Mackay) and his uncle Neil Naverach (Mackay), on the question of the chieftainship, which is neither borne out by facts within our knowledge nor agrees with his own tale."

"John Mackay, on the 16th August, 1518, or shortly after his father's death, practically renewed his father's bond of friendship with Earl Adam (Gordon), and for promising assistance was given seven davachs of land in Strathflete. In his bond he took upon him the responsibilities of chieftain, and is designated 'of Strathnaver', a title which was never applied at that period save to the rightful head of the clan Mackay. Nay more, on Sir Robert's (Gordon) own showing, John Mackay sent or led no less than six warlike expeditions of his clansmen into Sutherland

between the years 1517-22, in every one of which he was badly defeated,¹ of course ! If John (Mackay) was so busy at home putting down insurrection we cannot understand how he could be at the same time so active abroad, especially seeing that he lost at every stroke ! ”

“ If John did all this he must have been one of the finest fighting bull-dogs his clan ever produced, and ought to have received better treatment at the hands of a gallant knight like Sir Robert (Gordon). There is, however, nothing to show that John’s succession was disputed, and Sir Robert evidently manufactured this story to justify the conduct of the Earls of Huntly and Sutherland, when, during the minority of Mary Queen of Scots, they attempted to disinherit Iye Du Mackay, nephew of the said John (Mackay). The Gordons, who managed to disinherit and decapitate the unfortunate Alexander Sutherland on the plea of bastardy, tried a similar plan on Iye Du Mackay, but with only partial success. To expose the misrepresentations of Sir Robert is a tedious and unpleasant task, which often compels us most unwillingly to rake up incidents discreditable to the house of Sutherland ; but as Sir Robert (Gordon), who is so unjust to the Mackays, is practically the only authority on our northern history at this period, we cannot avoid the task and be loyal to our own clan as well as to truth.”

“ We shall now consider those six wonderful incursions which John Mackay is said to have made between the years 1517 and 1522. Mackay with his clansmen, accompanied by some Assynt Macleods, marched into Sutherland in 1517, where he was joined by the Polson and Tomson Mackays. Alexander Sutherland, ‘ the bastard,’ at the instigation of his sister (now Countess of Sutherland, to his undoing) raised the men of the earldom, and being joined by the Murrays and Gunns gave battle to Mackay at Torran Du in Rogart, where the latter suffered a mighty overthrow. This is the history as told by Sir Robert Gordon, but it is not truth. Sir Wm. Fraser shows us that from March 1517 to February 1518 the disinherited Alexander Sutherland, instead of leading men to battle, was confined a prisoner in Edinburgh through the influence of Huntly ; and he proceeds, ‘ in other respects also Sir Robert’s narrative of the various encounters with the Mackays at this time must be received with caution.’ We should think so indeed. The fact is there was no fighting at all in Earl Adam’s policy, because of his uncertain and precarious hold of the earldom. Instead of fighting he wisely tried to bind to his interest, with bonds of friendship and gifts of land, all the influential leaders of the northland, such as Caithness, Mackay, Murray, and so forth.”

“ Mackay, however, did fight at Torran Du, as tradition and song sufficiently testify ; but his opponents were the Murrays, the Rosses of Balnagown, and the Gunns, while with him were the Mathiesons and the Polsons. Among the papers of the Rev. Mr. Sage of Kildonan was a manuscript *Account of the Gunns*, which came into the possession of the Rev. Mr. Gunn of Watten about 1804, and which now lies before us. In this manuscript there is one verse of an old Gaelic song commemorating the part which the Gunns took in the fight at Torran Du, which we give and translate as follows :

Thainig na Buinich ’s gu’n tainig iad,
 ’S ann an deagh am a thainig iad.
 Thair iad as MacAoidh² ’s sial Mhothan,
 Mharbhadh leo siol Phail gun acain.

The Gunns came and came they did,
 T’was in an hour of need they came.
 The Mackays and the Mathiesons fled,
 But the Polsons were mercilessly slain.”

¹ It will be apprehended that Angus Mackay mistrusted, and rightly, just about everything Sir Robert Gordon wrote about Mackays.

² The reader’s attention is invited to the fact that Mackay in Gaelic is usually rendered MacAoidh in Scotland and Macaadh or Macaodh in Ireland. The surnames of Mackay and McKee are but a scotticisation or anglicization of the actually untranslatable surname Macaoidh, Macaadh, Macaodh.—R.W.M.

"According to this manuscript account, the day was going with Mackay when suddenly and unexpectedly the Gunns appeared coming over the brow of the hill towards the battle field, and changed the face of affairs. The Mathiesons and Mackays like prudent men, retired to fight another day, but the Polsons were caught in a trap and suffered much loss. A few months after this 'great defeat,' the Mackays put in an appearance at Loch Salchie, above Strathoikel and near the borders of Ross, when William Mackay, chieftain of the Aberachs, and his brother Donald fell on the one side, and John Murray of Aberscross fell on the other. Once more, and only a few months later, the Mackays turn up in the heart of Rogart burning the town of Pitfure in Strathflete. Then almost immediately follows the bond of friendship, 16th August 1518, between Mackay (John) and Earl Adam, in which the former secures from the earl seven davachs of land in Strathflete. To put it briefly, the Mackays who were twice defeated in Rogart within the space of 12 months, according to Sir Robert (Gordon), are shown by the *Reay Papers* to have rounded up the year by securing a title to lands in the said parish. Of course, Sir Robert takes good care not to say anything about the latter fact—it would spoil his story."

"Shortly after all these disastrous 'defeats' and before the ink was hardened on the bond of friendship, Mackay turns up in Creich and again suffers a great beating at the hands of Alexander Gordon, Master of Sutherland. And yet again, within a year, the ubiquitous Mackay invades Braechat to be defeated by the Master once more. To punish Mackay for his thick-headedness in not understanding that he was defeated so often, Sir Robert now makes the Master invade Strathnaver passing from end to end and taking great spoil. We should think Mackay had enough punishment by this time to satisfy even Sir Robert, but such was not the case—the Master had to administer another thrashing at Lairg and drive Mackay into the loch there. At last Mackay's spirit is broken—perhaps the swim in Loch Shin had something to do with it—anyhow, he signs 'a bond of service' to the Master in 1522. This is Sir Robert's story briefly stated."

"Now what are the facts as far as we know them from documentary evidence? The bond which John Mackay signed, on the 6th July, 1522, is indorsed on the document lying in Dunrobin, 'Ane act where McKy gaif his aith to Alexander, erl of Sutherland, to do all things that he was oblist till do to Adam, erl of Sutherland,' Quite so. Earl Adam with whom John Mackay had contracted a bond of friendship in 1518, resigned the earldom into his son's hands, and now the son renews the said covenant with Mackay. There is not a syllable in the document to indicate any fighting between the two. It is very evident that the Master of Sutherland owes those brilliant victories over Mackay to the vigour of Sir Robert's glowing imagination. Such is history as it was written by Sir Robert! That there was a considerable amount of fighting in Sutherland during these years we believe, but it was not between the Gordons and the Mackays. The Gordon policy, inspired by the astute Huntly, sheriff of the north, was to set by the ears the Mackays, Murrays, Gunns, Mathiesons, Rosses; and in this the Gordons were only too successful. While the other clans kept hammering one another, the Gordons wisely kept fortifying their own position in Sutherland."

"In 1529 Andrew Stuart, Bishop of Caithness, instigated one of his servants to murder Sutherland of Duffus while on a visit to Inverness. This naturally caused an uproar throughout the diocese, some supporting the bishop and others the Duffus party. Sir Robert tells us that Huntly and Sutherland took the bishop's part, and practically saved from the gallows the reverend prelate's neck, because he happened to be a scion of the house of Atholl, with which they were in league. Mackay espoused the other side, and marched with a body of men towards the bishop's castle of Skibo; but he sickened during the expedition and was carried home to die almost immediately."

"John Mackay married Margaret, daughter of Thomas, Lord Lovat, who succeeded to the chieftainship of Fraser in 1501. In the *Wardlaw Manuscript*, Volume 34 of the *Scottish History Society Publications*, she is designated 'Margaret Lady Mackay,' and must have been the

wife of John (Mackay), from the period at which her father flourished. By her he had two daughters, but no male issue:¹

1. A daughter, who married Hugh Murray of Aberscross and to whom she bore Hugh, 'son and heir of Hugh Moray of Aberscross and grandson, and one of the heirs, of John Mackay of Strathnaver,' as is recorded in a charter by Wm. Sutherland of Duffus to the said Hugh Moray, dated 21st February, 1581. See Inventory of Dunrobin Papers in the *Blackcastle Manuscript*.

2. A daughter, who married the laird of Polrossie."

XI. (2) DONALD MACKAY

"As John Mackay died leaving no legitimate male issue, he was succeeded in 1529 by his brother Donald, who about that time assisted the Master of Forbes and Sir John Campbell of Cawdor in the prosecution of an Aberdeenshire feud, which resulted in the slaughter of Alexander Seaton of Meldrum. In Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. I, p. 149, we read :

'At Dundee, 10th October, 1530, John Master of Forbes found caution (John Lord Forbes) for his appearance along with Ninian Forbes, John of Caldore, and Donald Makky, at the justice-aire of Aberdeen, to underlie the law for art and part of the cruel slaughter of Alexander Seaton of Meldrum.'

"The occasion of this feud is surrounded with much obscurity ; its chief interest for us consists in the fact that we now find the Mackays and Forbeses, who claim to have sprung from a kindred stock in the distant past, acting in concert. It was for this slaughter, probably, that Mackay obtained a pardon for himself and his Strathnaver clansmen, 26th July, 1536, as follows :

'Respite to Donald MacKay and to all persons inhabitants of the land of Strathnaverne, Athir-Achquhilis, and Ardurenis, within the sheriffdom of Inverness, for all actions, crimes, etc., treason in our lord's person alanerlie excepted.'

"In July of the following year (1537) the Master of Forbes and his sister-in-law, Lady Glamis, sister of Douglas Earl of Angus, were executed for conspiracy against the king's life. Associated with Lady Glamis in the said asserted conspiracy was an Alexander Maky, whose singular sentence was to be banished from all parts of Scotland except the county of Aberdeen."

"Calderwood in his *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, compiled about one hundred years later, asserts that the jury who found Forbes guilty were corrupted by Huntly, and Pitcairn accepts this statement. That King James V persecuted with much malignity the Douglas family generally, and the Earl of Angus especially, the regent for some time during the king's minority, is a well known fact. That at the same time Huntly, who was a bitter Catholic like the king himself, stood high in the royal favour is an equally well-established fact. The Earl of Angus, stripped of everything, fled to England and became a leader of the Anglo-Reformation party, which Forbes also joined ; while the king, Huntly, and others, became known as the Franco-Romish party. We shall afterwards see that Iye Du (Mackay), son of Donald Mackay, joined the party of the Reformers and suffered for so doing at the hands of Huntly and his clique, in 1551 and thereafter. It is probable that the Mackays, feeling the pressure of Huntly in the north, for the earldom of Sutherland in the hands of a Gordon was to all intents and purposes an appanage of Huntly, endeavoured to counterbalance this by an alliance with their Aberdeen-

¹ "He had also an illegitimate son, John Mor (Mackay), of whom we shall hear more afterwards. The said John Mor (Mackay) had known issue five sons, viz., Neil (Mackay) ; Rory (Mackay), constable of Borve Castle in Farr during its siege in 1554 ; Murdo (Mackay), whose son Donald macMurdo macEan Mor lies buried within the old church of Durness ; John (Mackay), and Tormat (Mackay) :—*Reay Papers*. These five brothers are also mentioned in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. I, p. 352."

shire kinsmen, the Forbeses. In other words, Mackay in the north and Forbes in Aberdeen endeavoured to stand together against the Gordons in Sutherland and in Strathbogie."

"It has to be observed that Sir John Campbell of Cawdor, brother of the Earl of Argyle, was associated with the Mackays and Forbeses in the slaughter of Seaton. It was this same Sir John (Campbell) who slew Maclean of Duart in bed, about 1529, for the latter's inhuman treatment of Lady Elizabeth Campbell his wife, whom (Maclean of) Duart barbarously left exposed to certain death on a lonely western sea-girt isle. Maclean's slaughter resulted in a prolonged and bloody feud between his clan and the Campbells, during which the Mackays of Kintyre, especially, suffered severely at the hands of the Macleans. It appears that these Mackays supported the Campbells, for the charters and presumably the house of Evor Mackay, hereditary crowner of Kintyre from time immemorial, were burnt and his lands laid waste. It may be that the Strathnaver Mackays also joined the Campbells and the Kintyre Mackays against the Macleans; but it is only a surmise based upon their association with Cawdor in fighting the Seatons."

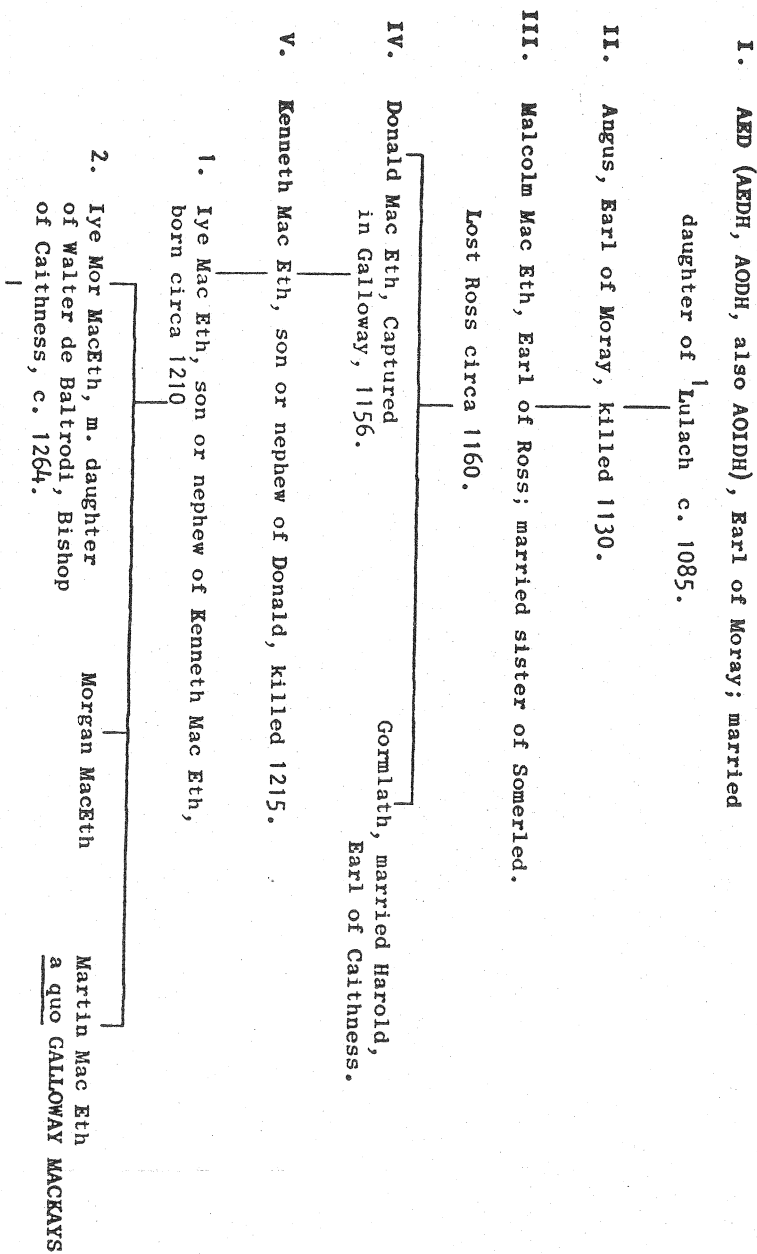
Up to this point the present author has quoted Angus Mackay's very excellent *Book of Mackay* with virtually no omissions. From this point forward, that is from the year 1539, that volume will be used as our guide in a very large degree, and full credit for what we know of the Mackays of Scotland is to be given to Angus Mackay, unless it is assigned another writer on that subject.

In May, 1539, King James V sailed from Leith with a large fleet on a cruise round the north of Scotland. Donald Mackay joined the king's entourage somewhere on the Strathnaver coast and accompanied it for the rest of the voyage. Upon their arrival at Stirling he was granted a charter dated 16th December, 1539, under the Great Seal, of his ancestral lands in heritage. These included Farr, Armadale, Straye, Rynewe, Kynnald, Golspie, Dirlot, Cattack, Broynach, Kilchalumkill in Strabrora, Davach Lochnaver, Davach Eriball, the two pennylands of Stromay, the mill of Kinald, the island of Sanday extending to three pennylands, the lands of Melness and Hope, with the mills, mill-lands, manors, and so forth, formerly belonging in heritage to Y McKy and his ancestors. Y McKy, otherwise Iye Roy Mackay, was the father of Donald Mackay and Donald's brother John Mackay whom Donald succeeded in 1529. The enumerated lands had returned into the king's hands by reason of nonentry, that is a failure to declare fealty and claim them. At court, where he seems to have remained about a year, Donald Mackay also obtained a charter from the Bishop of Caithness to extensive additional lands.

Late in 1542 James V decided to make war on England, and to his summons Donald Mackay and his son Iye Du Mackay responded with an unspecified number of clansmen, carrying forty days' provisions. The inadequate force was defeated at Solway Moss, and among the prisoners taken to England was Iye Du Mackay. Donald Mackay returned to Edinburgh with James V, where he was granted some additional escheated lands. Unfortunately, James V died a short time later, leaving an infant daughter, Mary, who was afterwards Queen of Scots. Selfish and shameless misrule by regent nobility followed during this peculiarly unfortunate girl's minority.

In England, where he had been transported as a prisoner, Iye Du Mackay, Donald Mackay's son, joined with some of the other Scot chieftains who had been captured, in advocating a marriage between the infant Mary of Scots and the Prince of Wales. The English King had inspired and incubated this plan for his own purposes. It should be remembered that Henry VIII was on the British throne in 1542, and that he had embraced the Reformation in his own interests, but that by so doing he threw the tremendous weight

THE MACKAYS OF STRATINAVER



3. Donald Mac Eth, born circa 1265; married daughter of Iye Mackay of Gigha.

4. Iye Mac Eth (Mackay), assassinated at Dingwall in 1370, by Nicolas Sutherland.

5. Donald MacEth (Mackay); K. 1370 at Dingwall, with father. Farguhar, physician to Robert II. Mariota, handfasted wife of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, had a son, Earl of Mor.

6. Angus Mackay, m. Hulstean Du Mackay daughter of Torquill Macleod of Lewis d. 1403. Martin Mackay Neil Mackay a quo POLSON MACKAYS

7. Angus Du Mackay K. 1433. Rorie Gald Mackay, K. at Dingwall in 1411. M. first, Elizabeth, sister of Donald Macdonald, Lord of the Isles. m. second, daughter of Alexander Carrach Macdonald. John Aberach Mackay a quo ABERACH MACKAYS

8. Neil Vass Mackay, released from Bass Rock, c. 1437. m. daughter of George Munro of Fowlds

9. Angus Roy Mackay, John Roy Mackay

k. at Fearn. m. daughter
of Mackenzie of Kintail

10. John Mackay, m.
but no issue

Iye Roy Mackay,
m. daughter of
Norman O'Beolan
of Carolway, Lewis;
died 1517

Neil

A dau. m. to
Sutherland
of Dilred

A dau. m. Hector
Mackenzie of
Auchterneed

11. John Mackay,
d. without male
issue 1529.

Donald Mackay, married
Helen Sinclair of
Stempster; d. 1550

A daughter who married
Hugh Macleod of
Assynt.

12.

Iye Du Mackay (d. 1572)

married first his cousin
Helen, dau. of Hugh
Macleod of Assynt.

married second Christian,
dau. of John Sinclair of Dun

13. Donald Balloch Mackay
a quo SCOURY MACKAYS

John Beg Mackay
k. at Durness, 1579

William Mackay
a quo Bighouse Mackays

Hulstean Du Mackay, d. 1614

married first Elizabeth
Sinclair

married second Jane
Gordon

14.

Christina Mackay

Donald Mackay,
1st Lord Reay

John Mackay
a quo STRATHY
MACKAYS

Annas, m. Sinclair
of Brims

Mary Mackay
who married first,
Sir Hector Munro;
second, Alexander
Gunn of Killlearnan

1. A pedigree of Lulach follows.

of England on its side. James V of Scotland had been a devoted Catholic, as was ever his daughter Mary Queen of Scots. In point of fact this unwavering adherence to her faith cost her the throne and her life. Henry VIII was in some respects dissolute, but probably no more so than thousands of men today whose wealth can buy anything they crave or lust for, else a remarkably excellent facsimile. The attribute possessed by Henry Tudor, which so many neglect to recognize, was his innate ability, which when coupled with his uncanny judgment and his belief in his divine infallibility, elevated him to a commanding level where he must be appropriately called every inch a king.

It must have been his purpose to cement together the Stuarts of Scotland and the Tudors of England through this marriage of Mary to his son Edward, whose mother was Jane Seymour. As it eventuated, the Tudor reign expired forever with his daughter by Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth. After her came James VI of Scotland, crowned James I of England, who was the son of Mary Queen of Scots, and of the House of Stuart.

Donald Mackay died late in 1550. He was married to Helen, daughter of Alexander Sinclair of Stempster, second son of William, Earl of Caithness. The issue of this marriage :

1. Iye Du Mackay, who succeeded.
2. A daughter who married John, 4th Aberach Mackay chieftain, and had issue as given in Angus Mackay's Genealogical Account of the Aberach Mackays.
3. Florence, who married Neil Macleod of Assynt and had issue, as see Douglas' *Baronage*, p. 392.

XII. IYE DU MACKAY, 1550-72

Iye Du Mackay, with nineteen followers, took part along with Glencairn, Angus, Lennox, and other Scottish leaders, in an attack on Arran on Glasgow Muir in 1544. Their party was defeated with considerable loss. This affair took place, it will be noted, some six years before his father's death, hence before he became the chieftain. Under date of 10 March, 1554, Y McKy de Far, which is a variant spelling of Iye Mackay, received a remission from the Regent Arran for his complicity in the abortive raid on Glasgow, after which he returned to England and tarried there for three years in military service.

We find him in 1548 with Lord Grey in the capture and fortification of Hadlington, for which support of the English, he was pardoned fourteen years later by Mary Queen of Scots, in return for his help in bringing Huntly to heel.

A word as to the antecedents of Lulach : Lulach was a king of Scotland, as is shown by the list of Scottish kings excerpted from O'Flaherty's *Ogygia* and included in the present *Book of McKee*. He appears to have taken the throne in 1057 A.D., and to have reigned only about six months. He was a second-cousin of Macbeth, who was Scotland's king from 1040 to 1057 A.D., although various historians state this relationship differently, even sometimes as father and son, as did Roderic O'Flaherty.

¹ Roderick O'Flaherty, in his *Ogygia*, Dublin 1793, p. 263, records the period in the following manner, but this is certainly at variance with Skene's portrayal :

"Macbeth, the fiftieth king.

Macbeatha mac Fionnlaich, in the year 1040."

"Macbeth, the son of Finnlaich, and grandson to Malcolm the second by his daughter Donada, succeeded Donnchad the first as King of Scotland, and reigned seventeen years. *Poem.*"

"Lulach, the fifty-first king.

Lulach, in the year 1057."

"Lulach, the son of Macbeth, succeeded his father in the year 1057, and reigned six months. *Poem.*"

On the death of Sigurd, the Norwegian Earl of Orkney, Moravia had become freed from Norwegian rule, and its rulers appear to have considered themselves so far independent as to claim the Celtic title of Ri or King. Findlaec, the son of Ruadhri, who appears in the sagas under the name of Finlckir Jarl, and whose slaughter by the sons of his brother Maelbrigdi in 1020 is recorded by Tighernac as Mormaer of Moreb (*i.e.* Moray, or Moravia, Morevia.—R.W.M.), is termed in the Ulster Annals 'Ri Albain'; and Tighernac, in recording the death of his successor Malcolm, the son of his brother Maelbrigdi, and one of those who slew him, in 1029 terms him 'Ri Albain' *Celtic Scotland*, Skene, Edinburgh, 1886, p. 397, Vol. 1.

This pinpoints Findlaec (slain A.D. 1020 by Malcolm and Gillacomgan, sons of Maelbrigda) as a Celtic king of Moray. He was descended, as shown by the table on page 75 from Ferchar fada, who was chief of the principal branch of Cinel Loarn; the table also shows Findlaec's descent from Fergus the Great, from which we know he was of the royal Heremonian line. This deduction is of course based on Skene's conclusions, and assumes their accuracy. Findlaech's brother was Maelbrigda, both of them sons of Ruadhri, as noted above. Maelbrigda had two sons, Malcolm who became king of Moray and died in 1029, and Gillacomgan who died in 1032 and was mormaer of Moray. Gillacomgan married a granddaughter of Boete; Boete it will be recollected was a brother of Malcolm II, whose name was Mac Cianaodha, and it was Boete's son that Malcolm II murdered in order that Malcolm's grandson Duncan might succeed him, Duncan being the son of Malcolm II's daughter by her marriage to the ¹Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld. Gillacomgan was father of Lulach, while as seen above, Lulach's mother was a member of the royal Mac Cianaodha line.

Thus, it appears to the present author that when Lulach's daughter married Heth, that is Aoidh, father of Aengus, king of Moray, and had Malcolm Mac Eth for a grandson, she surely passed the blood of the royal Mac Cianaodha's to him.

Macbeth, it will be seen, reigned 17 years, having slain Duncan, the grandson of Malcolm II, who was king of Scotland from 1004 to 1034 A.D. The reader should particularly note that Malcolm II's name in Gaelic was Malcoluim mac Cionaodha. His father, Cionaodh mac Maoilcoluim was king from 971 to *circa* 991-995 A.D. He was known as Kineth II, Kineth being an anglicisation of Cionaodh. Here we definitely link *aodh* and *eth*, hence *Macaodh* and *MacEth*.

Cionaodh mac Maoilcoluim was a son of Malcolm I, whose name in Gaelic was Maoilcoluim mac Domnaill; Malcolm I was king of Scotland 946-953 A.D. He was a son of Domnaill (Domnald) V, king 895-900 A.D., and whose father was Constantine mac Cionaodha, who was king 862-876 A.D.

The latter was son of Kineth I, whose name in Gaelic was Cionaodh mac Ailpin; he occupied the Scottish throne from 847 to 858 A.D. In turn, he was the son of Ailpin mac Eocoidh, king 843-847 A.D., whose father Eocoidh mac Aodh apparently became king but did not reign, his son Ailpin having taken the throne in his stead.

This Eocoidh mac Aodh was a son of Aodh Fionn, who was king of Scotland 30 years from 748 to 778 A.D., and who was son of Achy II, king 2 years *circa* 711-713 A.D. Achy II (Achy is an anglicization of the Gaelic personal name Eocoidh, spelled also Eochaid, and in several other ways), was a grandson of Domnald I by the latter's son Domangard.

¹ Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld, was married to Bethoc, the only daughter of Malcolm I, and he fell in supporting the claims of his grandson, Malcolm, against Macbeth, A.D. 1045. *Annals of Ulster*, in *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, pp. 364, 369.

Domnald I, known as Domnald 'Brec, was king of Scotland 10 years from 632 to 642 A.D. He was a son of Achy the Red, whose Gaelic name was Eochaid Buidhe (the yellow), and who occupied the throne 23 years from 606 to 629 A.D. Before Achy was his father Aodan mac Gauran, who reigned from 574 to 606 A.D. Aodan, as his name implies, was the son of Gauran. Gauran was the son of Domangard mac Fergus; Gauran occupied the throne for 2 years from 558 to 560 A.D. Domangard was a son of Fergus the Great, who was the first Gaelic king of the Dalriadic segment of Scotland, his brother Loarn having been king before him, but of even a smaller portion of the kingdom. Fergus mac Erc was a son of Eric, according to O'Flaherty, and sixth lineal descendant of Conary, who was king of Ireland 212-220 A.D.

Murcherthach mac Earca was king of Ireland from 513 to 533 A.D., and took his name from his mother Erica (variously spelled), a daughter of a Loarn, a Pict king of the same name as Fergus the Great's brother. Murcherthach sent the Lia Fail, that is to say the Stone of Destiny, from Ireland to Scotland in order that Fergus might be crowned on it, as had the Irish kings for the past 2,200 years. It never returned to Ireland, and as elsewhere noted remains today in Westminster Abbey, the Stone of Scone. To this day monarchs of Scotland, that is the monarchs of Great Britain, are crowned over this ancient stone, which rests beneath the coronation chair.

The reader will perceive from the foregoing pedigree of King Lulach that his ancestry apparently traces not only direct to Conary, king of Ireland 212-220 A.D., but thence to Heremon *circa* 1700 B.C., if for the moment we accept these bardic genealogies as sound. Thus, the cognatic descent of this line of Mackays would be clearly Heremonian, from the daughter of Lulach whom Aed, the Earl of Moray, married. Moreover, it is interesting to observe that the ancestors of Lulach, who were Scottish kings for 500 years, rather consistently maintained the name Aodh from *circa* 574 A.D., when Aodan, son of Gauran, ascended the throne, repeated in 748 with Aodh Fionn, then in 826 with Aodh II. The 'fiery one' continues to be commemorated as late as Malcolm II in 1004 A.D., whose Gaelic name was Malcolium mac Cionaodha. The best translation the present author has been able to find of *Cionaodha*, is *cinelaodha*, member of the clan of Aodh, or scion of the clan of Aodh; else *head of Aodha*.

We return now to Iye Du Mackay, who adhered still to Henry VIII's plan to marry Edward, Prince of Wales, to Mary Queen of Scots. His intrigues, predicaments, and battles would fill a large volume. In 1554 a considerable force under Sutherland and a marine fleet under Kennedy marched and sailed against Iye Du Mackay, besieging his stronghold Borve Castle, situated on a promontory of the Aird of Farr. The quarry slipped away to the highlands of Strathnaver, gathered some Aberach Mackays quickly about him, marched into Sutherland and laid waste to the countryside. Eventually though he was captured and imprisoned in Dumbarton Castle from February 1 to October 20, 1555. Apparently he was released on the latter date.

In December, 1560, Francis II, the husband of Mary Queen of Scots, died. He was the son of Henry II, King of France, and his wife Catherine de' Medici. As a result of her husband's death the queen returned to Scotland in 1561. In 1562 she formed a plan to visit her fellow monarch, Elizabeth of England, who would eventually have her beheaded. In May, 1562, she caused letters to be sent to Iye Du Mackay commanding that he supply an escort for her journey to England. For a reason history does not record she decided against

¹ 'Brec' means 'speckled', probably connoting freckled in this instance.

the trip. Instead, she set out for a tour toward Inverness by way of Aberdeen in August, 1562. The Guises, that is James V's widow the Queen mother Marie de Guise-Lorraine, and her court, had apparently titillated Huntly with the vague promise of their influence with the queen to induce her to marry his son Sir John Gordon. Mary Queen of Scots not only rejected their overtures with disdain, for she knew Huntly had leagued himself against her interests along with Argyll, Arran, Lindsay, and others, but she went further and ignored his repeated invitation to visit his house near Aberdeen. When her party reached Inverness, the queen gave orders that the party would stay at the castle, but they were refused admission by the governor of the castle, a minion of Lord Gordon, and himself a Gordon.

Apparently someone had overlooked the fact that they were dealing with a Stuart queen. She instantly summoned to her standard neighboring clans, took the castle, and hanged the governor. After a week spent at Inverness Castle, Mary proceeded under clan escort to Aberdeen, where on October 5th she granted Iye Du Mackay full pardon for earlier rebellions.

After some defiance, Huntly was slain by the combined clans of Mackintosh, Mackay, and Forbes in a battle at Corrichie. His second son Sir John Gordon, who had aspired to the hand of the Queen, was executed at Aberdeen. In May of 1563, the embalmed body of Huntly was arraigned before Parliament and the Queen. He was found guilty of treason in his upended coffin, deprived of his dignities, and all his lands were escheated to the Crown. Not more than four years later Mary was beholden for support to the son and heir of this Huntly corpse she had tried for treason. These were stern, ruthless, and often bitter days. The tumultuous Queen of Scots created young Darnley Lord of Ardmanach and Earl of Ross on 15th May, 1565, and a month later gave him the lands of Strathnaver. On June 29, 1565, she married the fatuous, treacherous, unfortunate fellow.

Mary obtained the Strathnaver lands by escheat, having caused Donald Mackay, father of Iye Du Mackay, to be declared a bastard *15 years after his demise!* Thus, said the queen's legal minions, Donald Mackay could not have inherited from his father, even though he held said lands by grant from Mary's father James V under the Great Seal, and had added to them by purchase. The fact was that Donald's father contracted an irregular marriage, which was quite a common occurrence, but obtained from the king himself a precept of legitimation for both Donald and John, his two sons. Both were born in wedlock, but the marriage itself required that its issue be declared legitimate by the monarch, which took place. Mary contrived to ignore this and seize Mackay's estates by legal legerdemain, one of her many shameless acts.

Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, whom she married in June, 1565, was blown up at Kirk O'Fields on February 29, 1567, with the connivance of the Earl of Bothwell and George Gordon, as well as Mary herself. Then came royal tick-tack-toe. Lady Jane Gordon, Huntly's sister, divorced James Hepburn, 4th Earl of Bothwell, in order that he might marry the Queen *two weeks afterward*. She had been his mistress during most of the time she was married to Darnley, and it must not be thought that her general course of misconduct met the approval of more than a few scheming nobles and their followers.

In point of fact, Mary's marriage to Lord Darnley was faulty, since she married on June 29, 1565, and the Pope's dispensation was issued September 24, 1565, for a marriage *to be contracted thereafter*. This made her son James VI of Scotland, who became James I of England upon Elizabeth's death, a bastard by canonical rule. Mary was therefore stained with the same offense that Iye Du Mackay's grandfather was accused of committing, and for which the Strathnaver lands were forfeited through the poor adulterous queen to Darnley.

Later, when Mary was disgraced over Lord Darnley's murder, and the Earl of Moray, who was James Stuart, her half-brother, became Regent of Scotland, Iye Du Mackay recovered his Strathnaver lands for a nominal sum. He and Moray were good friends, and had the Regent not been assassinated there is little doubt that the ancient estates of Mackay would have been restored. As matters worked out, the Earl of Sutherland, by further legal chicanery contrived to emerge with feudal superiority over the Mackays, as this was passed separately from the estates and beyond the control of Iye Du Mackay.

Of the character and hardihood of this remarkable man, Angus Mackay has the following comment :

"We conclude that Mackay was a man of more than ordinary strength and of iron endurance, for two years before the close of his life, and when an old man, he was overtaken by a snowstorm of such severity, while crossing the Crask in the dead of winter, that 18 of his company perished and only two or three of the stoutest managed to push on along with him. This was more than an ordinary feat for a man of about 70 years of age. The cruel misrepresentations of Sir Robert Gordon have led some to conclude that Iye Du Mackay lived a wild, turbulent life. Of fighting he certainly did more than his share ; but much of it was on the side of civil liberty and for the reformation of religion in Scotland, which is more than can be said for the virtuous paragons before whom Sir Robert (Gordon) would have us fall down."

Iye Du Mackay died in November, 1572. Initially he married his first cousin, Helen Macleod, who was a daughter of Hugh Macleod of Assint. By her he had two sons, but both were barred from succession by existing canonical law, since a marriage between first cousins needed a dispensation by the Pope, which this fiery one neglected to obtain. His first born sons were :

1. John Beg Mackay (this equals 'little John' in Gaelic), who was killed in a skirmish at Balnakeil, Durness, in 1579.

2. Donald Balloch Mackay, who became progenitor of the Scoury Mackays.

By his second wife, Christian Sinclair, daughter of John Sinclair of Dun, Caithness, he had two more sons and three daughters :

3. Huistean Du Mackay, who succeeded his father.

4. William Mackay, of Bighouse, who became the progenitor of the Bighouse Mackays.

5. Eleanor, who married Donald Bane Macleod of Assint.

6. Jane, who married Alexander Sutherland of Berridale.

7. Barbara, who married Alexander Macdavid, chieftain of the Clann Gunn. The eldest son of this marriage was William Macallister, chieftain of Gunn, who succeeded to the lands of Killernan 19th February, 1614.

XIII. HUISTEAN DU MACKAY, 1572-1614

Huistean Du Mackay ('Du' is apparently a Scot compression of the Gaelic word 'dubh', which translates *black*. In Ireland even more than Scotland the color of a man's hair was incorporated into his personal name, *buidhe* for yellow, *ruadh* for red, and *dubh* for black), was but eleven years of age when his father Iye Du Mackay died. For the ensuing

20 years Scotland fermented under misrule, with the strong-handed lairds wresting from the weaker ones whatever they list. The public officers and courts were corrupt, and Mary Queen of Scots, from her imprisonment in England, carried on a mesh of intrigue until her merciless sister-sovereign Elizabeth put a period to them with the axe.

Huistean Du bestowed Scoury upon his elder brother by the father's first marriage, Donald Balloch Mackay. Young Huistean and his brother William Mackay, afterwards of Bighouse, were made wards of George, 4th Earl of Caithness, and resided with him at Girnigo. During this period John Mor Mackay, a cousin of their father Iye Du Mackay, and himself a soldier of considerable experience, governed Strathnaver as tutor. The Earl of Caithness, conceiving a fear of John Mor Mackay, enticed him under the guise of false friendship, to Girnigo and had him assassinated. Following this outrage, John Beg Mackay, Huistean Du's half-brother, took command in Strathnaver. Again the Earl of Caithness conceived a fear of an adult in command, and incited the Aberach Mackays to attack John Beg Mackay on the representation that he was disloyal to Huistean Du. As a result, they and the Macleods of Assynt assaulted him and his forces at Balnakiel, Durness, in 1579, killing John Beg Mackay, William Gunn the chief of the Robson Gunns, and an unnamed number of the two clans. This engagement set the Aberach Mackays and the Macleods at feud with the Robson Gunns and the Mathiesons, with nothing but woe to show for it.

It appears from Angus Mackay's detailed account of his actions that Huistean Du Mackay was a man of both superior strength and courage, who wielded his battle-axe to the terror of his adversaries. There seems no point in a book with the present one's purpose in describing the gory hand-to-hand encounters. It is sufficient perhaps to assure the reader that the early centuries in Ireland, Scotland, and England seethed with oppression, armed raids and robbery, arson, rape, and murder. The clans fought invaders when there were any available, but otherwise preyed upon each other. The Mackays were as warlike and predacious as any of the clans, but valorous and honorable in every undertaking the present writer has found recorded.

On January 31, 1602, the Privy Council of Scotland passed an act calling upon Huistean Du Mackay and the Earl of Sutherland to supply 100 fighting men to assist Elizabeth's forces in overcoming the so-called rebellion of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone and Red Hugh O'Donnell, Earl of Tirconnel, in Ulster, which had been roaring furiously for several years. The Scots were sent.

So close to the Forbes clan did the Mackays consider themselves that Huistean Du Mackay sometimes subscribed himself Mackay-Forbes. It appears that both he and his Forbes friends had embraced Protestantism, and this is in particular borne out by the circumstance that Huistean Du Mackay's initials with date are cut on the old church at Durness, near which he resided at Balnakiel.

Huistean Du Mackay died at Tongue September 2, 1614. He married twice. His first wife was Lady Elizabeth Sinclair, whom he divorced. She was a daughter of George Sinclair, 4th Earl of Caithness. The issue of this marriage was Christina Mackay, who married John Mackintosh of Dalzell, son of Mackintosh of Mackintosh.

Huistean Du Mackay's second marriage was to Jane Gordon, eldest daughter of Alexander Gordon, Earl of Sutherland. The issue from this marriage was two sons and two daughters :

1. Donald Mackay, 1st Lord Reay.
2. John Mackay, progenitor of the Strathy Mackays.

3. 6

MONRO HIS EXPEDITION VVITH THE VVORTHY SCOTS REGIMENT (CALLED

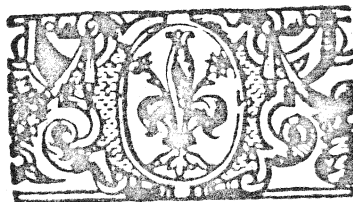
Mac-Keyes Regiment) levied in *August 1626.*

by *S. Donald Mac-Key* Lord *Rhees*, Colonell for
his Majesties service of *Denmark*, and reduced
after the *Battle of Nerling*, to one Com-
pany in *September 1634.* at
Wormes in the Palitz.

Discharged in severall Duties and Observations of service;
first under the magnanimous King of *Denmark*, during his warres
against the Emperour; afterward, under the Invincible King of
Sweden, during his Majesties life time; and since, under the
Director General, the *Rex-chancellor Oxenstjerne*
and his Generalls.

Collected and gathered together at spare-houres, by Colonell
ROBERT MONRO, at first Lievetenant under the
said Regiment, to the Noble and worthy Captaine,
THOMAS MAC-KENYEB, of *Kildon*, Bro-
ther to the noble Lord, the Lord Earle of
Seafort; for the use of all worshie
Cavaliers favouring the laudable
profession of Armes.

To which is annexed the Abridgement of Exercise, and di-
vers practicall Observations, for the younger Officer
his Consideration; ending with the *Souldiers*
Meditations going on service.



LONDON,
Printed by *William Jones* in *Red-Crosse streete.*

1637.

The title page *Monro—His Expedition*—reproduced overleaf is from one of the rarest volumes in existence which clearly shows that Mackay was also spelled Mackey in the seventeenth century. Reproduced by the courtesy of Henry Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

3. Anna Mackay, who married John Sinclair of Brims, Caithness, on December 29, 1618.
4. Mary Mackay, who married Hector Munro. He was created a baronet June 7, 1634. After his death in 1635, she married her cousin Alexander Gunn of Killearnan, Chief of Gunn.

XIV. DONALD MACKAY, 1ST LORD REAY, 1614-49

Donald Mackay was a nephew of Sir Robert Gordon who authored the history of the Sutherlands that Angus Mackay, the author of the *Book of Mackay*, was able to expose as false in some parts of its narrative about both the origin and actions of the Clann Mackay and its members.

The Earl of Sutherland having died in the fall of 1615, and his heir John being only six years of age, Sir Robert Gordon, who was his uncle, was appointed his tutor in which post he served for the next 15 years. This gave him substantial power throughout Caithness.

He wielded considerable influence with the youthful Donald, and induced him to enter into several rather nefarious affairs that an older head might have avoided. One of these was the persecution and ruin of the Earl of Caithness, which Angus Mackay considered a dishonorable proceeding. But Donald soon perceived his uncle's mendacity, and drew back from his vengeful relative.

On August 20, 1623, 'Sir Donald McKay of Strathnaver'—for he had been made a baronet—was appointed a Justice of the Peace by the Privy Council of Scotland, through whom James I of England ruled his homeland. He, it will be remembered, was the son of Mary Queen of Scots by her second husband Lord Darnley, and from James VI of Scotland was elevated to James I of England and the realm upon Elizabeth's death. About this same year Donald Mackay began to purchase considerable land, including Reay, Sandside, and so forth, from Lord Forbes; and elsewhere the Little Isles of Strathnaver which, it will be recalled, were presented by the king in early centuries to Farquhar Mackay, the physician.

In 1626, though, he sold a portion of his recent acquisitions, including Moidart and Arisaig, in order to finance his purposed military expedition to the Continent. The Thirty Years' War was already in progress there, which became finally a conflict of Protestantism against Catholicism. What we know of Donald Mackay indicates that he was not a man of deep devotion to any faith, but he drew his sword and tossed his fortune on the scale on the side of Protestantism, without evident expectation of material gain. Since he came from a long line of fighting men, whose ancestors were warriors back through uncounted centuries, his action may most logically be ascribed to an inborn disposition to join any worthy fight that comes to hand. He petitioned leave of King Charles I to raise a regiment to go to the assistance of the Elector, and received the king's instant blessing of the project. By May 15, 1626, he had signed 3,600 of the finest fighters Scotland could produce, adventuring young fellows to whom a war on foreign soil loomed as a rose-hazy hurdle to fame and fortune.

Donald Mackay fell ill and his troops had to depart without him, but he had recovered sufficiently by the following Spring to join the regiment in its Holstein winter quarters. He and his men took service under Christian IV, King of Denmark, and in their first battle held a town against 10,000 men under Tilly. A rather detailed account of the battles of this regiment is contained in '*Munro his expedition with the worthy Scots regiment, called Mac Keyes regiment*' (published 1637), and '*An old Scots Brigade*' (published 1885).

Their next encounter was at the Pass of Oldenburg, which Sir Donald Mackay had been instructed to hold against Tilly with an overwhelming host. The battle was fought late in October, lasted from dawn until sunset, and left alive only 950 of the original 3,600 that embarked at Cromarty. As 150 of these were maimed it was indeed a cruel toll. Sir Donald Mackay was severely wounded by the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder, but stayed at his command. Sir Patrick McKie of Larg was carried wounded from the field.

On June 20, 1628, Sir Donald Mackay was created Lord Reay by King Charles I, in recognition of his valuable services to King Christian IV in the war in Germany. The further patent, creating Lord Reay Earl of Strathnaver, never was completed, because of the civil war, and the parliament refusing to perfect the creation. In late 1628 Lord Reay joined his regiment at Copenhagen, and under date of June 17, 1629, took service with Sweden's King Gustavus Adolphus. In 1630 he and his regiment were back in Germany and took part in the capture of several cities and towns. As the king of Sweden was killed in action at Lutzen, Donald Mackay, Lord Reay, was never repaid for the large sums he had borrowed on his estates to raise troops to serve in Germany. In addition, King Charles I owed him £3,000 which was never paid.

Lord Reay's personal and fiscal affairs fell into an incredible morass about this time, including even what amounted to an alimony judgment against him for a woman who was apparently a mistress, rendered by the Privy Council while dominated by Mackay's enemy the Marquis of Hamilton, with Sir Robert Gordon as one of its potent members.

In 1637, King Charles I in a high-handed manner caused Laud's Liturgy to be made mandatory in the Kirk. This aroused violent resentment among nobility and commons alike, and with the king's Act of Revocation that preceded it by some years amounted to an unbridgeable schism. By the Act of Revocation the Crown arrogated to itself all of the lands of the Catholic Church that had fallen formerly into the eager hands of the Scottish nobles at the Reformation. In Chicago mobster language, Charles 'muscled in on their racket'. The lion had seized what the foxes had stolen, and the foxes felt themselves ill used. Many of the nobles signed the National Covenant in 1638, among them the Earl of Sutherland and Donald Mackay, Lord Reay.

There followed several years of spasmodic conflict between the Covenanters and King Charles, and from the record it is evident that Donald Mackay, even though he was a signatory to the Covenant, remained a Royalist in heart and action. He and Lord Crawford fortified and commanded the defense of Newcastle. It was under siege by General Leslie's Covenanter forces for months before it was finally taken, and the two commanders imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle until August, 1645. Later Mackay was freed and returned to Strathnaver.

Donald Mackay, Lord Reay, died in Copenhagen, Denmark, in the spring of 1649. His body was returned to the Kyle of Tongue on a Danish frigate commissioned for that purpose, and occupies a niche in the family vault in the church at Kirkiboll.

Donald Mackay married three times. His first wife was Barbara, daughter of Kenneth, 1st Lord Kintail. They were married in 1610, and the issue of this marriage was four sons and two daughters :

1. Iye Mackay, died in 1617.
2. John Mackay, succeeded as 2nd Lord Reay.
3. Hew, died unmarried before 1642.
4. Lieutenant-Colonel Angus Mackay, progenitor of the Melness Mackays.

5. Jane, married William Mackay III of Bighouse.
6. Mary, married Sir Roderick Macleod of Talisker, second son of Macleod of Macleod.

The second wife of Donald Mackay, whom he married in 1632 and who died in 1637, was Elizabeth Thompson. The issue of this marriage was one daughter :

7. Ann, married Alexander Macdonald, brother of Sir James Alexander of Sleat.

The third wife of Donald Mackay was Marjory Sinclair, daughter of Francis Sinclair of Stirkoke, Caithness. The issue of this marriage was three sons and two daughters :

8. William Mackay, married Ann Mackay, daughter of Col. Hugh Mackay of Scoury.
9. Charles Mackay, progenitor of the Sandwood Mackays.
10. Rupert, twin brother of Charles ; died unmarried.
11. Margaret, died unmarried in 1720.
12. Christian, married Alexander Gunn of Killearnan, chieftain of the Mac Hamish Gunns, and had issue.

XV. JOHN MACKAY, 2ND LORD REAY, 1649-80

It transpired that the Earl of Sutherland decided about this time that he must somehow gain possession of the Aberach Mackays' lands along the Naver valley. It will be recalled that Donald Mackay, 1st Lord Reay, went heavily into debt in the interests of raising a regiment to fight the cause of Protestantism on the continent. In so doing he gave notes to the lenders. These notes the Earl of Sutherland persuaded allied families of his own to acquire, with the intent of having them foreclosed against Mackay lands for his subsequent acquisition. But neither the Mackays of Reay nor the Mackays of Aberach meant to submit to such procedures.

After the defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh, late in 1645, some of his Irish levies escaped to Strathnaver and settled among the Aberach Mackays, as shown by the Parliamentary records. Neil Williamson, chief of the Aberach Mackays, added these to his own forces and for nearly three years prevented either the Gordons or the Grays from profiting from any of the Naver valley lands they were claiming. Unfortunately, he was accidentally killed in February, 1649. His death gave birth to a twenty-year feud, since seven of his men and several townspeople were killed in the concomitant action.

For later raids against the Earl of Sutherland, a warrant was granted to imprison John Mackay, Lord Reay, along with Duncane Mcky, Robert Mcky, Donald Mcky, John Mcky, Rorie Mcleod, and others. A judgment of about £32,000 damages was entered against Donald Mackay, with the proviso that he remain in prison until it was satisfied from his estates. This engendered the Gaelic couplet that became current in the Royalist north :

“Ma tha mise truagh, is e mo thraighe MacAoidh.”

If I am miserable, more miserable is Mackay.

On September 3, 1650, Oliver Cromwell's forces defeated at Dunbar those of Charles II under General Leslie, and then advanced and took Edinburgh. With Cromwell's com-

plaisance and his very clever wife's assistance, John Mackay contrived to escape from Edinburgh prison. In the *House and Clan of Mackay*, published in 1829, the episode is reported thus :

"A great difficulty still remained, how to get his Lordship beyond the prison walls. His lady and his servant, John Mackay, one of the clan Abrach (Aberach), always had free access to him. There were two grenadier centinels before the front entry of the prison. John said, if Lady Reay could get his lordship brought that length he would, at the hazard of his life, prevent the centinels from obstructing him. The lady got her part effected ; and as Lord Reay was ready to advance toward the centinels, John suddenly laid hold of them both, and with the greatest ease laid prostrate the one above the other, and then disarmed them. As his master was now under cover of the protection, John surrendered himself and was immediately put in prison and laid in irons. He was brought to his trial, at which Cromwell himself was present. He said, that the servant had no doubt forfeited his life ; but his conduct, which went to obtain his master's liberty, and perhaps to save his life, was heroical . . . His opinion, therefore was that for the sake of justice the panel should be condemned to die, but that in the circumstances of the case the crime should be remitted, which was agreed to unanimously. After the sentence was intimated to the prisoner, Cromwell having taken a full view of his large hooked nose, impending eyebrows, fierce manly aspect, and proportional figure, exclaimed, ' May I be kept from the devil's and from that man's grasp ! ' "

Hew Mackay of Scoury, in December, 1650, was ordered by Charles II to raise troops in Strathnaver to engage the troops of Oliver Cromwell. In April, 1651, a levy of Mackays and other clans from northern Scotland marched through Inverness with pipes skirling, to join the king's troops at Stirling. The Mackays were commanded by Captain William Mackay of Borley, who was a nephew of Hew Mackay of Scoury. On September 3, 1651, Cromwell's army defeated these troops at Worcester, and many Scot prisoners were taken and sold into slavery to the planters of the Barbadoes. William Mackay of Borley had the good fortune to avoid being captured, and later returned to Strathnaver. Thereafter, the king escaped to the continent and Cromwell's troops completely garrisoned Scotland, to the disgruntlement of Royalists and Covenanters alike.

John Mackay died in 1680. He was married first to Isabella Sinclair in 1636 ; the issue of this marriage was two children :

1. Robert Mackay, who died young without issue.
2. Jane Mackay, who married Robert Gordon, third son of John Gordon, Earl of Sutherland. He died without issue in 1671. Then Jane Mackay married Hugh Mackay IV of Strathy, by whom she had issue.

Next, John Mackay married Barbara Mackay, daughter of Colonel Hugh Mackay II of Scoury, by whom he had three sons and three daughters :

3. Donald Mackay, who predeceased his father.
4. Brigadier-General Aeneas Mackay, progenitor of the Dutch Mackays.
5. Colonel Robert Mackay, of the Scots Brigade in Holland. He was severely wounded at Killiecrankie and died at Tongue in 1696.
6. Joanna Mackay, married William Fraser of Struy, grand-nephew of Alexander, 5th Lord Lovat.

7. Anna Mackay, married Hugh Mackay of Borley.
8. Sibylla Mackay, married Lauchlan Macintosh of Aberarde.

XVI. DONALD MACKAY

This son of John Mackay in 1677 married Ann Munro, daughter of Sir George Munro of Culrain, Commander-in-Chief of the forces in North Britain. In 1680 Donald Mackay was accidentally killed by the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder, and his father died a short time later. He left one son George Mackay, 3rd Lord Reay.

XVII. GEORGE MACKAY

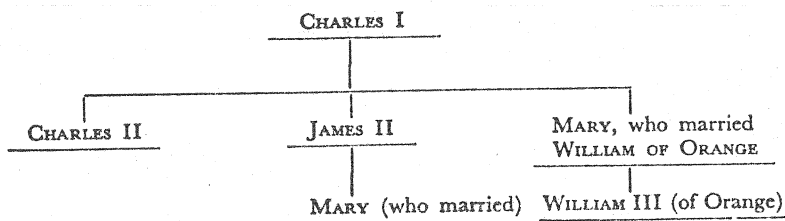
George Mackay succeeded his grandfather, and became 3rd Lord Reay in 1680, remaining during his adolescence under the wise guardianship of his maternal grandfather, Sir George Munro of Culrain.

In 1685 Charles II was succeeded by his brother ¹James II of England and VII of Scotland, who so alienated the Covenanters that they took up arms and eventually expelled the Stuarts. The interim years were bitter ones. The mountain fastnesses of Strathnaver provided refuge for many a hunted Covenanter, men and women alike. Many of them fled overseas to the Protestant court of William (later III), Prince of Orange, who had married Mary Stuart, a daughter of James II, the King of England, his uncle. At about this time an offer of their help was sent William of Orange by responsible leaders if he would effect a landing in England and assume the crown.

Under the command of Prince William the famous Scots Brigade had among its officers General Hugh Mackay of Scoury, who was a brother of Barbara Mackay, Lady Reay. He had formerly seen service in France and with the Venetian States in their war with Turkey. Eventually, he was given complete command of this Brigade, and permitted to supplant its former German and French officers with noble Scots. Two of General Hugh Mackay's brothers soon joined the Brigade, namely James Mackay and Roderick Mackay, as did his nephew Aeneas Mackay.

General Hugh Mackay was appointed by William of Orange to the post of Commander-in-Chief of his armies in Scotland in 1689. He was opposed by Viscount Dundee, John

¹ James II of England was the *uncle* and *father-in-law* of William III. His sister Mary married William of Orange, and this royal couple became the parents of William III, also of Orange, who succeeded James II as King of England. From this it will be seen that there were two royal couples known as *William and Mary* :



Graham of Claverhouse, who commanded King James II of England and VII of Scotland's forces, and to whose standard many Highland clans rallied. In fact, the only clans that joined General Hugh Mackay's forces were members of his own clan and some from the Ross clan. The officers in command of these Mackays were Hon. Robert Mackay, who was later wounded at Killiecrankie, Angus Mackay of Ribigill, who was killed at Killiecrankie, and Captain Hugh Mackay of Borley, afterwards Constable of Ruthven Castle.

The Macleods of Assynt espoused the cause of the Stuarts as did the Sinclairs. Eventually, the Sutherlands joined the Mackays under the Prince of Orange's banner, but it was at best a dangerous situation where clan was opposed to clan. Then General Hugh Mackay's troops were intercepted on their northward march to Blair Castle at Killiecrankie pass, and fought a disastrous battle there. His brother Lieutenant-Colonel James Mackay was killed in the engagement, as was Captain Angus Mackay of Ribigill, along with many others. This Battle of Killiecrankie was fought on July 27, 1689.

Later, on June 30, 1691, we find General Hugh Mackay in Ireland where he showed great valor at the siege of Athlone. He was killed at the Battle of Steenkerke in Holland August 3, 1692. I have read that he participated in the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 while in Ireland, but the author of the *Book of Mackay*, Angus Mackay, makes no mention of it, and in my opinion he did not. In fact, all of the evidence shows positively that he did not.

In the meantime, George Mackay, 3rd Lord Reay, removed to Holland, and did not return to live in Strathnaver until 1701. He married Margaret Mackay, daughter of General Hugh Mackay of Scoury in 1702.

On August 1, 1714, Queen Ann died, leaving no issue, so that the crown passed to a descendant of the Scottish kings, George I, of Hanover, a great-grandson of James VI.

George Mackay, 3rd Lord Reay, died at Tongue March 21, 1748. He was married three times; by his first wife Margaret Mackay, daughter of General Hugh Mackay of Scoury, he had one son:

1. Donald Mackay, 4th Lord Reay.

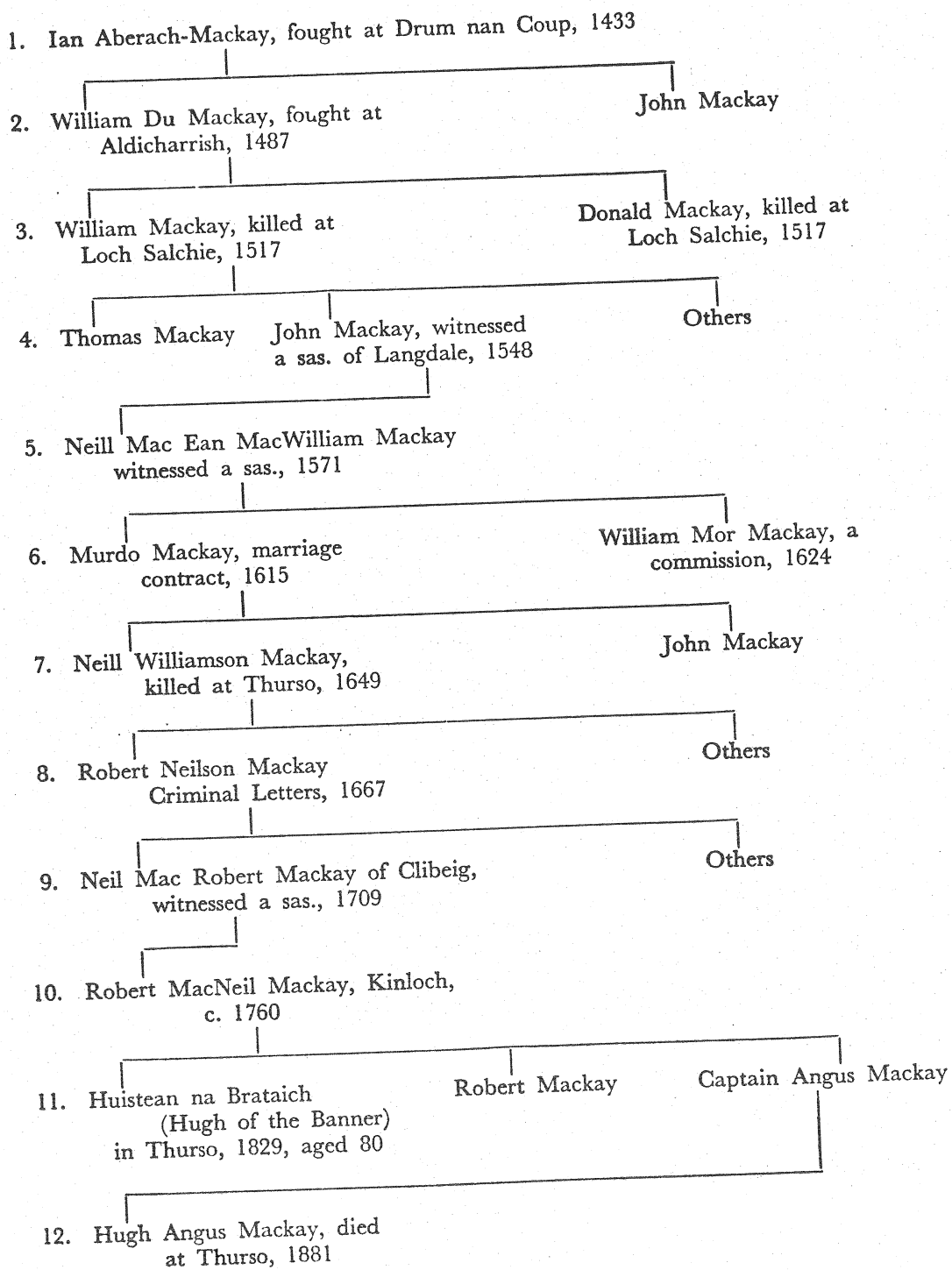
By his second wife Janet Sinclair, he had a son and daughter:

2. Hugh Mackay of Bighouse, who married Elizabeth Mackay, daughter of George Mackay of Bighouse.
3. Ann Mackay.

By his third wife Mary Dowell, he had two sons and three daughters:

4. George Mackay, an advocate, who inherited Skibo from his maternal uncle Patrick Doull.
5. Alexander Mackay, no issue.
6. Mary Mackay, died unmarried.
7. Harriet Mackay, died unmarried.
8. Christian Mackay, married Rev. John Erskine, D.D.
9. Marion Mackay, died unmarried.

MACKAYS OF ABERACH



THE ABERACH MACKAY BANNER

This ancient banner now reposes in the National Museum at Edinburgh, where it was deposited in 1897 by the Clan Mackay Society. The claim is made that it was formerly carried in battle by Ian Aberach Mackay himself, in the early 15th century, and was displayed at the battle of Drum nan Coup in 1433. The banner carries the motto in Gaelic *Biodh treun*, Be Valiant, a lion rampant, and fleur-de-lys, concerning which the author Angus Mackay comments :

“ The shield is traced out by the two lines of the double tressure, surrounded by thistles and fleur-de-lys, and carries the lion rampant. The heraldic significance of the double tressure and fleur-de-lys is royal descent. This is shown by the following extract of grant (*Sutherland Book*, iii, p. 220) by King George I to the Earl of Sutherland, 14th July, 1718 :

‘ George R. Whereas it has been humbly represented to us that our right trusty and well beloved cousin John, Earl of Sutherland, is lineally descended from William, Earl of Sutherland, and Lady Margaret Bruce, second daughter to Robert the First, King of Scotland . . . therefore . . . and in consideration of the nobleness of his blood, as being descended not only from the ancient thanes and earls of Sutherland, but from the royal family of Scotland, as is aforesaid, we hereby authorize and order our Lyon King at Arms . . . to add to the paternal coat of arms of the said John, Earl of Sutherland, the double tressure circonfleurdelize .’ ”

Sir J. Balfour Paul, an earlier Lord Lyon King of Arms, in a letter dated March 14, 1899, described the Aberach Mackay Banner thus :

“ The charge . . . is evidently intended for a lion rampant ; round the lion, at some distance from it and following the shape of a shield, have been at one time two thin lines representing, in my opinion, the outer and inner members of a double tressure. On the top horizontal line of this tressure, and projecting outwards from it, are five ornamental floreated objects, the centre one of which has a corresponding projection on the inner side of the tressure ”

There is some additional description, after which Sir Balfour Paul adds, a little testily, it seems to me, “ the whole flag is evidently the work of someone unacquainted with the principles of heraldic design ”. Since the banner is said to have been quite adequate for its purpose of identifying the clan and ‘inspiring the flashing claymores at Drum nan Coup, I venture to suggest that the design of it and its predecessors probably antedated the reduction of heraldry to an exact science. It will be proudly recollected by American McKees, whose people have fought under the Stars and Stripes on many battlefields, that Betsy Ross and her sewing circle encountered the same problem of fundamental design. However, it may well be that the banner is not a Mackay banner.

As our author Angus Mackay quickly scented and soon discovered, the claims of the Sutherlands to noble descent from Robert Bruce were bogus. *The only son of the marriage between William, Earl of Sutherland, and Lady Margaret Bruce died unmarried.* The Sutherlands descend through William’s second wife Joanna Menteith.

¹ The present Lord Lyon King of Arms, Sir Thomas Innes of Learney, regards the banner termed ‘ Bratach Bhan Chlann Aoidh ’ as having no connection with Clan Mackay. In his letter to me of May 18, 1957, he said :

“ The so-called Aberach Banner . . . I agree with my predecessor Sir Francis Grant, is a flag which has nothing to do with the Clan Mackay at all. Sir Francis maintained it was related to the Grays of Skibo, and even as regards them the shield appears to be rather that of the Constable of a Royal Castle than even a Gray line. There is nothing to show that it is, and everything to show that it is not, a Mackay banner at all, and in this I am in agreement with my predecessor.”

The reader will recollect that Ian Aberach Mackay was a son of Angus Du Mackay by his second wife, who was a daughter of Alexander MacDonald of Keppoch, and a great-grand-daughter of King Robert II. Very probably, Ian Aberach Mackay placed the royal charges on his banner because of this particular claim to royal descent.

In his *Book of Mackay*, Angus Mackay invites his readers' attention to the ancient Aberach Banner, a photograph of which he prints as a plate. To be candid, the photograph is so inadequately focused and reproduced that the details Mr. Mackay describes are not discernible. However, he leaves no doubt that they exist in the banner. Lacking the picture, his description is appended :

"Let the reader look again at the flag as represented in fig. 1, and it will be seen that there is a crest above the shield. The crest consists of a hand, erased, appaume, that is with extended fingers showing the palm. Round the hand runs the legend VERK VISLY AND TENT TO YE END."

Another legend is across the palm of the hand BIDH TREUN, which translates *be valiant*. Some try to invert it into *be true*, but this was not the motto. It was *Be valiant*.

Angus Mackay further comments, "As is well known among the Strathnaver people *Bi treu*, BE VALIANT, is a slogan of Mackay, which became Latinized into *manu forti*, the motto of the family since Mackay was dignified. The old Gaelic motto is neater and pithier than the modern Latin one, a concoction of the College of Heralds. *Forti* adequately expresses the idea of 'be valiant', and the *manu* with a hand seems to us superfluous. Ian Aberach (Mackay) may not have been well up in the science of heraldry as it is understood today, but he knew how to express himself briefly and to the point in his mother-tongue".

The armorial bearings taken by Donald Mackay, 1st Lord Reay, almost completely rejected the charges that appeared on the bearings of ancient cadet branches, and assumed a quite 'modern aspect :

'Arms.—Azure on a chevron, or, between three bears' heads, coupéd, argent, muzzled gules, a roebuck's head, erased, between two hands holding daggers, all proper.

Crest.—A right hand holding up a dagger, paleways, proper.

Motto.—Manu forti.

Supporters.—Two men in military habits with muskets, in a centinel posture, proper.'

But when we come to the arms of the 5th Lord Reay we find them considerably embellished :

'Saphire on a Chevron Topaz, between three bears' heads, coupéd, Pearl and muzzled Ruby, a Roebuck's head erased Ruby, between two Hands holding Daggers, all Proper.

¹ On April 4, 1956, Malcolm McKee wrote me from Bangor, North Ireland: "The only genuine one (McKee coats-of-arms in Ireland) is that of Rev. John Reginald McKee, the one I told you about in the Brompton Oratory. His arms are taken from a 1706 tombstone in Carncastle graveyard, County Antrim. They are probably those used by the third brother of the four who settled in North Ireland after the (Battle of the) Boyne. But they are, as I more or less anticipated to you, a variation of the Mackay arms. They were admitted as McKee arms in 1912, but of course in different colours and detail from the Mackay and Forbes arms: no muzzles and no chevron.

I have given you a tombstone of 1706 which definitely indicates that one McKee thought he was a Mackay . . . that is, his living relatives put on his tombstone what he believed when alive, that he had a right to the Mackay arms. Differenced . . . the arms . . . were confirmed September 12, 1912 by Sir Neville Wilkinson, Ulster King of Arms, Dublin Castle, to Rev. John Reginald McKee, only son of John McKee of Chanbury, Carrickfergus, who was only son of Rev. Joseph McKee, Presbyterian Minister of Killeat, who was born at Carncastle, County Antrim. The grant recites that arms appear on a tombstone to the family in Carncastle Churchyard in 1706. Limitations to descendants of grandfather. Arms vert three bears' heads coupéd or. Crest, a cross pattee fitchée vert, fimbriated or." They are now extinct.

In March 1957, Malcolm McKee himself received a coat-of-arms, *honoris causa*, in Ireland. They are herein reproduced; tinctures are exactly as shown, all black and white.

Crest.—On a wreath, a Right hand couped and erect, grasping a dagger as those in the Arms.

Supporters.—Two Men in Military Dress, with Muskets in a Centinel Posture, all Proper.

Motto.—Manu Forti.'

But the ancient arms of the family, before Donald Mackay was created Lord Reay, were :

'Argent over three mullets (i.e. stars), azure, a hand naked, proper.'

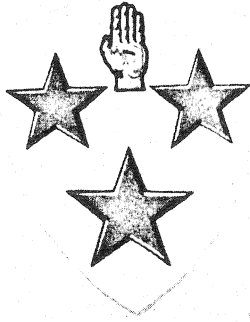
Rev. Angus Mackay in *The Book of Mackay* makes the following further comment :

"According to the Balfour Manuscript the shield of Mackay of Strathnaver in 1503 bore a *naked hand* without a dagger, just as is represented on the banner. But such a charge is also found on at least two Mackay tombstones known to us."

".... the Kirkton stone.... bears the initials A.M.K., of Angus Mackay II of Bighouse ; and the date 1630 indicates that it was erected over the tomb of his first wife, Jane Elphingstone, niece of Lord Elphingstone, who died that year. The stone was found in 1894 among the ruins of Kirkton chapel, and is now fixed on the pillar of the Kirkton Cemetery gate. The shield is peculiarly divided into two halves by a horizontal line. Above the horizontal or fess line, and in the dexter division, there is a roebuck's head pierced by an arrow exactly similar to the emblem on the Tongue stone. In the sinister division there are three bears' heads. Below the fess bar there is a hand with fingers extended, resembling the crest on the banner, and flanked by what appears to be two blades. These flanking daggers may indicate the transition from a *naked hand* to a *hand holding a dagger*, for it was shortly before this that Donald Dughall Mackay was created Lord Reay."

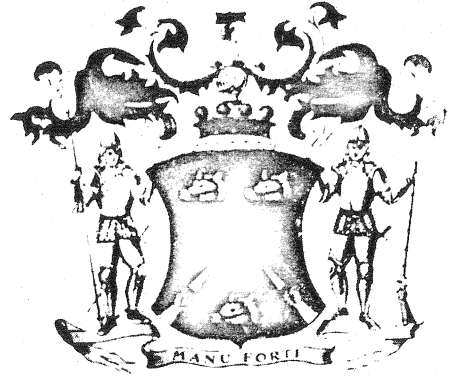
"Within the ruins of the old church of Durness there is a stone over the tomb of Donald Mac Murdo Mac Ian Mor (Mackay). The said Donald was a grandson of Ian Mor Mackay, (who was) the natural son of John XI (Mackay) of Strathnaver.... the shield over Donald's tomb bore.... along with other charges.... a hand with extended fingers, and a stag's head. There were no daggers associated with the hand here, because in 1619 we have not yet reached what we have called the transition period. In 1619 it was simply a hand just as on the banner ; in 1630 the hand is *flanked* by two daggers ; and *after* that period, as the tombstones of Strathnaver prove, the hand *holds* a dagger."

A line drawing of the above mentioned tombstone in the old church of Durness over Donald Mackay's tomb can be described in the following manner : divide an upended rectangle, of the proportions of 3 x 2, by first drawing across it three horizontals that divide it roughly in thirds, but causing the lower of the segments so wrought to be somewhat larger than the two above it. Then divide the top segment by drawing another horizontal line through its middle. Then draw a perpendicular line through the middle of the two bottom segments. You have now six segments. In the top one print in large letters that virtually occupy its space D M C. Below these in the next section print K N R M, in letters of the same size. This leaves four more or less square spaces below. In the upper left square draw a *left hand*. The fingers are spread, but the crudeness of the design suggests that its author was barely able to draw a hand in any event, and executed it so for that reason. In the right upper square pencil in a two-masted ship with a single furled sail on the forward mast, and two furled sails on the mast amidship. A square flag flies on the stern. In the bottom left square is a front view of an eyeless stag's head, and in the right bottom square is a fish that looks quite a bit like our California sharks but probably was meant for a salmon. Beneath the above described charges is the date 1619.



ARMS OF MACKAY OF STRATHNAVER IN 1388
FROM THE HERALDIC MANE

ARMS OF MACKAYS OF
STRATHNAVER
Plate 55 (Page 305)



ARMS OF SIR DONALD MACKAY
Plate 56 1st LORD REAY (Page 311)

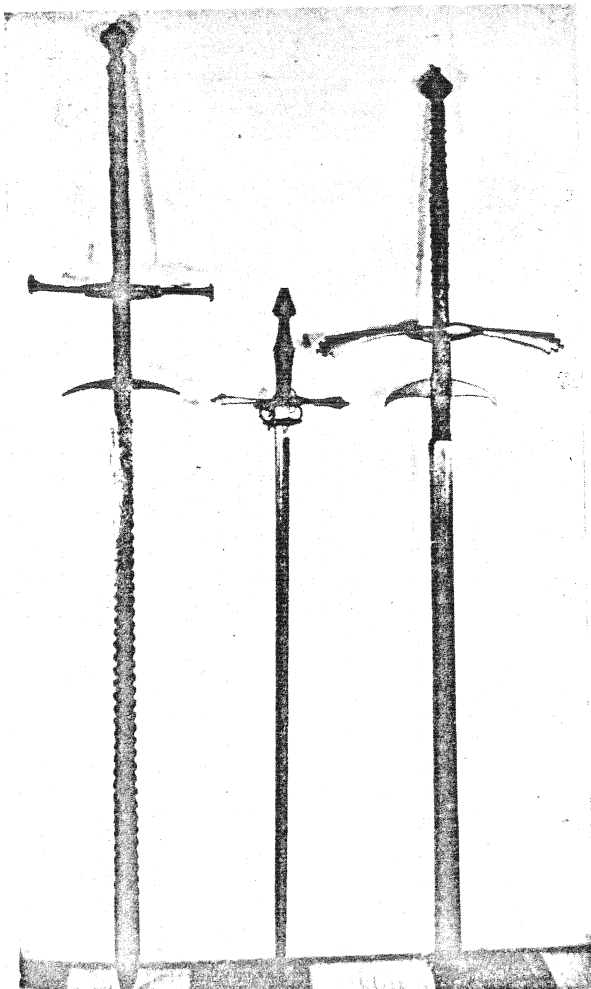


Plate 57 CLAYMORES (Page 316)



GENERAL HUGH MACKAY OF SCOURIE
Plate 58 (Page 316)



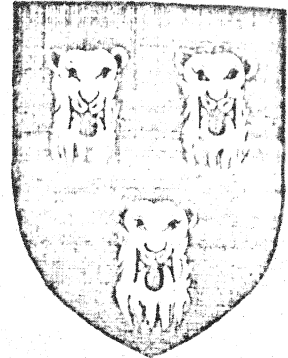
Plate 59 KILLIECRANKIE (Page 316)

I. The Aberach Mackays.



THE ABERACH MACKAYS
Plate 60 (Page 318)

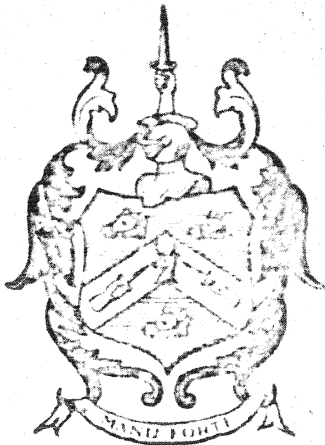
IX. The Galloway Mackays.



ARMS OF M'GHIE OF BALMAGHIE

THE GALLOWAY MACKAYS
Plate 61 (Page 322)

IV. The Strathg Mackays.



THE STRATHG MACKAYS
Plate 62 (Page 322)



ARMS OF M'KIE OF LARG

M'KIE OF LARG
Plate 63 (Page 322)

The present author suggests that not only does the *hand*, sometimes sinister and sometimes dexter, coupé at the wrist, keep repeating itself, but that the charges on the arms of the *ancient* Mackays bear some similarity to those on the arms of the ancient Irish McKees, which contain in a saltire a dexter hand, a galley, and two trefoils, that is to say shamrocks ; moreover, the arms of Hugh O'Neill, 3rd Earl of Tyrone, contain a 'dexter hand and the salmon, plus three stars. Even the O'Donnells used a hand as an armorial cognizance in 1537. His seal of that date bears a lion or wolf, and a dexter hand showing its palm.

Rev. Angus Mackay continues : " The crested hand on the flag is clearly Mackay, and so also is the motto BE TREU, the slogan of the clan. Indeed the peculiar use of the word *treun* by Strathnaver people in daily conversation strikes one from other parts of the Highlands at once. Everything superlative they describe as *treun*. A fine day is *la treun*, a good horse *each treun*, and so on the whole round of the gamut. We are strongly inclined to believe that the frequent use of this vocable may be ascribed to the place which it had in their war-cry, in the old days when the war-cry rang out so often. *Of the legend round the crested hand we can offer no explanation.*"

Here he evidently refers to the phrase ' Verk visly and tent to ye end '.

As has been shown elsewhere in the present volume by again quoting what follows, Angus Mackay was himself perplexed by the recurrence of the Red Hand in the Scot arms of the Mackays. Concerning this he said on p. 284 :

" The sinister hand which is so characteristic of Mackay arms is not a common device on Highland coats of arms. It seems, however, to have been a charge borne by ²M'Neil of Gigha, one of whose daughters married Donald Mackay III of Strathnaver in or about 1300 A.D. ' Lauchlan M'Neil of Tearfergus (i.e. Tirfergus, or land-of-Fergus) descended of the family of M'Neil of Geigh' as Nisbet informs us, bore ' a sinister hand coupé fesse-ways in chief.' The Neilsons and O'Neil of Ulster also carried a somewhat similar hand. The arms of O'Neil, according to Woodward and Burnett, were ' argent, a hand appaume, coupé, gules.' It is just possible that the hand passed from O'Neil of Ulster to Gigha, and from the latter to Mackay."

* The charge on Scottish arms is the left hand, but on the O'Neill, O'Reilly, and McKee shields in Ireland it is the right hand. Authors who have undertaken to inform us whether the Red Hand should be the left or right hand uniformly agree it should be the right. Here though they could rely on nothing more than early poetical references to the O'Neill banner and its ' terrible right hand '. If the legend on which the charge is based is examined, it is quite obvious that the experts are guessing. The Red Hand is said to have been displayed first by descendants of the House of Ir, and is supposed not to have been adopted by members of the House of Heremon for, probably, several hundred years after the Incarnation. The legend, given in more detail elsewhere, holds that a member of an ancient landing party cut off his hand with his sword and tossed it ashore from his small boat, in order to be the first to touch Innisfail, the Isle of Destiny. *Who* can say he was left-handed, and hence cut off his right hand ? Besides, the probabilities are strong that the incident is fabulous and relatively modern.

" The *Craobh dearg*, the name of the ancient chivalry of Emania, has been variously translated as signifying the *red hand* or *red branch*. O'Halloran, Dr. O'Donovan, and others, favour the latter interpretation ; Dr. O'Connor the former. The last-named writer, in the *Bibliotheca MS Stowensis*, p. 37, and in the *Rer. Hib.* 1 prol., denominates the Ultonian warriors the ' Heroes of the bloody hand ', and quotes Aldrobandus, *de Ornithologia*, Lib. 1, as saying that the Red Hand appears as the most ancient arms of Ireland. Dr. Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus*, p. 250, may be cited in favour of this reading in the instance of Cathal Crobh Dearg, King of Connaught, in the 12th century, whose name is Latinised Cathaldus, a *rubro carpo*. It is well known that the Red Hand is the ancient armorial ensign of Ulster and the O'Neills. It is found on a sculptured stone cross, at Monasterboice, of an early age ; and it is therefore more likely that the *Craobh ruadh* rather derived their name from a standard of this kind, which we find identified with their province, than from an improbable red branch. This emblem was of very general and widespread adoption. The Romans bore it as a military ensign. It occurs on the monuments of Central America, and amongst the Moors of Northern Africa. An ancient cyclopean stone fort at the foot of the Paps mountain, in the county of Kerry, still bears the name of *Cathair crobh dearg*." *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 8, 1860, p. 121.

† The Mac Neills of the Antrim Coast descend from Ireland's royal Hy-Niall race. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 8, p. 138, 1860.

"As for the three stars or mullets on the shield of 'Mackay of Strathnaver, 1503' they may indicate the Moray connection, for it is generally supposed that the old family of Moray bore three stars"

THE GALLOWAY MACKAYS

The Mac Eths (Mackays) of Galloway consist of two main branches, that is *M'Ghies of Balmaghie* and the *M'Kies of Larg*. According to the author Rev. Angus Mackay, they are descended from Martin Mac Eth of Strathnaver, son of Iye Du Mac Eth of Strathnaver who was born *circa* 1210. Iye Du is a variant of Aodh Dubh. Iye Du Mac Eth was a son of Donald Mac Eth, who was a son of Malcolm Mac Eth, Earl of Ross, who married a sister of Somerled, and was himself a son of Angus Mac Eth, Earl of Moray, who was killed in 1130 A.D. Angus Mac Eth was a son of Aed (Aodh) Mac Eth, Earl of Moray, who married a daughter of Lulach. Lulach was, as mentioned elsewhere herein, a second-cousin of Macbeth, and succeeded Macbeth as King of Scotland 1057 A.D.

It appears fairly evident, unless recently discovered manuscripts contradict the conclusion, that Malcolm Mac Eth was doubly royal, for in his veins seems to have run the blood of the ancient Pictish royal family of Moray, as well as that of Loarn and the antecedent Irish kings.

The Blackcastle Manuscript, based on genealogical legend that in those days was reverently preserved, says that *Martin Mac Eth of Strathnaver settled in Galloway*. Sir Robert Gordon who, despite his prejudice against the Mackays, was the earliest historian of northern Scotland, accepts this. He was an uncle of Sir Donald Mackay of Strathnaver, as shown elsewhere herein, and is believed to have been personally acquainted also with Sir Patrick Mackie of Larg. Thus, whatever information was in their possession concerning the Mackay antecedents would be freely available to him.

As collateral circumstantial evidence, and whether we relish it or not we must depend in a degree on such in those dim years, when Donald Mackay of Strathnaver raised his regiment for Continental service in 1626 he chose as a captain Sir Patrick Mackay from what was then far off Galloway. It seems very likely that they had knowledge of each other, most probably were acquainted, and there are some indications that they were distant cousins. We may rather safely conjecture that they were aware of their relationship, if it actually existed.

Armorial bearings in those early centuries were charges assumed by the heads of the clans, who had no recourse to Colleges of Heralds, Kings of Arms, and heraldic experts steeped in French convention and petrified design. The Aberach Mackays carried a lion and a sinister hand on their armorial bearings, as well as fleurs-de-lys that *signify royal descent*. Since we already know that the royal descent of the Mac Eths from Fergus Mor is an established fact¹, we need waste no time on speculation anent it. These same charges were on the arms of the Strathnaver Mackays, except that the fleurs-de-lys were replaced by the royal Moray crest. We would seem to be justified in surmising that the men who adopted these arms did it for two practical purposes, (1), so that the shields and helmets of warriors could be marked to identify them as members of the clan, and (2) to portray and preserve the ancient tradition and heroic accomplishments of early clan forebears.

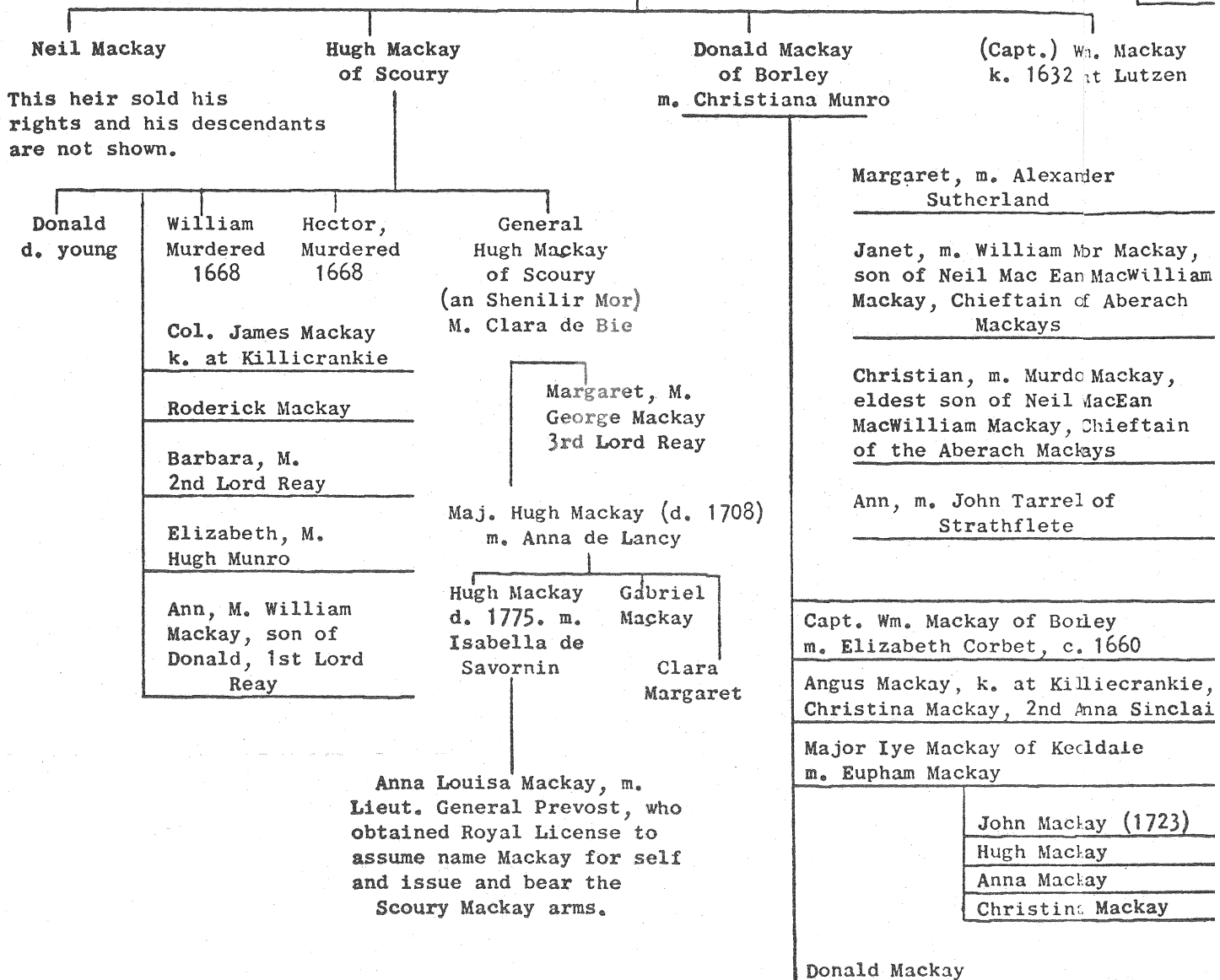
¹ See his descent as depicted on page 412.

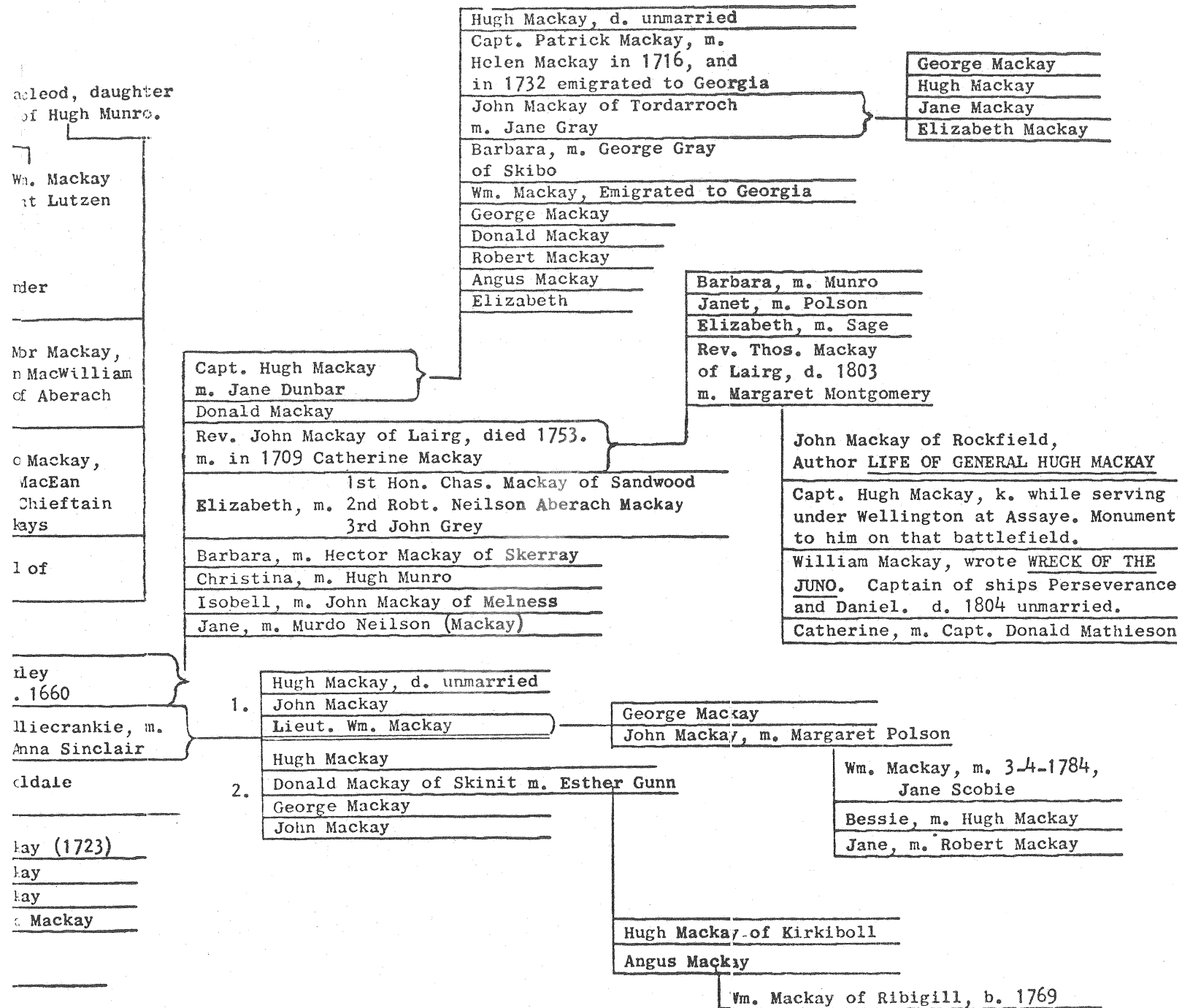
THE SCOURY (SCOURIE) MACKAYS

DONALD BALLOCH MACKAY

(Balloch means 'of the spot')

Son of Iye Du Mackay of Strathnaver, who died 1572, and Helen Macleod, daughter of Hugh Macleod of Assynt. He married Euphemia Munro, daughter of Hugh Munro.





Both the M'Ghies of Balmaghie and the M'Kies of Larg have a lion on their shield, similar to that employed by the Aberach Mackeys. However, they also employed a left hand with extended fingers, as a carved stone in the gable of Glencaird House, an old M'Kie seat that descended to Col. John M'Kie of Bargaly late in the nineteenth century, bears the date 1694, the initials J. Mk. and A.H., two ravens, and the *identical left hand* with extended fingers that is a principal charge on the Strathnaver armorial bearings.

The *M'Ghies of Balmaghie* were seated in the town of Balmaghie, Kirkcudbrightshire from ancient times. In Gaelic the prefix *bal* or *balle* means 'town', so we thus have Town of Mackay. In at least three different historical volumes, *Galloway* by M'Kerlie, *Caledonia* by Chambers, and the *Statistical Account*, the tradition is related that both the lands and church were named for a Celtic chieftain who settled there in some distant past. Elsewhere it is stated that the church of Kirkandrew, Balmakethe (Balmakethe is a variant spelling of Balmaghie), was granted as a benefice in the 12th century by Fergus Mac Eth of Galloway to the Abbel of Holyrood. From this documented circumstance it is evident that the Mac Eths had already come south from Strathnaver and settled in Galloway before the 12th century. In 1296 'Gilmyhel Mac Eth signed the Ragman Roll, and in 1339 Michael Macge submitted to Edward III. Macge is merely a local spelling of Mac Eth, Mackay, M'Ghie, M'Kie, and so forth. Had he not been a chieftain of importance his submission would not have been sought and obtained. In another early record Gilbert M'Gy is alluded to as the lord of Balmage, and some of his descendants were as follows :

- I. GILBERT M'GY, Lord of Balmage in *Exchequer Rolls of 1460*. Succeeded by son William.
- II. WILLIAM M'GYE, m. Blanch de Levenax circa 1482. Received a charter under the Great Seal of Scotland ceding to him Balmage and Slogarie; the charter is witnessed by William Makgye of Pluntoun, who received a charter of the lands of Pluntoun August 14, 1484.
- III. NICHOLAS M'GHIE, m. Elizabeth Maxwell; issue two sons Gilbert M'Ghie, and William M'Ghie, who succeeded. Gilbert, who predeceased his father, left two daughters: Marion, who married John Redick of Balharro; and Janet, who married Robert Charteris of Kelwood.
- IV. WILLIAM M'GHIE, had a charter under the Great Seal, of Balmage and Torris, dated March 18, 1527. He had two sons: Alexander M'Ghie, who succeeded; and James M'Ghie who married Jonet M'Ghie, daughter of William M'Ghie, burgess of Kirkcudbright, in 1597.
- V. ALEXANDER M'GHIE of Balmage, had a son Robert M'Ghie.
- VI. ROBERT M'GHIE, married Grissel Charteris, daughter of John Charteris of Annisfield; issue John M'Ghie, and Marie M'Ghie who married William Gordon of Airds.
- VII. JOHN M'GHIE, for whom his grand-uncle James acted as tutor 1629-1637. John M'Ghie, who greatly extended his estate, was knighted and is first on record as Sir John M'Ghie May 21, 1655. He married Barbara Anderson, daughter of Robert Anderson, burgess, Dumfries; issue Alexander M'Ghie.
- VIII. ALEXANDER M'GHIE, married first Margaret M'Kie, daughter of Archibald M'Kie of Myretoun-M'Kie, later Merton Hall, without issue.

He then married Elizabeth Stewart; issue one son and two daughters. The first daughter Elizabeth married John Ferguson, son of Robert Ferguson of Craigdarroch. The second girl Florence married, first, Roger Gordon, son of John Gordon of Airds. Later she married James Charteris, son of Robert Charteris of Kelwood. Lastly, she married Thomas M'Lellan of Balmangan.

¹ See footnote on page 246.

The son William M'Ghie follows :

IX. WILLIAM M'GHIE, married Anna Ballantyne ; issue two sons, John M'Ghie who succeeded, and Alexander M'Ghie, a surgeon, bailie of the burgh of New Galloway, who had three daughters.

X. JOHN M'GHIE, married Isobel Gordon, youngest daughter of Alexander Gordon, Viscount Kenmure, by his wife Lady Grissel, daughter of James, Earl of Galloway. Issue of this marriage was Alexander M'Ghie, who succeeded ; and William M'Ghie.

XI. ALEXANDER M'GHIE, succeeded in 1732, and left a son John M'Ghie, although there is no discernible record of his wife's identity.

XII. JOHN M'GHIE, succeeded in 1739, and had a son Alexander M'Ghie who pre-deceased him, but who had one daughter who married and died without issue. Thus expired this line. However, even a casual reading indicates how it very likely extended itself from junior lines, as for example James M'Ghie under IV, and William M'Ghie under X.

The *M'Kies of Larg* are quite clearly identifiable in the days when Robert the Bruce refused homage to Edward of England and led the romantic, and sometimes fairly rough, life of a fugitive. Barbour's *Metrical History of Bruce* recounts that on one occasion the unpredictable King had outwitted John of Lorn's beagle hounds, and then travelled through glens and down mountainsides on what a Scot calls 'Shank's mare', that is afoot, to a previously arranged meeting place. Here he met his brother Edward Bruce and Sir James Douglas, with some 150 stout archers who came during the night, but the Bruce and his followers found shelter for the night, by prearrangement remember, in the home of the widow Anabel. The name of Anabel M'Kie's dead husband is lost, so far as the present author has been able to learn, but that they were trusted adherents of Robert Bruce can scarcely be questioned. The probabilities are exceptional that Anabel's dead husband was one of the highest-ranking adherents of the Scot king Bruce, else without prior unshakeable assurance that her shelter would harbor no treachery, there would have been no rendezvous there for the unprotected king. Actually, this simple experience is one of the greatest testimonies to M'Kie, Mackay, or McKee loyalty in the annals of all history. Eloquent support of the testimony was not long burgeoning.

In the morning, when Robert Bruce, his brother Edward, and Sir James Douglas, had gathered their followers together and were ready to leave, the widow's three sons, M'Kie, M'Clurg, and Muiredach (which means something equivalent to 'admiral', being a compound of 'muir', sea, and 'eadhach', protector), were invited by the king to draw their bows on any available target. M'Kie, which merely means 'the M'Kie', or the eldest son who had succeeded his dead father, pulled down on two ravens perched side by side on a rock. Skill and fortune combined to transfix the two birds through the neck on his single arrow. Thereby hangs an armorial charge ! Then his brother Muiredach surprised a third raven, and probably the king, by putting an arrow through it in flight.

It was upon this incident that the shield of the M'Kies of Larg was based, which although unrecorded in the Lyon Register was noted in Sir James Balfour's *Heraldic Manuscript*, and blazoned as follows :

Argent, two ravens pendent from an arrow fessways piercing their necks proper, on a shield azure a lion passant of the field, armed and langued gules. Crest, a raven proper ; motto LABORA.

As remarked earlier, the armorial bearings of the Mackays of Strathnaver and the M'Ghies and M'Kies of Galloway bore the coupé hand and the lion passant in very early

centuries, but as years and events advanced changes were made. The above described arms are now employed by M'Kie of Bargaly, contained within a bordure componee of the first and second, and the coupé hand omitted.

When Robert Bruce came to the throne in 1306 he gave to the family of the widow Anabel M'Kie land described as "the hassock of land 'tween Palnure and Penkill", to wit, the thirty pound land of Cumloden in the parish of Minnigaff and stewartry of Kirkcudbright. It lies between the burns of Palnure and Penkill which flow into the River Cree, and measures about ten miles by three. It was divided into three ten pound lands, which were known as Cumloden-M'Kie, Cumloden-Murdoch, and Cumloden-M'Clurg. This clearly indicated that the three M'Kie boys joined the forces of Robert Bruce and served creditably under him.

Rev. Angus Mackay tells us that Sir Patrick M'Kie and his successors heavily mortgaged the barony of Larg in the interest of the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and had their lands eventually forfeited. During the religious persecutions which followed, three leading M'Kies, John M'Kie of Larg, Anthony M'Kie of Glencaird, and Alexander M'Kie of Drumbuie, were condemned to death.

Even though they escaped, their lands were forfeited to meet the heavy fines imposed upon them. However, the family of M'Kie of Palgown contrived to save its lands, and from it are descended the M'Kies of Bargaly. This latter family sedulously pursued a course of reacquiring the M'Kie lands in Galloway, and succeeded in a considerable measure.

Angus Mackay was able to discover an early entry concerning the lands of Cumloden, to the effect that a charter had been issued to Gilbert M'Kie, son of Neil M'Kie, for a third part of the lands of Cumloden in the sheriffdom of Dumfries. He also noted in the *Exchequer Rolls* that one Cuthbert M'Makay paid £3 13s. 4d. for relief of lands in the county of Wigton in the year 1330. He then traces the earliest Cumloden M'Kies of record thus :

I. MALCOLM M'KIE of Cumloden had two sons, Patrick M'Kie and Gilbert M'Kie. The record of Patrick follows. Gilbert married Marion de Keth, who brought to him a third of the barony of Craichlaw, Longaster, and Barmagachrie circa 1450 A.D.

II. PATRICK M'KIE, 'had sasine of,' which appears to equal our 'was seized of,' the lands of Cumloden-M'Kie, Fynataloch, Cloncert, Barnrower, and Baryarrak, in 1471. He married Marion Makmakene, by whom he got the lands of Drumnagarne. Issue of this marriage was a son Patrick M'Kie, or MacGe.

III. PATRICK MACGE of Larg, married Janet Macdowall, daughter of Uchtred Macdowall of Garthland, circa 1530. It was concerning this man and his wife that the *Minnigaff Stone* was carved. The inscription is in Latin and states 'Here lies Patrick M'Ke of Camloden (who) caused me to be made.' The shield, supported by two lions that resemble alligators, contains another lion which appears to be wearing a coronet. Three devices that were probably meant for bears' heads are in the sinister half (right to the viewer) of the shield, two above and one below an odd diagonal line with sawtooth edges, in heraldry a bend dancetty.

Patrick MacGe (M'Ke) had two sons, Patrick MacGe of Larg, and Archibald MacGe of Stranord. The latter had three children : Alexander MacGe, Patrick MacGe of Craignyne, and Margaret who married Patrick Heron of Kiroughtree.

IV. PATRICK MACGE of Larg, married Margaret Stewart, daughter of Alexander Stewart of Garlies in 1550. Issue of this marriage : Alexander MacGe, Duncan MacGe of Palgown, and Patrick MacGe.

V. ALEXANDER MAC GE predeceased his father Patrick MacGe in 1591. He married Katherine Agnew, daughter of Sir Patrick Agnew of Lochnaw, hereditary sheriff of

Wigton, on October 8, 1575. Issue of this marriage : Patrick Mac Ge (Makkie) 1646 ; James Mac Ge of Crosbie who had a son Robert Mac Ge, whose son John MacGe in 1691 succeeded to Larg and Palgown.

At this point the reader is reminded that the Battle of the Boyne was fought near Dublin in Ireland in 1690, and that in view of this the four McKee brothers who were there present under William of Orange must obviously have been from *junior* branches of this or whatever other sept they sprang from. Since the McKee brother who was buried in 1706 in Carncastle Parish Churchyard, in Antrim, North Ireland, claimed the three bears' heads of the 1628 arms of the Strathnaver Mackays, by having them cut upon his monument, we might justifiably infer that the brothers not only belonged to that branch of the clan, but also that they were of a station that had an hereditary right to and valued them. Otherwise, we should conclude the bears' head charge was claimed capriciously or fraudulently on the tombstone, an act so irreverent as to seem improbable.

VI. PATRICK MAC GE (as Patrick Makkie) received a charter on March 4, 1598, as eldest son of the late Alexander Makkie, son and heir apparent of Patrick Makkie of Larg, to the lands of Camloden, Barrawer, Colcathane, Biach, Carriden, Fyntillach with the isle in the loch thereof, Clonlouchagach, Garser, Baryarroch, Barjargane, all in Wigtonshire, and Clonquhard in Kirkcudbrightshire, later created into the free barony of Larg, with the fortalice of Culgour as chief message.

This Patrick Makkie was knighted before 1610, joined the regiment that Sir Donald Mackay (Mackie) of Strathnaver raised at his own expense for service under the command of the King of Denmark, and was wounded at the battle of Oldenburgh. Upon his return to Scotland he became a member of Parliament for the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and continued as such until 1639. Sir Patrick Makkie was a Covenanter, and was elected president of the first meeting of the War Committee formed in the Kirkcudbright stewartry on June 27, 1640. A short time later he was in command of a regiment of cavalry from Galloway that fought in the battle of Newburn. In this battle his only son Alexander Makkie (M'Ghie) was killed. The following lines from a contemporary poem bemoan the loss of the lad :

“ In this conflict, which was a great pitie,
We lost the son of Sir Patrick M'Ghie.”

The rhyme of *pitie* with *M'Ghie* leaves us no room for doubt that M'Ghie, which was written interchangeably Makkie and M'Kie, was pronounced McKee.

Sir Patrick Makkie married three times. By his first wife Susanna Kennedy, a daughter of Sir Thomas Kennedy, there was no issue. By his second wife Mary Macdowall, daughter of Sir Uchtred Macdowall he had one son Alexander Makkie, who was killed in the battle of Newburn, and four daughters. His third wife, by whom there was no issue, was Isobel Kerr, Lady Greenheid. He died in 1645 and was succeeded by his nephew Patrick M'Kie, bailie in Minnigaff.

VII. PATRICK M'KIE of Minnigaff married Agness Craignell and had issue of one son, Patrick M'Kie.

VIII. PATRICK M'KIE was, in the language of that day, 'infest in Larg' in 1662 and had a son John who predeceased his father. The two of them were heavily fined for embracing Covenanter principles, and the estate was forfeited in 1680. After the Revolution it was restored to John M'Kie of Penninghame, who was the great-great grandson of Alexander MacGe (V), and he thus became the 9th generation.

IX. JOHN M'KIE took possession of Larg and Palgown June 2, 1691, but lost the heavily encumbered Larg estate to the Herons of Kirroughtree. He married Elizabeth Dunbar,

and had issue of two sons and one daughter. Alexander M'Kie was his father's heir. Anthony M'Kie, the second son, was known as Anthony M'Kie of Glencaird ; he married Grizel Eccles, and had issue of William M'Kie, John M'Kie, and Agnes M'Kie. The daughter of John and Elizabeth M'Kie, was Margaret M'Kie, who married Patrick Heron and had issue.

X. ALEXANDER M'KIE inherited from his father John M'Kie in 1699, and became a member of Parliament in 1706. His first marriage to Helene resulted in two boys and one girl. John M'Kie, the eldest, succeeded his father to Palgown in 1752, and in 1763 sold it to Lord Garlies. James M'Kie, the second son, became Judge-Advocate of Scotland, but died without issue. Catherine, the daughter, married William Ramsay, M.D.

Alexander M'Kie married a second time, and had issue from Mrs. Christian Douglas, daughter of Sir James Dunbar of Mochrum, of a son whom they named Alexander M'Kie.

XI. JOHN M'KIE succeeded his father to Palgown in 1752, and as noted above sold it in 1763. He married Hon. Jane Ross, daughter of George, 12th Lord Ross, but there was no issue. At the time of his marriage he added Ross to his name, and thence forth was known as John Ross M'Kie. He held a number of honorable public offices, and died in London in 1797.

There are several more descendants of this line, denoted as the M'Kies of Cumloden, progeny of the owners of Cumloden-M'Kie, Cumloden-Murdoch, and Cumloden-M'Clurg, but as they flourished in Scotland during and after our Revolutionary War, it is doubtful if much would be accomplished by including them.

THE ARGYLE AND WESTERN MACKAYS

In his researches Rev. Angus Mackay discovered a very early reference to the Mackays of Western Scotland and the islands along that coast, across from Ireland ; it is a charter by King Robert Bruce dated March 31, 1329, in which he confirms lands in Kintyre to Gilchrist mac Ymar M'Cay and to Gilchrist his younger son in heritage, with remainder to Ymar his elder son and his heirs. Angus Mackay says :

“ Various writers have concluded that this Kintyre family is the Clan Aid (Aodh, Aoidh) whose genealogy is given in the Advocates Library Manuscript of 1450. This conclusion may be correct, but if it be it serves to show how inaccurately the 1450 manuscript recorded the genealogy of that family. Below we give the manuscript list for some generations in the left hand column, and parallel to it the genealogy as recorded in the charter of the Bruce ”.

Advocates Library Manuscript 1450	Charter from King Robert Bruce
Farquhar, son of	
Ivor (Ymar), son of	Ivor (Ymar) and Gilchrist, sons of
Gilchrist, son of	Gilchrist, son of
Gillespie, son of	Ivar (Ymar), son of
Gillananeamph, son of	Aidh
Gilchrist, son of	
Cormac, son of	
Gillamichael, son of	
Aidh	

“ In the 1450 List the first three generations may be correctly recorded, but beyond that it does not seem to us of much if any value. Those who argue from this list that the Clan Aird had no connection with the Strathnaver Clan Aoidh have very slender grounds to go upon. It is an undoubted historical fact that the Mac Eths were closely connected with Somerled of Argyle, that they fought together and intermarried. In the unsettlement prevailing at the time it is quite likely that some of these fugitive Mac Eths settled in Argyle and the Western Isles, where they took root under the spreading shield of Macdonald. And that Donald (Mac Eth, Mackay) of Strathnaver should take a wife from the island of Gigha in the early years of the fourteenth century is some confirmation of this view ”.

“ We have already shown that M'Ge of the Rhins of Islay and Mackay in Mull served Angus Og Macdonald in an official capacity, early in the 14th century. On the 11th Aug., 1542, King James V gave anew to Ivor M'Cay Mor the office of crowner of North Kintyre hereditarily, with the lands of Ugadale and Arnegill attached thereto, 'as these pertained to Ivor M'Cay Mor and his ancestors *beyond the memory of man*, held of the Lord of the Isles ’.”

“ On the 28th Sep., 1615, King James VI gave anew to Donald M'Cay of Arnegill and his son Evir the office of crowner of North Kintyre hereditarily, and the four merk-lands of Arnegill and Ugadale as these were given *novodamus* by King James V to Donald's grandfather, Evir M'Kay-moir of Arnegill. From these documents it appears that the Mackays held a very prominent position in Kintyre under the Lords of the Isles from an early period. Daniel Mackay was served heir to his father Evir, son of Donald, 20 Aug., 1662 (*Chancery Record*) ”.

As has been shown earlier in this chapter, Brian Vicar Mackay received a charter to lands in Isla from Macdonald of the Isles under date of 'the sixth day of the month of Beltane and this year of the birth of Christ, one thousand four hundred and eight. The Privy Council's minutes of April 16, 1587, make brief reference to 'Neill McKy, officiar of the Rynniss of Islay', and elsewhere there are memoranda concerning 'Neil McKy, crunair of the Rydis of Illeay', and 'Donald McCay, coronell of the Oo and Clergy'.

On August 14, 1506, old records show that various Mackays held lands in Bute from the king. For example, Gilnew Mackaw, half of the lands of Garachach ; Patrick Makkcae, half the lands of Dunguild ; and John Makkay, one third of the lands of Scalpsey and Ard-Scalpsey.

JOHN GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE, VISCOUNT DUNDEE

During the occupation of the British throne by William III, otherwise William of Orange, John Graham reached the climax of his violent career. In his fanatically jealous support of King James, whom William dethroned, he caused thousands of good Scots to be slaughtered, among them an uncounted number of Mackays or McKees.

John Graham, Viscount Dundee, was born in 1643, the eldest son of Sir William Graham of Claverhouse in Forfarshire. He was descended from the royal Stuarts by the marriage of his ancestor William, Lord Graham of Kincardine, to Princess Mary, second daughter of King Robert III. He entered St. Andrew's University in 1660 and made 'very considerable progress' in 'Humanity and Mathematics', according to an early biographer. He left university in 1670 and, after a short military service in France, obtained a commission in the Prince of Orange's troop of guards in Holland.

The man was brilliant, fearless, icy cold, and impetuous. As a random example, in the battle of Seneffe in 1674 the Prince of Orange was unhorsed. With complete intrepidity John Graham saved his life by carrying him from the field on his own horse. However,



JOHN GRAHAM, VISCOUNT DUNDEE
Plate 64 (Page 328)

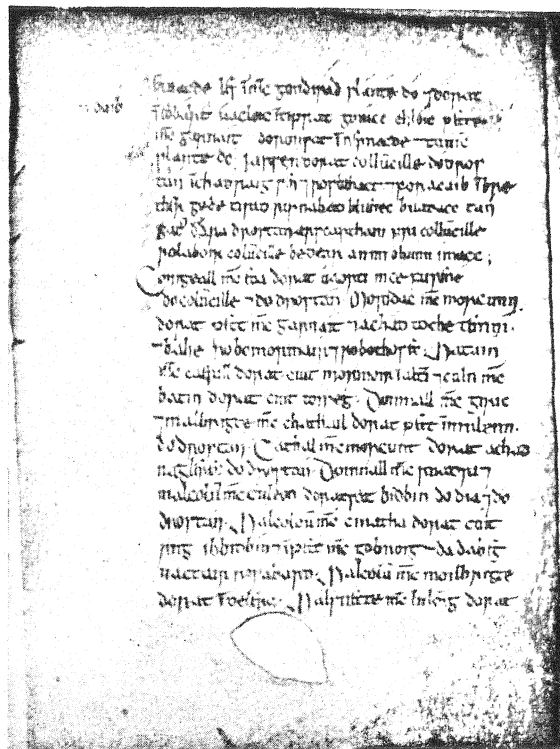
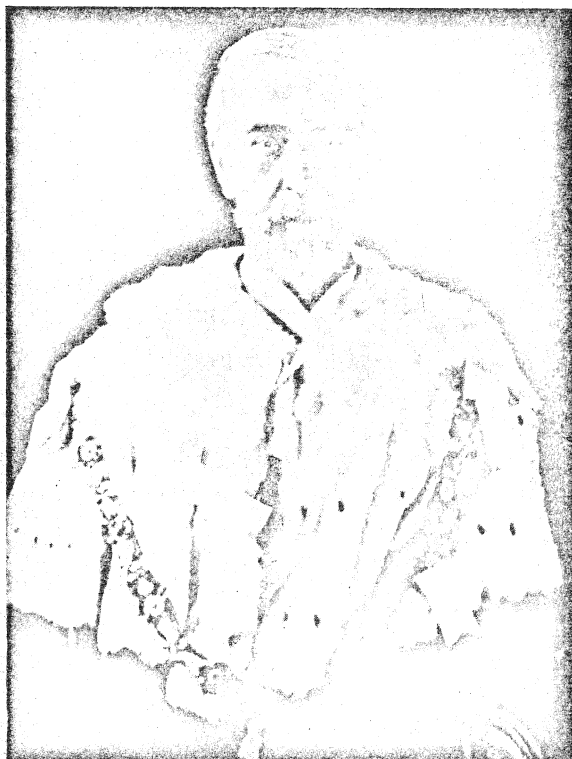


PLATE IV from BOOK OF DEER
Plate 65 (Page 332)



DONALD JAMES MCKAY 11th LORD REAY
Plate 66 (Page 348)



SIR THOMAS INNES OF LEARNEY, K.C.V.O.
LORD LYON KING OF ARMS
Plate 67 (Page 348)

[The Scotsman, Edinbu

about three years later he resigned from Prince William's service because he had been refused the command of one of the Prince's Scottish regiments. He returned to Scotland where Charles II appointed him in 1677 captain of one of his regiments of raw Scot recruits. It was in this command that he acquired the unenviable cognomen 'the bloody Clavers', because of his ruthless cruelty to the unfortunate Covenanters he overtook.

When James II succeeded Charles II, he promoted John Graham to the rank of major-general, then on November 12, 1688, raised him to the peerage as Viscount Dundee. Just seven days earlier, William of Orange had invaded the realm. The British nobles, such as the Marquis of Athole and the Earl of Mar, were astute enough to realize that King James' star was already starting into eclipse, and while feigning deep loyalty moved slowly from his side. Not so John Graham, Viscount Dundee. His loyalty was as unwavering as Chauvin's to Bonaparte.

A convention of the nobility, which had invited the Prince of Orange to invade England, now declared him king of England, requested that he assume the administration of the affairs of both England and Scotland, and pledged him their allegiance as the champion of their liberties against oppressive James. The convention then made extraordinary preparations for the civil war they expected might ensue, with a competent royalist of John Graham's stature already at the head of King James' forces to oppose those of William of Orange. Major-general Hugh Mackay arrived on March 25, 1689, from Holland, together with about 1,100 Highlanders in his Scottish Brigade, and was appointed commander of all the forces in Scotland.

Two determined and able men were commencing to flourish their swords at each other, Hugh Mackay of Scourie commanding the Scot forces of William of Orange, and John Graham of Claverhouse, supporting the cause of King James II. Under the command of General Mackay were several hundred Mackays, among them a few of the flower of the clan. They were ready to fight for the clan first, their general next, and the invading Dutchman third, with reservations. Almost to a man, the Highlanders resented the capricious and tyrannical methods of King James, yet the royal right to the throne, however oppressive the throne's immediate occupant might be, was both absolute and sacred. They had learned time out of mind that the Stuarts descended directly from Fergus Mac Erca, first king of Scots, and Fergus from Heremon; they knew, or believed they knew, from their bards that King Heremon's descent had been traced, generation by generation, to Noah. To support the throne was almost second nature to them. Let us examine the annals concerning the two men who were destined to pit their commands at fateful Killiecrankie, where many of your and my ancestral relatives fell.

General Hugh Mackay was of about the same age as his destined opponent, having been born *circa* 1640. He was an ensign in the Royal Scots by 1665, and accompanied that regiment to France in the French King's service a year or so later. After a tour in Venetian service he entered that of the Prince of Orange as a major of a Scots regiment serving in Holland. When he had reached the rank of Colonel, James II of England offered him the rank of major-general as commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland. He accepted, and then received that appointment June 4, 1685. He also became a member of the Privy Council of Scotland a few days later. In spite of these high honors, and perhaps because of tidings to which he but not history was privy, Hugh Mackay abandoned the cause of his king and espoused that of his former commander, William of Orange who was married to the king's daughter Mary Stuart. His commission, a royal warrant dated January 4, 1689, and signed by William and Mary, elevated him to 'major-general of all forces whatever within our

ancient kingdom of Scotland'. The general was a man of resolution and courage, astute in the military strategy of his day, and the soul of honor. While there was a fair sprinkling of veterans among them, most of the men in the regiment he commanded had just been recruited, so amounted to little more than an undisciplined mob. Although many Mackays had joined his standard, the majority of his troops are said to have been Lowlanders, which means many of them were not even true Gaelic Scots. These he had been able to enlist to support usurping William of Orange, for as formerly observed the Highland clans clung to their ancient ways and to the Stuarts, presently represented by stupid, stubborn, tyrannous James II, solely because of their fierce feudal loyalty to their ancient royal house and their clan, and in spite of James' libidinous and often monstrously cruel ways.

The man who opposed General Hugh Mackay was a dedicated mortal, and however much we abhor his excesses in the name of king and religion, we are constrained to admire his strict adherence to the causes he sought to advance, even with his life, which he laid down for them. Of him it was said in Dalrymple's Memoirs :—

“ If anything good was brought him (Dundee) to eat, he sent it to a faint or sick soldier. If a soldier was weary, he offered to carry his arms. He kept those who were with him from sinking under their fatigues, not so much by exhortation, as by preventing them from attending to their sufferings. For this reason he walked on foot with the men ; now by the side of one clan, and anon by that of another. He amused them with jokes. He flattered them with his knowledge of their genealogies. He animated them by a recital of the deeds of their ancestors, and of the verses of their bards. It was one of his maxims, that no general should fight with an irregular army, unless he was acquainted with every man he commanded. Yet, with these habits of familiarity (which violate every tried military code, R.W.M.) the severity of his discipline was dreadful. *The only punishment he inflicted was death.* ‘ All other punishments ’, he said, ‘ disgrace a gentleman, and all who are with me are of that rank. Death is a relief from the consciousness of crime ’. It is reported of him that, having seen a youth fly in his first action, he pretended he had sent him to the rear on a message. The youth fled a second time. He brought him to the front of the army, and saying, ‘ A gentleman's son ought not to fall by the hands of a common executioner ’, shot him with his own pistol ”.

No purpose will be served by relating the intrigues, or describing the ludicrously oppressive legislation and futile campaigns that led up to the fateful battle beyond the pass of Killiecrankie. John Graham's company had been joined, one by one, by Glengary with about 300 armed men ; then Macdonald of Morer leading nearly 200 of Clan Ranald's (Macdonald) men, then by Appin and Glencoe with a similar number of youthful warriors, some of them nevertheless veterans. Later he was joined by Lochiel, himself past 60, with more than 600 stalwart Highlanders to whom the claymore was a bed-companion. Then came Keppoch, otherwise Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch, with 200 of his staunchest warriors. These were not enlisted second-sons going to battle ; these were not mercenaries from Ireland, England, and the continent. They were the brawny, fighting sons of the Highland chieftains who would go, and send their sons, to hell for their clan and king ! And so it happened.

General Hugh Mackay, who had intermittently pursued General Graham, Viscount Dundee, with the hope of overtaking, defeating, then arresting him, now perceived that Dundee's growing force was becoming the kind of quarry that might turn and devour its pursuer. So he started his march through the pass of Killiecrankie with some 4,000 men. He emerged on a level several hundred feet below that occupied by Dundee's forces, and after several hours of titillation fired some guns that started the march of Dundee's forces down the mountainside. The Highlanders wielded their claymores with the brutal dexterity

of automatons, two-handed, two-edged swords that equalled a battle-axe. The result was disastrous, since they cut a four-inch segment from a living skull or clove a man from crown to navel in one sweep. The fighting was sanguine and fierce, but our clansman Hugh Mackay wound up in a retreat that found less than 400 men under his command at Stirling. He had lost more than 2,000 men who were literally butchered, hewn into pieces, by the ferocious Highlanders Dundee commanded. Such was war and religion among our ancestors, who so loved God that they were ready to 'murder all who disagreed with their assumptions.

Viscount Dundee raised his left arm to point during this battle, and a random or aimed bullet passed through the chink thus made in his armor, entered his armpit, then emerged through his breast-plate. He attempted to ride but fell from his horse and died on the field. Thus, although General Mackay lost the battle he won the day, for when General John Graham was killed, King James lost the only man capable of coalescing and leading the fierce Highland clans in battle, and who was at the same time an unwavering royalist.

OCHONOCHAR

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, in 1580 an author named Mathew Lumsden wrote a volume entitled *House of Forbes*, to which a preface was written in 1667 by William Forbes. In this preface it is stated that an Irish lord named *Ochonochar* went over to Scotland, and had a son whom he also named *Ochonochar*. The latter had three sons, whom he states founded the respective families of Forbes, Urquhart, and Mackay. *Ochonochar* is nebulous and unverified. There actually seems to be considerable foundation for a belief that the three families sprang in a remote century from the same stock. As late as the sixteenth century sons of Iye Du Mackay, that is Huistean Du Mackay of Strathnaver, Donald Mackay of Scourie, and William Mackay of Bighouse, are designated as Mackay-Forbes in various legal documents, and signed themselves Mackay-Forbes. Donald Mackay, afterwards 1st Lord Reay, sometimes wrote his name Mackay-Forbes, and two of his sons were also so denoted.

Who was this Irish lord *Ochonochar*? What was his relationship to Moddan II (Mo-Aodh-an) who flourished *circa* 1100 A.D., and who was descended from Moddan I, the latter a nephew of King Duncan? The answer to this conundrum of family history is for the present lost in the annals of Ireland and Scotland, but a diligent researcher can find it, I have no doubt.

King Duncan was a son of Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, by the latter's wife who was a daughter of King Malcolm MacKenneth. Let us look a little more closely at these two Scottish kings. King Duncan's name, according to O'Flaherty, was Donnchad mac Crionain; he reigned six years from 1034 to 1040 A.D. and was succeeded by Macbeth, who killed him. Donnchad, or Duncan, was as noted above a grandson of King Malcolm II who reigned 30 years from 1004 to 1034 A.D. Malcolm II's correct name in Gaelic was Malcoluim mac Cionaodha; Malcolm II was the son of King Kineth II, who reigned from 971 to 995 A.D. *Kineth* is an anglicization of his Gaelic name *Cianaodh* mac Maoilcoluim, also written Kenneth.

¹ There is even an authenticated instance of a Scot congregation that had so aroused itself as to be on the verge of sacrificing the minister's infant son, the minister himself officiating, when a chance stranger exhorted them to their senses. Of course, Christianity itself rests on mortal man's conviction that human sacrifice is efficacious, and such joyous expressions as 'washed in the blood of the lamb' have reference to the murder of Jesus, and their utterer's faith that by the crucifixion his own unnamed sins, and the supposititious sin of his first ancestors, were thus obliterated. There can be very little rational doubt that many zealots of deep faith today would participate in a ceremony involving a human sacrifice, even of one of their own children, if raised to a frenetic fervor by the exhortations of a forceful and persuasive orator.

Cianaodh is Gaelic for kindred, race, head, or descendants of Aodh. P. W. Joyce, in his *Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*, Dublin, 1869, on p. 112 says "Cinel (Kincl), kindred, race, descendants; Cincl-Aedha (Kinelea), the race of Aedh". Kin-eth and cian-aodh appear to be more or less synonymous with cinel-aodh and kincl-aodh. In his *General History of Ireland* (London, 1723), Keating on p. 299 says: "From the Testimony of this faithful Writer it appears that the Irish were called Scots or *Cineadh Scuit* in the Time of Bede, who flourished about seven hundred years after the Birth of Christ".

The reader of Irish or Scottish annals will gradually accustom himself to the extraordinary variation in spelling Gaelic words and names, greatly accelerated by the impingement of anglicization, scotticization, and latinization.

The present author has not encountered the personal name Ochonochar in any of the ancient Irish annals, and suggests that it is a scotticization or an anglicization of some such name as Eachmarcach, a horse rider, horseman, or knight, pronounced Oghmarchagh. Even that is rather an uncommon personal name, and itself scarcely approximates Ochonochar.

Another possibility is someone similar in name to Eochaidh Ua Cinaedha, herenagh of Ath-truim, who was slain A.D. 1059 according to the Annals of Ulster, Vol. II, p. 7, translation of B. MacCarthy, D.D., M.R.I.A., Dublin, 1893. The Gaelic name Eochaidh Ua Cinaedha, which means *Horseman or Knight of the Descendants of Aodh* would be pronounced approximately Eochy O'Kinee.

The Scot historian Nisbet states: "A brother of Ochonchar (note the variant spelling), who slew the bear, and was predecessor of the Lords Forbes, having in keeping the castle of Urquhart, took his surname from the place", in accounting for the origin of the name *Urquhart*.

However, since Mac Eth and Mac Aodh are but variants of Mackay, and since the name *Cianaodh* and *Kin-eth* are but different spellings of the same name, we are at once struck by the circumstance that the kings of Scotland, commencing in 847 A.D. with Kineth (Kenneth) I, whose real name was Cianaodh mac Ailpin, continued until 1004 A.D. to incorporate the *Cianaodh* in their names. Some of it is obscure unless the searcher has a minuscule knowledge of Gaelic; for example, in 961 A.D. Dubhodo mac Maoilcoluim, son of Malcolm (Maoilcoluim) I took the throne. *Dubh* means black, and *Odo* is a latinization of *Aodh*. So he was merely Black Aodh, from the colour of his hair, probably.

The *Book of Deer*, a vellum manuscript of eighty-six folios, measuring about six inches by three inches, was discovered about a hundred years ago in the University Library of Cambridge, to which it had been presented more than two hundred years ago by a distinguished book collector, Bishop Moore of Norwich and Ely. The chief portion of the volume is written in Latin and is believed to be as old as the 9th century. It contains on its margins and in vacant spaces in the book itself a great many entries in Gaelic, many of them concerned with and describing lands given the monastery by local mormaors, chiefs who preceded the earls. The monastery was founded by Columcille¹ in the sixth century, but the marginal entries in the *Book of Deer* were made in the 12th century.

¹ Colum Cille, which translates 'dove of the church' was a name bestowed on the great saint by his childhood school-mates in Ireland, because of his mild and retiring manner as he emerged each day from the monastery, where he was being reared, to accompany them to school. According to the ancient *Annals of Ulster* (p. 61), it is shown that Colum Cille voyaged in the year 562-3 A.D. to 'the Island of Ia, in the 42nd year of his age.' The abbreviation 'Ia' is for the Island of Iona, where the great saint took up his monastic residence.

The memoranda of grants to the monastery are in one case headed with the following blessing : *Acus bennact ichomded arcecmormar acusarcectosech chomallfas acusdansil daneis*, translated, 'And the blessing of the one God on every governor and every leader who keeps this, and to their seed afterward'. The first grant recorded follows immediately after the foregoing benediction. It states that Comgeall mac Eda presented to Columcille all the land between Orti and Furene. Mac Eda is doubtless a variant of Mac Eth, Mac Aoidh, or Mackay. Hence we have notice of the Mac Eths as mormaors (also written maormor) as early as the fifth century *in an almost contemporaneous writing*.

Let us now have another look at Kin-eth, Kenneth, or correctly Cianaodh I mac Ailpin. His daughter Malmaria married the king of Ireland Aodh Finnliath, and the *two became the progenitors of the O'Neills of Ulster*, according to O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*. Aodh Finnliath, who reigned 16 years from 863 to 879, was a son of Niall Cailne, king from 833 to 846. The latter's grandfather was Niall Frassach, king of Ireland 763 to 770, when he abdicated the crown and entered into monastic orders in the island of Iona in the monastery of St. Columb Cille in Scotland.

Thus we perceive moving shadows in the mists that engulf those early centuries, when the kings of Ireland and Scotland intermarried their sons and daughters, and an Irish king retired to Scotland. It seems almost quixotic to search for the Aodh who sired the MacAodhs of Scotland, when under our noses is the Royal House of Moray, the Cianaodh kings, the Mac Eths whose name means Mac Aodh, and Moddan (Mo-Aodh-an) who was a nephew of King Duncan, the latter a Cianaodha. It seems very probable that the solution to our problem is hereabouts if we can but lay hands on it.

Even the armorial bearings show an inexplicable connection between the Scot Mackays and the O'Neills of Ulster. As elsewhere herein shown in particular, the 1503 bearings of the Strathnaver Mackays carry the Red Hand and three mullets (stars). So do the arms of Hugh O'Neill, third Earl of Tyrone. The latter are shown in the arms beneath the likeness of him in Primo Damaschino's volume, *La Spada D'Orione*, Rome, Ballista Bussotti, 1680, where the correct O'Neill supporters are displayed, that is two wolf-hounds, rather than lions. Again, on his tomb in the Church of San Pietro de Montorio on the Hill of the Janiculum in Rome, we find the same charges of the Red Hand, the mullets, and a salmon. Even when we come to the signet ring of the renowned, loved and lamented Owen Roe O'Neill, which was found in the Evidence Chamber of Dublin Castle, we again encounter : *a shield that contains three stars, the bloody right hand supported by two lions, and beneath them a salmon*.

Reverting for a brief instant to the terrifying days of Shakespeare's Macbeth, we need to realize first that Macbeth actually existed. Next, we recollect that he killed a Scot king who, it seems, was a Mac Aodh, since Duncan was of the Cianaodh. Duncan's grandfather, Malcolm II, in order to insure that his daughter's son Duncan would succeed him, caused an ordinance to be passed that heirs in the cognatic line should be eligible to inherit the throne. Then he calmly murdered the rightful male heir, a young son of his brother Boete.

¹ The exact language that describes the grant, and which can readily be read from Plate IV herein, taken from the *Book of Deer* (edited by John Stuart, LL.D. for the Spalding Club, and published at Edinburgh in 1869), is as follows :

Cómgeall mac éda dórat úarorti (go) nice fúrené docolumcille acusdodrostan

Comgeall son of Aed gave from Orte to Furene to Columcille and to Drostan

² P. 211, Vol. III, 1855, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* : "The Eoghanachs, whose chief had the modern title of O'Neill, called neither on his name nor their own ; and although their gathering call has become a family motto and the bloody hand an heraldic coat, this terrible cognizance and its slogan may have been theirs rather than his, as perhaps invoking them to defend their territory by recalling the act of their patriarch in taking possession of it by severing his hand and casting it on the shore."

Boete, however, had also a courageous daughter, Gruoch, who was married to Macbeth, the powerful Mormaer (equates with earl) of Moray. When King Duncan went to war with Thorfin the Norseman and was vanquished, Macbeth turned on him and killed him. Duncan's children were instantly carried as fugitives to England, and Macbeth thereupon became King of Scots for seventeen years. Do not forget that his wife Gruoch was a niece of King Malcolm Cionaodha, hence seems to have had prior claim to primogeniture. When Macbeth (cognate with Mac Eth ?) and Gruoch slew Duncan, perhaps they were only avenging the murder by his grandfather Malcolm II of Lady Macbeth's brother, *who after all was the rightful heir to the throne of Scotland*. Perhaps Shakespeare himself maligned the wrong people in poetical license, and should have immolated Malcolm mac Cianaodha.

There can be little doubt that *Lulach*, who was a second cousin of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, and supposititiously by some historians a son of Gruoch by a prior marriage, succeeded as mormaer of Moray. However, we have already traced his descent according to Skene, which is probably accurate.

It will be recalled that Rev. Angus Mackay remarked on the fact that the Mac Eths (Mackays) of Strathnaver fought bitterly and continuously with the line that occupied the throne, *as they believed their own line should occupy it*. Thus, all of the facts that have come into our possession lead us circumstantially toward the following tentative conclusions, which while not susceptible to absolute proof, nevertheless become so palpably probable as to resemble facts :

1. The Mac Eths of Strathnaver seem to me to have descended from the Morays, and through them from Loarn, brother of Fergus Mac Earca, Scotland's first king and a direct lineal descendant of Heremon.
2. The names Mackay, Makkie, M'Ghie, McKee, and other variants of Mac Aodh or Mac Aoidh, are derived from Mac Eth ; Eth is a variant of Aodh. The Island Tíree is correctly Tir Aodh, but appears as both Tir Heth and Tir Eth in early poems and ecclesiastical histories.
3. The ancient armorial bearings of the Mac Eths and Mackays carry a hand, together with the three mullets, or stars, of the Morays. In modern representations it is rendered *proper*, but anciently it may have been red. These same charges repeat themselves in the early bearings of various cadet branches of the Mackays with such persistence as to disclose the antiquity of the devices themselves, the meaning of which no writer adequately explains. Of course, we must always bear in mind that the Red Hand is supposed to represent the *right hand of God*, and has been found in Asiatic civilizations as well as in Ireland and Scotland. It is incredibly ancient. Yet its use as an armorial charge may be a key we are ignoring to long-forgotten relationships, and even unity of source.
4. The O'Neills of Ulster employed identical charges, as shown by the true armorial bearings of Hugh O'Neill, The Great Earl, Third Earl of Tyrone ; that is to say, he displayed a Red Hand and three mullets.
5. We are led inescapably to the suspicion that the Mac Eths and the O'Neills were not only collateral descendants of the ruling families of Scotland and Ireland, but that they *were aware of it* and of each other. In fact, we found that they join at Aodh Finnliath, according to O'Flaherty.
6. We have seen elsewhere in the present volume that the Red Hand of Erin was supposed to have been used first by the House of Ir. and later adopted by the House of Heremon. The three stars of Moray, which are also on The O'Neill's arms, are still of obscure origin, but their source may come to light later. The salmon as one of Hugh O'Neill's charges rests possibly on his inherited right to the several important salmon fishing privileges in the

rivers and lakes of Uladh. The galley or sailing ship that seeps through to the Irish bearings of the McKees probably derives from a charge on the shield of the Macdonalds, with whom they and their forebears intermarried.

To summarize, all the evidence we can find tends to identify the Mackays of Scotland with the line of Fergus Mac Earca through Loarn, his brother. Moreover, it is undeniable that the name McKee is, like Mackay, only a variant pronunciation of Mac Aodh, MacAoidh, or Mac Aedh. These *do not* mean 'son of Hugh', as several writers have asserted, but 'son of the fiery one'. Our ancestors were Irish, but many of them went to Scotland in early centuries. Thus the clan flourished in both Ulster and Scotland for uncounted centuries, and members of it passed back and forth between the two countries, as well as to the continent, as war, religious persecution, and economic pressures impelled them.

Add to this the expert opinion of Iain Moncreiffe of Easter Moncreiffe, Unicorn Pursuivant and a royal officer of arms in Scotland, that "*it is now supposed very possible that the Mackays were the descendants of the deposed male line of the ancient ruling house of Moray, and that they were transported extramontans Scotiae to their present territory in the extreme North when the Kings of Scots finally subdued the Mac Eth (i.e. Mackay) rulers of Moray in about 1160*". Also, "*Moray was a great Pictish kingdom, and they presumably had the Pictish royal blood, but this always came in the female line and so their male line was very possibly Scots, i.e. Ulster. After the downfall of Moray in 1160, the name Aed continued in Strathnaver among the Mackay chiefs*".

The result, while it does not attain the absolute level of a proven fact, nevertheless points persistently to the clan's very ancient existence in organized form, and to its most probable royal status behind the mists of early centuries.

The matter which follows, in some degree redundant when we consider similar reviews by the later author Angus Mackay (1906), is nevertheless included from Robert Mackay's earlier *History of the House and Clan of Mackay* (1829) in order that the reader may have the precise language of the latter on several important facets of the Mackay history :

"There are grounds to believe that Alexander (Mackay) commanded the Irish company who assisted King William (1196 A.D.) in subduing Harold, and that he subsequently aided in repelling the invasions of the Danes, and driving them out of the north of Scotland : nor is there any cause to doubt that the king granted him lands adequate to his services ; and as these were for the greater part required in Caithness, it is reasonable to suppose that he had obtained lands there, besides his acquirements in the Reay country.

It was of great importance to Scotland to have the Danes or Norwegians extirpated from the north ; they were in those times very powerful both by land and by sea ; they had formerly subdued, and for a long time ruled and distressed England, and often invaded, and fought many severe and bloody battles in many parts of Scotland, and they were still in possession of the Hebrides, and of Orkney and Zetland ; they had also claimed right to Caithness and Sutherland, and had planted themselves in Ross, Murray, Buchan, and the interjacent counties.

Some accounts bear, that this Alexander (Mackay) was succeeded by his son Walter, and others, by his son Martin ; but as the former seems to have received most countenance it will be admitted. It is mentioned in a manuscript in the possession of George Mackay, Esq., Stewart-Hall in Bute, that Alexander came with two of his brethren out of Ireland to Scotland, in the reign of William the Lyon, and resided in Caithness where his son Walter married a daughter of Adam, bishop of that diocese, and went thence with his followers to Strathnaver, then possessed by Norwegians, whom he drove out of those bounds, and possessed the lands they had held there.

The manuscript above referred to, farther states, that of the other brethren of Alexander are descended the Forbeses and Urquharts ; and that it appears from the Chronicle of Melross, that Patrick, son of Walter, son of Alexander who was superior of Melross, was made abbot there upon the sixth of June, 1206, who, being made bishop of Caithness in the year 1214, continued in that office till 1219, when he was slain in the episcopal manor of Halkirk.

There is no account of the ancestors of any family in these northern parts, excepting these of the Mackays, having been engaged in expelling the Danes from Caithness : from which it may be supposed, not only that Alexander (Mackay), as already mentioned ; but also his son Martin and their descendants had lands there, and this seems to be countenanced by the opinion, that these descendants, of very ancient dates, multiplied in Caithness, under the names, not only of Mackay, but of Farquhar, Morgan, Bain or Bayne, Mackomas, Shil-Thomas and others. And no other family have maintained their ground, or spread in these northern countries as the Mackays have done. The original Sutherlands disappeared in the Gordons, as these did in the Setons ; and the district of Sutherland at no period contained many persons of the name of Sutherland ; nor in Caithness have there been many of the name of Sinclair : whereas there is a continued descent of the Mackays in the male line, from their first appearance in the north, in the twelfth century, down to the present time (He was writing the foregoing *circa* 1828.—R.W.M.) ; and they multiplied greatly in Sutherland under various names besides that of Mackay, such as, Shil-Phaul, or M'Phail, Polson, Bain, Shil-Thomas, Shil-Niel or Nielson, Slight-Angus Mackay, and so forth". *History of the House and Clan of Mackay*. Robert Mackay, Edinburgh, 1829 ; p. 31-33.

" Alexander (Mackay) was succeeded by his son Walter (Mackay), 1222-1263 Some are of the opinion that the Mackays assisted in quelling the rebellion raised by Somerled (Macdonald) about the year 1245. Walter (Mackay) was succeeded by his son Martin (Mackay), 1263-1290. There seems to be some probability that Martin assisted his countrymen at this battle. What degree of support that may have from the following, cannot be precisely determined. An ancient manuscript was within these few years discovered in the Advocates' Library, written by Andrew Symson, which has been published, edited by Thomas Maitland younger of Dundruman, advocate, mentions the family of Mackie or M'Kie, in Galloway, as far back as King Robert Bruce. It states that ' King Robert, being by a part of the English army defeated in Carrick, fled into the head of Loch-Dee to a few of his broken party, and lodging in a widow's house in Craigenallie, in the morning she, observing some of his family ornaments, suspected him to be a person of eminence, and modestly asked him if he was her liege Lord ? He told her, Yes ; and was come to pay her a visit, and asked her if she had any sons to serve him in his distress ? Her answer was that she had *three sons*¹ *to her several husbands*, and that if she was confirmed in the truth of his being their sovereign, they should be at his service. He asked her farther, if she could give him anything to eat ? Her answer was, there was very little in the house, but some meal and goat's milk, which should be prepared for him, and while it was making ready, her three sons did appear, all lusty men. The King asked them if they would cheerfully engage in his service, which they readily assented to ; and when the King had done eating, he asked them what weapons they had, and if they could use them ? They told him they were used to none but the bow and arrow. He asked them if they could make use of their bows and arrows ? M'Kie, the eldest son, let fly an arrow at two ravens perching upon the pinnacle of a rock above the house, and shot them through both their heads. Murdoch, the second son, let fly at one upon the wing, and shot him through the body ; but M'Liery, the third son, had not so good success' The statement then goes on to say, ' that these three young men continued with the king, and distinguished themselves in all the warfare which he carried on against England, and also at the Battle of Bannockburn, which destroyed

¹ This expression, in words deliberately chosen, clearly shows that the three sons were *half-brothers* ; the eldest was called M'Kie, his father's name, which was therefore Mackay, or probably still Mac Eth in those early centuries. The other sons, Murdoch and M'Liery very probably had fathers named Muireadach and Laoghaire, in turn, as their names suggest these cognate Gaelic Christian names.—R.W.M.

the last hopes of England against the independence of Scotland'. The narrative proceeds, 'Then the three brothers (*recté*, half-brothers.—R.W.M.) being asked by the king what reward they expected? answered very modestly, that they never had a prospect of great things; but if his majesty would bestow on them the thirty-pound land of Hassock of Cumloddan, they would be very thankful: to which the king cheerfully assented, and they kept it long in possession'. The Cumloddan family continued to flourish within the stewartry of Kirkcudbright till *beyond the middle of the eighteenth century*. The MacKies of Palgowan, of Glencaird, of Drumbuie, and of Lairg, were all directly descended. The latter, known by the name of the Laird of Lairg, represented that stewartry for several parliaments. The family of M'Ghie of Balmaghie are thought to be of ²Irish descent; and this opinion seems in some measure confirmed, by that family using the arms of Mackay, Lord Reay; whereas the MacKies before mentioned have, since the days of Bruce, for their arms two ravens proper upon a chief argent, with an arrow through both their heads—*Gules, the field Gules*. These Mackays must have been for many centuries planted in Galloway, from the circumstance, that a parish there is called Balmaghie, *i.e.* Mackay-town. Chalmers says that 'Michael Macgé, a landholder in Galloway, submitted to Edward III in 1339—*Rotul Scotiae*, 571. William Macgé of Balmagé, appears in a cause before the auditors of parliament in 1478—*Acta Dom. Auditor*, 65. He obtained from James III a charter of his lands, on the 14th of August, 1484.—*Regist. Mag. Sig. b. XI. 73*. The Macgies of Balmaghie acquired charters from James IV in 1513, James V in 1527.—*ibid b. XIX. 18; b. XXI. 82*. This family continued in possession of their ancient estate till 1786.—*Vol. iii, p. 323*. He writes in another place, that the Gaelic language continued to be spoken in Galloway till the time of Queen Mary. There are a great many royal charters to the Mackays of that province on record, one of which is by James III to Patrick Mackie of Cumloddan, of three parts of the lands of Drummargane, dated 25th January, 1474. More concerning some of these Mackays will occur afterwards".

"The greatest troubles that ever came upon Scotland happened in his (³Magnus Mackay's, 1290–1315, son of Martin Mackay, 1263–1290) time, occasioned by the competition of Baliol and Bruce for the crown. Baliol, doubtless, had the prior claim, from his father's marriage with the eldest daughter of Allan of Galloway, whose wife was eldest daughter of David Earl of Huntingdon, brother of King William of Scotland, whose line, together with that of each of the Alexanders, was extinct; whereas King Robert's father, the other claimant, was of the marriage of his father with David's second daughter; but with this difference, that Scotland was more jealous of Baliol (*i.e.* liked him less.—R.W.M.), because his grandfather, from whom his claim descended, had been a feudatory, and sworn allegiance to the king of England; and Bruce claimed as a male-heir in right of his father, while that of Baliol was from his mother. Each was powerful, and had potent friends and allies. 'The controversy', says Buchanan, 'could not be decided at home; nay, if it should have been equitably determined, yet there was not a sufficient party in Scotland to compel both sides to stand to the award; and therefore, Edward of England was almost unanimously chosen to be the decider of this important point; neither was there any doubt made of his fidelity, as being the son of such a man as the late king of Scotland had experienced his father to be—both a loving father-in-law to him, and a just guardian too; and the English king had received a late and memorable testimony of the Scots' good-will towards him, in that they so readily consented to the marriage of his son with their queen'. Edward, however, in violation of all good faith, justice, and honesty,

¹ This was written *circa* 1828, it should be borne in mind, so that its author Robert Mackay was close to the time he mentions, *the middle of the eighteenth century* which would be near 1750. There is the very clear inference from what he says that large numbers of the Cumloddan family commenced to emigrate from Scotland sometime near 1750. It is probable that they went to Antrim and Down, and later to America, at least in some instances. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that this migration commenced rather early in the 1700's, as religious turmoil was well under way then.—R.W.M.

² As indeed are all Mac Eths, Mackays, Mac Aodhs, McKees.—R.W.M.

³ Robert Mackay says: 'The circumstance of this chief having got the name Magnus (Mackay), can only be accounted for by some alliance having been contracted betwixt his father and the Earl of Orkney.'

resolved to turn all to his own account, by destroying the ancient freedom and liberties of Scotland, and bringing it under subjection to England, which, first by jesuitical craft, and afterwards by tyranny and cruelty, he almost accomplished, until the immortal Wallace, like another Sampson, checked his progress, and vindicated the rights of his country.

The Mackays united with their brave countrymen, in support of their independence ; and there is reason to think they *were led by Magnus (Mackay) as their chief*. It is said, that a charter is still extant, of certain lands granted by King Robert (the Bruce) to Mackay ; and there is in the Register-Office, a charter of lands in Kintyre, granted by that prince to one of the Mackay family. The latter is to ¹*Gilchrist-Mackay-More Mackay*, for homage and service, of the pennyland of Killiwillen, and the pennyland of Skelamonsky in Kintyre, dated at Monyreth in Galloway, the 31st day of March, and of the King's reign, the fourteenth year. (Haddington's Collection of Ancient Charters. *Robertson's Index*.) Barbour states, that the Highlanders accompanied Bruce at Bannockburn, but he names none of the chiefs or clans to the north of Ross ; there are, however, other accounts, which bear that eighteen highland chiefs fought under that king at that decisive battle—Stewart, Macdonald, Mackay, Mackintosh, Macpherson, and so forth. *Martin Mackay* was succeeded by his son Morgan Mackay (1315–1325) Morgan (Mackay) was succeeded by his son Donald I (1325–1340). His accession to his father's property may have been about the year 1325. Sir Robert (Gordon) says he married the daughter of ²Iye of Gigha, the son of Niel, by whom, he adds, he had a son called Iye, after his grandfather. Gigha is an island in the district of Kintyre, which Pennant describes to be about six miles long and one broad ; and as in ancient times there were thanes of Gigha, this Iye might have been one of them. It seems to imply that Donald had relations in Kintyre, when he went such a distance for a wife, and corroborates the above statement, that some of the Mackays had previously been settled there. Indeed, the Mackays continued to be persons of eminence in Kintyre until the last century, and their descendants, under other names, are so still”.

P. 54. “ Sir Robert (Gordon) states, ‘ This Angus-Dow Mackay fought against Donald, Lord of the Isles at Dingwall in Ross, because that Donald had molested some friends which Angus-Dow had in that country. At this conflict Angus-Dow was overcome and taken prisoner and his brother Rory-Gald, with divers others, were slain. Donald of the Isles, having detained Angus-Dow a while in captivity, released him, and gave him his ³daughter in marriage, whom Angus-Dow carried home with him to Strathnaver, and had a son by her, called Niel-Wass, so named because he was imprisoned in the Bass.’

Pinkerton calls him, ‘ Angus Duff, leader of four thousand Mackays of Strathnaver ’. He refers to Bowar, the continuator of Fordun's Chronicle of Scotland, whose words are, ‘ *Angus Duff alias Macgye, ducem quatuor millium de Strathnavern*’. Boece writes thus, ‘ Angus Duff of Strathern tuk an gret prey of gudis out of Murray and Cathness ’. (Vol. 2, p. 501.) In reference to these, Sir Robert (Gordon) justly observes, ‘ Our Scottish historians have mistaken the person, and have quite changed the same ; for the person Angus-Dow Mackay, is, by some of our writers, called Angus Duff, and by others, Angus Duff of Strathern ’. And in another place, he says, ‘ Some of our writers make Angus Duff to come for a prey of goods out of Caithness and Murray, which error any man may easily perceive who knows these countries. Murray and Caithness, are far asunder, having a great arm of the sea interjected between them, called Murray Frith, and having Sutherland and Ross ’ (Inverness also) ‘ interjected by land between them ’.

¹ In Gaelic this would mean ‘ Servant of Christ, son of Aodh the Great, or Strong, son of Aodh ’.—R.W.M.

² Iye and Y are, strange as it may seem, vagrant spellings of the age-old Gaelic name Aodh. Unless the reader accustoms himself to these transient flights from one *spelling* to another, all pronounced *ee*, more or less, he will get himself quite comfortably bewildered ; what is more important, though, he may entirely miss a significant clue to a McKee line merely because a man actually named Aodh is denoted *Odo*, *Iye*, or even *Y* in a manuscript or volume.

³ Rev. Angus Mackay, in his *Book of Mackay* written c. 1905, corrects this, having discovered that it should read ‘ sister ’, not ‘ daughter ’.—R.W.M.

“From the foregoing, it is abundantly evident that this Angus Mackay was one of the most powerful persons in the kingdom, at least to the north of the Grampian mountains ; and he can scarcely be supposed to have had less than four thousand men under his command before he would encounter Donald (of the Isles.—R.W.M.), whose power was found upon trial to be equal to that of several counties north of the Tay. Buchanan is doubtless incorrect in stating that the whole country of Ross were willing to return to Donald’s subjection ; for they had not hitherto been under his government, because upon the death of Alexander Leslie, Earl of Ross, the earldom was conveyed to John Stuart ; so that Donald merely claimed, but had not then obtained it : and the people of Ross would naturally prefer the government of the Earl of Buchan, son of the governor of Scotland, to that of Donald, who was reckoned a foreigner, and an enemy to the kingdom. Sir Robert’s account is therefore far more credible, namely, that Donald spoiled the country of Ross ; and that Angus (Mackay) marched thither with an army, to relieve his friends from his oppression. He does not mention, however, who these friends were, nor from whence Angus (Mackay) had gathered such a great body of men as must have attended him. But he lends a key to it in another place, where he states, that Thomas Mackay (he calls him *Mackneill*, because he was son of Neil) who was ¹cousin-german of Angus (Mackay), was proprietor of Creichmore in Ross, and of several other estates specified in the charters after mentioned, granted to his two brothers and to Murray ; and no doubt there were others of his kindred there besides Thomas (Mackay). Together with his own people, and the different branches of his family, he must have been supplied with a number of men from Caithness, Assint, and Ross, and with none from the latter more likely than the Munros, who may have been of the number he wished to protect”.

“The historian Pinkerton says of James the First, ‘The king assembled a parliament at Inverness in spring, 1427, which the highland chieftains were specially summoned to attend ; and suddenly arrested Alexander, Lord of the Isles, and his mother, the Countess of Ross, Angus Duff (Mackay), leader of 4,000 Mackays of Strathnavern, Kenneth More, chief of 2,000, John Ross, William Leslie, Angus Murray and Mackmaken, each also a chief of 2,000 In Strathnavern, Angus Duff (Mackay) and Angus Murray, both of them lately delivered from the imprisonment ordered at Inverness, met in conflict in the year 1431, with 1,200 men upon either side ; and so furious was the encounter, that hardly nine of the whole were left alive’.”

“‘The memory of that conflict,’ of Drimnacoub, says Sir Robert (Gordon), ‘remaineth among the posterity in that country to this day’. (Sir Robert Gordon wrote his history of the Sutherlands early in the seventeenth century.—R.W.M.). Yes, and to this day also, which is two centuries later. (Robert Mackay was writing *circa* 1828.—R.W.M.) It cannot be doubted, that he adopted the tradition current in Sutherland, as the ground-work of his story. It is therefore equally fair to collect materials for a description of these matters, from the tradition subsisting in the Reay country ; which will be told, after repeating shortly, by way of abstract, the circumstances in which Angus Mackay was placed”.

“He was calumniated by many as a thief, a robber, a masterful freebooter, maintaining several hundreds of his myrmidons on the spoils of his neighbours ; and in consequence he went to Inverness, to acquit himself before the king of these charges. It appears that, however clamorous his accusers had been against him in his absence, none engaged in his presence to substantiate any of these charges, nor to refute his statements in his own defence. He was therefore acquitted : yet, from principles of policy, he was bound over to the peace, and his son Niel taken in pledge. His powerful and trusty friend and cousin, Thomas Mackay, was basely betrayed, his lands forfeited, and himself put to death, from the superstition of the times, for alleged sacrilege ; and his brother-in-law, Alexander, was under the royal displeasure, imprisoned, and unjustly deprived of his earldom of Ross, which, of course, led those vassals

¹ Cousin-german denotes a first cousin, usually.—R.W.M.

and friends whom Angus had in that country, to forsake him, being compelled to yield to such as were carried away by the current of present circumstances, from their rightful superior, Alexander. In the course of four or five years, those changes greatly weakened Angus Mackay. He was now far advanced in life, unwieldy and infirm of body, and unable to take the field. This was a tempting opportunity for Earl Robert to bestir himself, to destroy the defenceless old gentleman, and to seize upon his country. He had three fit tools for his purpose, Niel and Morgan Mackay, and their father-in-law, Angus Murray, keeping himself in the shade and if any complaint should afterwards be laid against him, it could not be proven, or it would be unheard among many powerful and contrary voices, and the whole blame would be laid on the two cousins, and their father-in-law, who had formerly done good service to the king, by apprehending *the sacrilegious felon, Thomas (Mackay)*. 'This Thomas (Mackay) had conceived some displeasure against the laird of Fresnick, called Mowat, whom he had pursued and killed, with all his company, near the town of Tain, in Ross, within the chapel of St. Duffus, and burnt also that chapel, unto the which Mowat had retired himself as to a sanctuary. The king hearing of this cruel fact, proclaimed and denounced Thomas (Mackay) to be a rebel; promised his lands and possessions for a reward to any that would kill or apprehend him. Angus Murray, the son of Alexander Murray of Cubin, understanding the king's proclamation, went about to effectuate this service; and to this purpose had secret conference with Morgan (Mackay) and Niel (Mackay), the brethren of Thomas (Mackay). Angus Murray offered to them if they would assist to apprehend their brother Thomas, he would give them his own two daughters in marriage, and help them also to get the peaceable possession of such lands in Strathnaver as they made claim unto, which then they might easily obtain with little or no resistance, in regard that the cousin Angus Dow (Angus Dow Mackay, which is a variant of Angus Du, meaning *black hair*.—R.W.M.) was then unable, by reason of the weakness of his body at that time, to withstand them, and that his son, Niel, lay prisoner in the Bass; and farther, he promised that he would deal with the Earl of Sutherland to favour and assist them. To this they easily yielded, pretending a title to Angus-Dow his possessions in Strathnaver. So presently thereupon apprehending their brother Thomas (Mackay) at Spanizedale in Sutherland, they delivered him up to Angus Murray, who was presented to the king. Then was Thomas (Mackay) executed at Inverness, and the lands of Pulrossie and Spanizedale, which he did possess, were given by the king, to Angus Murray as a reward for his service'. (Sir Robert Gordon). He should have added, that the king, at the same time, granted charters to Niel and Morgan Mackay for their parts in the service".

Robert Mackay then translates the tragic affair thus: "The great power which the Mackays then possessed, must have been an eyesore to the Earl of Sutherland and his friends; and in particular, the extensive property which Thomas Mackay held within Sutherland, could not fail to grieve him. Some dispute arose between John Mowat of Freswick, who seems to have been of considerable note in Caithness at the time, as was his father William de Monte Alto of Loscragy in the south. His castle, which was the strongest in the country, and the ruins of which are still to be seen, called the castle of Bucholly or Freswick, endured, Torfoeus says, a memorable siege in the twelfth century. What the dispute was between Thomas (Mackay) and him, it is not said. As their several properties lay far divided, there appears little cause to think that it was wholly personal; and Thomas (Mackay) must have considered the provocation given him to be very great, when it called for such vengeance. That Sutherland was implicated in their dispute, whatever it was, seems the more probable from his after conduct. When Thomas was brought to his trial, the essence of his crime, no doubt, was the sacrilege, as it was then reckoned, which he committed by killing Mowat in the chapel, and burning that most sacred place, which was unpardonable. Sir Robert (Gordon) says of it, 'About this time, (1209) St. Duffus, bishop of Ross, lived; a very godly man, patron of St. Duffus his chapel, beside the town of Tain; unto the which chapel a great confluence of people, yea, some of our kings, did resort in pilgrimage, in former ages. King James the Fifth, by advice of Bishop Beaton, went on a pilgrimage to St. Duffus' chapel: the bishop's design was, to have

the young king out of the way, so as no application might be made to him for the life of his cousin, Patrick Hamilton, the Scots proto-martyr”.

The conflict known as the battle of Drimnacoub is described by Robert Mackay in the following fashion :

“ Thus Murray and his two sons-in-law raised all the power of Sutherland, and invaded Mackay’s country, with far more than twice the number of men that it could furnish. It is not at all probable, that Mackay offered his cousins all his country excepting Kintail, which is but a very small part of it, consisting only of strips on both sides of Tongue ferry ; besides, that the following circumstances, with what has been formerly said, exclude that idea. Mackay’s men having assembled, all determined to defeat the invaders, or to die in the just defence of their country and of themselves, were commanded by John Mackay, a man of much foresight, and singular for bodily strength and courage. He very judiciously chose the ground whereon to meet his enemies ; an extended heath at the northwest side of the lofty and steep mountain, Ben-Lyal. There were only two ways by which the enemy could advance upon him ; either by the towering and narrow pass of Bealach-duag, at the west side of the mountain, or by its east end. If they advanced by the former, they could be attacked to great advantage, from the narrowness of the pass, which would permit their approach only by files of two or three deep ; and if by the latter, John, though his advantage would be less, could take the more elevated ground, so as to be above them. But as their marching by the pass would be most in his favour, which he believed they would prefer, as the shortest course by several miles, and in which he was soon confirmed by his scouts, he formed his men at such a distance from its bottom, as they might rush forward upon them as they gradually advanced, without giving them any opportunity to rally. His men also were all refreshed, whereas the enemy was fatigued by a long march over houseless forests. As the pass was above a mile in length from bottom to summit, John could see the whole of his enemies in their descent, and they him and his company. His father was led to the top of a distant hill, to see and wait the issue ”.

“ When the Sutherland-men were descending the pass, one of them is reported to have said, on seeing the Mackays but a small body compared with themselves, ‘ We can shackle all these men ’ : to which another made answer : ‘ Take care of yourself—these calves will leap too high for you to shackle them ’. When the enemy’s advanced files were near the bottom of the pass, John and his men marched speedily forward to intercept and attack them, before those behind could concentrate into any strong body ; and Murray and his sons-in-law (themselves Mackays, and traitors to their own blood and their clan, the reader should bear in mind—R.W.M.) being in or near the van, they, together with all who could come to their assistance, were soon overpowered and slain. There was no parley, but immediately as the foremost arrived within reach of their weapons they attacked them pell-mell ”.

“ Those behind seeing the conflict begun, scrambled and leaped down the pass with all speed ; but soon finding that their leaders were slain, they lost heart : knowing, however, that they must either fight manfully and overcome, or be slain, they strove desperately for some time, but at length gave way, and fled leaving about half their number dead on the field. Some who attempted to escape by the craggy west end of Ben-Lyal, were soon overtaken and killed ; and such as fled by the pass shared the same fate. The only other way of escape was by the long circuitous course by the east end of the mountain. The Mackays chased the remainder of the fugitives and killed them along that course for about eight miles, to the ford of a river running into Loch-Lyal, called by the inhabitants, ‘ Aa Carrhic ’, or *Carry-ford*, where the last man of them was killed, and a large stone laid on his grave, which is seen there to this day. From the security of victory on the part of Sutherland, who came rather to spoil and colonize than to fight, and the advantageous circumstances wherein the Mackays were placed, thus ended the battle of Drimnacoub, so often told, but so much misconstrued by historians.

There were comparatively few of the Mackays killed, which appears from their having successfully invaded and spoiled Caithness not long thereafter".

The John Mackay who was the victorious commander at the battle just described was better known to history as John Abrach (Aberach, Aberigh) Mackay, and about him the author Robert Mackay had this significant comment: 'His descendants have always been, and to the present time are, termed Slighd-ean-Abereigh, *i.e.* the offspring of John-Abrach. They were the most populous and powerful branch of the Mackays. John married first, a daughter of the laird of Mackintosh, by whom he had two sons, William Dow (Mackay), who succeeded him, and John; and secondly, a daughter of Hector Mackenzie of Garloch, brother of the laird of Kintail, by whom he had a son, Hector'. He assumed chieftainship of the clan when his elder brother Niel-Wass Mackay was imprisoned at Bass rock, and relinquished it to him in 1437, after Niel's seven years imprisonment.

It will be recalled that John Aberach Mackay's father, who was Angus Dow Mackay, had been led to the summit of a commanding hill so that he might witness the battle of Drimnacoub. A man named Iver, or Evander, who was a principal follower of the Earl of Sutherland, arrived at the field of battle only because his nagging wife forced him to go, but too late to engage in the conflict. In fact the Mackays were pursuing his countrymen and slaying them as fast as they caught up with them. Evander concealed himself, and seeing the venerable Angus Dow Mackay leaning on the arm of a servant observing the victory he shot an arrow at the old gentleman which killed him. He contrived to avoid the Mackays and escape, but his identity had been observed. For several years William Dow Mackay, John Aberach Mackay's son, sought him from place to place; but by sleeping in the hills and changing his hiding place each night he managed to elude capture. However, on the way to one of his sleep-outs he had to cross a river, and one day was met by William Dow Mackay *in the middle of the ford*. Mackay called to him in Gaelic, '*Ata en aa sallach*', which roughly translates '*the ford is foul*'. 'So I see', answered Evander. Thereupon, William Dow struck off his head, took it up, and let the body float away down the stream. He carried the head to Tongue and deposited it on *Cnocan-en-cann*, the Hill of Heads, by which name it was still known in 1828 when Robert Mackay wrote. Thus by his grandson was avenged the dastardly murder of Angus Dow Mackay.

On pages 98 and 99 Robert Mackay says, "Iye Mackay was twice married, first to Margaret, daughter of ¹Thomas, fourth Lord Lovat, by whom he had two daughters, one of whom married Angus Macleod, laird of Assint, and the other married Alexander, the heir of Sutherland. Second, having had two natural sons, John and Donald, by one whom Sir Robert (Gordon) designs 'a woman of the western isles', he married her in order to ²legitimate his sons; and afterwards obtained from the king, a ³precept of legitimation in their favour,

¹ "The Manuscript of Culduthel says, Iye-Roy Mackay married Margaret, daughter of Thomas, fourth Lord Lovat, who died 21st October, 1524."—*Vide Anderson's History of the Family of Fraser*, p. 76-7. In Douglas's Peerage he is called the third Lord Lovat. This Thomas, Lord Lovat, and Sir John M'Ky, notary and presbyter, are witnesses to a charter granted by John Cuthbert of Auldcastle, to Robert Vaus, son of Gilbert Vaus, Burgess of Inverness, of five acres at Castlehill of Inverness, 4th February, 1506. This John Mackay must have been nearly related to Iye Mackay, for in those times, and long after, all the more remote branches of the family went under patronymic names.

² Stewart-Hall Manuscript.

³ "Precept of Legitimation of John and Donald Makky brethren, sons of Odo Makky (this is latinization of Aoidh Mackay.—R.W.M.) of Strathnavern, etc. in due form, with new additions, etc. At Edinburgh, 8th August, 1511, and of the king the 24th year."—*Privy Seal*, B.4. Fol. 145.

The following, which is essentially different from the above, is of the form which was common where the parents of the grantees were not married: "Precept of Legitimation, dated 27th May, 1542, to William Makke and John Makke, bastard natural sons of Sir John Makke." *Privy Seal*, B. 16. Fol. 34.

Their father probably was a priest, and of the Mackays of Galloway.

the tenor of which warrants the conclusion, that their parents were married ; for they are designed 'son of Odo Makky of Strathnavern', and not natural sons or bastards, as was usual where the parents were not married. Some years before the date of that precept, Adam Gordon had been forming his plans to secure the earldom and estate of Sutherland to himself ; and finding that Iye Mackay was opposed to his measures, he applied to his brother Niel Naverach (Mackay), promising to support his claim to the succession, as John and Donald were accounted illegitimate : which Iye Mackay (equals Aoidh Mackay.—R.W.M.) having discovered, he banished his brother Niel and his family from his country ; and as Adam was also courting the friendship of Caithness, Niel (Mackay) went there to reside. It is highly probable that it was after his discovery of the plot laid between Adam and Niel, that Iye Mackay procured the precept from the king. Iye Mackay died about the year 1516, and was succeeded by his eldest son John ”.

Pinkerton, in his *History of Scotland*, vol. 2, p. 59, is thus significantly quoted by Robert Mackay, “ An action at Armagh (Armagh is in Ireland.—R.W.M.), between the Macdonalds of Scotland, and the O’Niels in 1501, is recorded by Ware. O’Donnel had requested James to send John, son of Alexander Mackeane, as leader of the 4,000. A palpable chasm in the genealogy of the Mackays, *Douglas’ Peerage* 569, may hence be supplied”. Abercromby writes, “ Odo Odongiel (Odo O’Donnel) a great man among the natives (of Ireland), whose father had entered into a league offensive and defensive, (I know not with this James the Fourth, or his father), had, it seems, a mind to assert the liberty of his country, with his sword in his hand ; and not doubting but that King James would concur towards that enterprise, he sent Aeneas Mac Dowal from the town of Drumangeil (Donegal. *Donegal* is a compression of the Gaelic phrase Dun-na-gall, meaning ‘ fort of the foreigner ’.—R.W.M.) to the court of Scotland, with orders to acquaint the king of his father’s death, and by virtue of the league, to require a supply of 4,000 men, under the conduct of John the son of Alexander MacKeane ”. And Sir Robert (Gordon) says, “ The 1st of June, 1513, the great Oy-Donel of Ireland came to King James the Fourth at Edinburgh, offering his friendship and service to him, above all other princes, and especially against the King of England ; whereupon he was thankfully received, honourably entertained, and richly rewarded. And so a band of friendship being with him concluded, he returned into his own country ”.

For proof of what Pinkerton had stated, as above quoted, he refers, page 317, to a letter dated September, 1532, from the Earl of Northumberland to King Henry, wherein he informs him, “ That Mackay had gone to Ireland with 7,000 men, and another 1,000 had recently been added ; that their ravages were great, though it is doubtful if they fell on Henry’s subjects ; that Argyle and Crawford might easily be won to the English interest, and Bothwell delivered without indemnity, James having taken from Argyle and his heirs, the government of the Hebrides, and many lands there, and in the extremity of Scotland, which were granted to Mackay ”. In a footnote he adds, “ James had also taken from Crawford some lands in the isles, and assigned them to Mackay ”.

John Mackay, having no male heirs, was succeeded by his brother Donald Mackay, who received a charter of his father’s lands from the king, as follows :

“ James, &c. Know, because we have clearly examined and understood, that the late Odomus M’Ky *alias* Y — M’Ky, father of our much beloved Donald M’Ky of Strathnaverne, and his predecessors, were infeft in all and each of the lands under written, *viz.* lands of Far, Armidill, Strathy, Reneve, Kynauld, Gorseby, Dilret, Cattack, Bronich, Kilcalmkill of Strathbroray, Davoch Lochnaver, Davoch Ereboll, and two-tenths of land of Stromay, and the Miln of Kynauld, the island of Sanday (Handa), the island of Hoga (Hoan), extending to two-thirds

of land, Melness and Hope, with miln-lands, miln-multures, fishing-waters, and pertinents of the same, lying within our sheriffdom of Inverness, &c. ; and because the lands above mentioned, now in our hands by non-entry, forfeiture, bastardy, escheat, neglect, prestation, disclamation, or some other cause, are open for us and our successors, to remit and exonerate to the said Donald, his heirs and assignees, to transfer the rights of the said lands to themselves forever : We therefore have given and granted, &c. At Stirling, the 16th day of December, 1539, and 27th of our reign".—*Great Seal Register*. (The above is a translation.)

Donald Mackay and his followers were present in the engagement at Solway-Moss, and returned with the king to Edinburgh, three days after, who gifted to him the property of sundry ¹absentees from the army : ' A letter made to Donald M'Ky of Far, his heirs and assignees, one or more, of the gift of all goods, moveable and immoveable, debts, tacks, steadings, obligations, sums of money, and others whatsoever, which pertained to Kenneth M'Kenzie M'Hustan, Donald Henryson, Finlay Clark, Kenneth M'Anroy, Thomas Johnson, and John Gallioch, and now pertaining, or any ways shall happen or may pertain to our sovereign Lord, by reason of escheat, through the being absent, and remaining from our sovereign Lord's host and army, convened and gathered at Lauder, conform to the tenor of his highness's letters, proclamations, and charges made thereupon, with power, etc. At Edinburgh, the 28th of November, the year of God 1542'.—*Privy Seal Record*.

Robert Mackay commencing at p. 114 gives us a clear view of the Reformation, from the point of view of an erudite man very close to its actual occurrence :

" George, the fourth Earl of Huntly, who died at Corrichy as has been noticed, succeeded his grandfather Alexander in 1523, being then only ten years old. His mother was daughter of King James IV. His uncle, James the V in 1535, appointed him governor of Scotland during his nine months absence in France ; and he was retained in favour until 1542, when he fell under his uncle's displeasure at Fala-Kirk : but as the king died on the 13th December, nineteen days after the battle of Solway-moss, that displeasure and its effects died with him. In 1544 the Earl of Arran, governor of Scotland, made Huntly lieutenant of the north of Scotland, beyond the Grampians, together with Orkney and Zetland. He was the most powerful, politic, and sanguinary, that ever was of the family of Gordon. His character and transactions, as also the occurrences in the north during his time, are taken by Sir Robert (Gordon) from the following authorities, namely, Hollinshed, Francis Thin, Leslie bishop of Ross, and traditionary stories. The two former, however respectable, are, from their distance and other causes, not accurate as to many Scottish affairs ; Leslie, a popish writer and turncoat, biassed in favour of Huntly as leader of the opposition to the Reformation, a virulent enemy to the Reformers, and whose book was printed in Rome, is unworthy of credit ; and these three writers lived after Huntly's time. On the other hand, Knox and Buchanan, men of strict probity and immortal fame, to whom their country owes an everlasting debt of gratitude, were Huntly's contemporaries, and well knew his character, were eye-witnesses of some, and had the best opportunity of knowing others of his public transactions. From them, and from other authentic sources, and from Sir Robert's own narrative, a tolerably fair detail of matters may be given with respect to him, and to the Mackays and others".

" The reason why Donald Mackay invaded Sutherland, may be discovered from the following : About the year 1542, Scotland was much agitated by the disputes between Arran and Lennox regarding the regency, until the latter, by the court intrigues both of Scotland and France, was forced to flee to England for refuge. But previous to his going thither, he had sent his brother, Robert Stewart, bishop of Caithness, and some other friends, to that kingdom, in order to discover how Henry stood affected towards him. Sir Robert states, that whilst

¹ It was customary for the king to possess himself by escheat of the lands of any who failed to respond to a call to arms—in Ireland a ' rising out'.—R.W.M.

Matthew, Earl of Lennox, abode in England, ' Robert Stuart, bishop of Caithness, was sent by King Henry into Scotland, to receive the castle of Dumbarton from the captain thereof, in Earl Matthew his name. But the captain, before his coming, by the means of the Earl of Huntly, had delivered up the castle unto the governor ; who, notwithstanding, restored Robert Stuart unto his bishopric which before he had lost by going into England with his brother Earl Matthew. This bishop Robert Stuart gave the lands of the bishopric of Caithness in feu to this John, Earl of Sutherland, and then again he confirmed the same afterward to his son Earl Alexander, the nephew of bishop Robert ”.

“ Whilst bishop Robert Stuart was banished into England, Alexander Gordon (as you have heard) was designed to be bishop of Caithness, and to possess the same. In the meantime the Earl of Caithness and Mackay, perceiving the civil dissension of the state, and knowing that his bishopric stood in controversy, they did possess themselves with the bishop's lands and rents, under pretense of Bishop Robert his right, whom they well knew to be so far from them, as that he would not seek an account of the profits thereof. And thereupon Mackay came into Sutherland with a company of men out of Strathnaver, took the castle of Skibo, fortified the same, and left Niel Mack-William (one of the Sleaght-ean-Aberigh) (this means Niel Mackay, son of William Mackay, descendants of John Aberach Mackay.—R.W.M.) to keep it. George, Earl of Caithness, took in like manner the castle of Strabister (Scrabster), another house of the bishop's, and possessed the same ”.

“ It is not difficult now to see how matters stood. Huntly contracted and afterwards married his eldest son Alexander to the regent's daughter, who appointed him lieutenant of the north, of which he was heritable sheriff. Lennox having, against the advice of his friends, left the strong castle of Dumbarton, he gave it in charge to George Stirling : but by Huntly's means, it was recovered to the governor Arran. Huntly then used all his interest with the governor to obtain the bishopric of Caithness to his brother Alexander, imagining he could easily accomplish it, as Bishop Stuart had been, though falsely, accused of joining Henry against Scotland, along with his brother Lennox. It would appear from Buchanan, and also from Hume of Godscroft, that neither Lennox nor his brother took any part or had any designs against their country : for the best patriots of Scotland were on their side ; and those against them were Arran, Huntly, and the French faction. Bishop Stuart, in the meantime, to escape these enemies, took shelter in England, having left the lands and rents of his bishopric in Sutherland under the management of Donald Mackay, and those within Caithness under that of George Earl of Caithness, as they were the only persons into whose hands he could with safety entrust them. It is not at all probable that Bishop Stuart feued the bishopric to Earl John until some time thereafter : because Huntly and Sutherland, who were in some measure linked together, would naturally forward the views of Alexander Gordon ; and to entrust either of them, or allow them to have any concern with the bishopric, would be ' to give the fox the lamb to keep. ’ ”

“ By procurement of their enemies, an action of treason was brought before Parliament, against Lennox and his brother the bishop, upon the 9th of September, 1545, which was continued from one session to another, until the first of October. In the interim, Cardinal Beaton, who was then chancellor, in order to disappoint Huntly and his brother Alexander, brought the complaint against Bishop Stuart before himself as his judge ordinary ; and upon the first of October, the cardinal made protestation before Parliament, that in respect the bishop was a spiritual man, his cause was competent only to him as his ordinary ; upon which Parliament dismissed the action. Stuart was soon thereafter restored to possession of his bishopric. These transactions explain the causes of Mackay's incursions into Sutherland, and his taking the castle of Skibo ; and discover that they were made in order to execute the trust which the bishop had committed to him ”.

“ The castle of Skibo having been for some years in Mackay's possession, Huntly sent a kinsman of his own, and a fit instrument for any base or dirty piece of work, Captain James

Cullen, to besiege it, and furnished him with a strong body of men and artillery for that purpose. Sir Robert (Gordon) says, that the Earls of Huntly and Sutherland, being at Edinburgh at the time, directed Cullen with all diligence before them to Sutherland; and that the Mackays hearing of his approach, with the men of Sutherland whom he had collected at Dornoch, conveyed themselves secretly out of the castle and fled to Strathnaver. Cullen's advance was sudden, and as the distance from Skibo to Tongue, which is about sixty miles, did not permit Niel Mackay's sending notice to Donald, so as he could come to his relief, it was most advisable to retire, and thereby save both the keepers and the castle from destruction".

" Copying from bishop Leslie, Sir Robert calls this Cullen, ' a gentleman most expert in all warlike discipline, both by land and sea '. But Hume of Godscroft writes differently of him. Describing the conflict at Leith, betwixt Morton on the regent Lennox' side, and Huntly on the queen's part, in 1571, in which the latter was defeated, he proceeds, ' James Cullen, captain of a foot company, and a kinsman of the Earl of Huntly, had hid himself in a wife's aumery, and being found, was drawn out from thence by the heels, and brought to Leith. There, so soon as the people saw him, they made a great noise and clamour, desiring that he might not be spared, but punished according to his deserts; for in the time of the civil war at home, he had behaved himself both covetously and cruelly, more like a thief and robber, than a captain or generous soldier; and abroad in France, he was very infamous and vile for many base pranks he had played there; and in the war betwixt Sweden and Denmark, he had taken money of both kings to levy men, and promised to aid both, but performed to neither. For these things, besides many more foul and horrible crimes which he had committed, he was publicly executed, to the great contentment of all the commons'."

" The Earl of Sutherland had married a sister of bishop Robert's, no doubt by Huntly's advice, by which an alliance was formed between them; and it is most likely that it was after this marriage that the bishop let his lands in tack of feu to Sutherland; and perhaps at the same time assigned him the rents which had been uplifted by Caithness and Mackay. The latter seems to be implied in Sir Robert's statement. ' Thereupon the Earls of Huntly and Sutherland coming north into Sutherland, they did summon the Earl of Caithness and Mackay to compear before them at Helmsdale, to answer for their intromission with the bishop's rents, and for the wrongs which they had done, and caused to be done upon the bishop's lands. The Earl of Caithness compeared at the time and place appointed, and yielded himself to their mercy. So, having made a final agreement with them at Helmsdale, he returned again into Caithness. Donald Mackay was also at this time brought to the Earls of Huntly and Sutherland, who (upon Mackay's submission) pardoned him what was past; yet he was at their command imprisoned in the castle of Foulis, where he continued a good while in captivity; from whence he escaped by the means of Donald Mack-ean-voyr (Mackay) a Strathnaver man, who advised him to flee away'. The Earl of Caithness *came*, but Donald Mackay was *brought*. Does he mean, or would he have it understood, that a party went to Tongue, and took him per force to Helmsdale? "

" Finding that they were unable to accomplish the ruin of Donald Mackay by other means, his enemies betook themselves to their bastardizing system, pretending, as Sir Robert states, that Donald and his brother John were illegitimate. It has been seen that both these brethren had been declared legitimate; that John, as eldest son, possessed his father's lands till his death; and that not only did Donald possess them from that period in right of his brother, but he also obtained a royal charter of them, in right of his father, as the charter itself expressly mentions, which proves him to have been a lawful son".

" Robert Stewart, bishop of Caithness, as has been said, was brother-in-law of the Earl of Sutherland. This good bishop obtained from the crown, a gift of the far greater part of Donald's lands, on the pretended ground that he was a bastard; and in order to appease the laird of Duffus regarding his father's murder, and to recover his friendship to the house of Sutherland, the bishop conveyed to him that gift. But that conveyance was soon after set aside

by James Dunbar, Earl of Murray, as arbiter in a submission between Duffus and Mackay, which also shews that such gifts, from first to last, of Mackay's lands, were surreptitiously obtained, and upon false grounds. But these deeds were, notwithstanding, afterwards made handles of to injure Donald's son and successor, as shall appear".

"Next to the Mackays, the Mackintoshes, or Clan Chattan, were the greatest bar to the measures of Huntly and Sutherland in the north of Scotland, and therefore their chief also must be put down. 'Huntly', says his relative (Sir Robert Gordon.—R.W.M.), 'commanded William Mackintosh, chief of the family of the Clan Chattan, to be apprehended for a conspiracy secretly contrived and begun by Mackintosh against him, being the king's lieutenant in the north parts of the kingdom, saith Lesloeus', (Huntly's *clawback*, says Knox), 'and then depriving him of his goods, carried him to Strathbogie, where he was beheaded: which fact greatly offended the minds of the Earl of Cassillis, the prior of St. Andrews, afterwards Earl of Murray, and others that favoured Mackintosh, and did stir them so against Huntly, that a commotion and tumult had been raised by them, unless the wisdom of the queen regent had appeased the fury of their minds'."

"This affair is not fairly stated. Buchanan, who lived at the time, and knew all the parties concerned, gives a different account of it. Huntly, by the authority of the queen regent and council, had engaged to pursue John Macdonald of Moidart, chieftain of the clan Ronald, and Donald Gorme Macleod of Lewis, with their followers, against whom several complaints had been made: but it was afterwards found that he had failed to execute his commission, as was believed, from partiality to the offenders, who had been useful in forwarding his own measures. He laid the blame on young William Mackintosh and his clan, accusing them of having been the cause of his failure, and he apprehended and imprisoned him, and seized his goods under that pretense: but the true reason was, because Mackintosh would not consent to become one of his followers, regarding which, it is probable he was advised by his uncle, then prior of St. Andrews. Having gone to Edinburgh, Huntly left orders to put Mackintosh to death in his absence, that the odium of the crime might attach to his domestics, and not to himself. In this, however, he was disappointed, for every one believed him to be the author of the foul deed. He was therefore imprisoned, tried, and found guilty of murder: but the members of the council were divided in opinion with regard to his punishment: at length the advice of the Earl of Cassillis was adopted, which was, that he should be detained in prison till he gave up the right which he pretended to the earldom of Murray, and resigned some offices which he held: and having submitted to these terms, he was liberated, and restored to his seat in the council".

"Donald Mackay was twice married, first to a daughter of Maclean, by whom he had a son Iye, who succeeded him He died, at an advanced age, about the year 1550"

IYE MACKAY III, 1550-71

(IN DOUGLAS' PEERAGE HE IS NAMED HUGH)

According to Robert Mackay's account of him, this Iye Mackay, which is only a variant spelling of Aoidh Mackay, entered into a general agreement with other clan leaders that it would be for the best interests of Scotland, and incidentally a spur to their own fortunes, to become Henry VIII of England's Scot advocates of a marriage between Henry's son Edward and Queen Mary. However, Huntly's influence coupled with that of the Queen-Dowager frustrated the match. Quite naturally, all Catholicism was against the union, since Henry had already erected the framework for the Reformation in England. Eventually, Robert

Reid, the Catholic bishop of Orkney, and a tutor of Queen Mary's, exercised enough influence with the regent Arran and the Queen-Dowager to persuade the conveyance of Iye Mackay's lands to him on the ground that both he and his father were bastards.

Mary, Queen of Scots, pardoned Iye Mackay October 5, 1562, in recompense for his coming to her assistance at Inverness when she was actually in some danger from Huntly's forces, having hanged the keeper of his castle there for attempting to refuse her and her party admission. But on December 21, 1566, having revoked the gift of Iye Mackay's lands to Bishop Reid, she gave them to Huntly ! But the reason for this surprising generosity is not hard to find : Bothwell, with whom Queen Mary was madly infatuated, and to whom she wrote considerable rather competent though decidedly incandescent verse, was married to Huntly's sister. Huntly persuaded his sister to divorce Bothwell so that he might be free to marry the love-giddy Mary, and thus earned for himself a gift not hers to give, except by oppressive arrogation, that is Iye Mackay's lands. In 1570, Mackay repurchased his lands for three thousand pounds Scots.

The links that connect the late 16th century to the latter years of the seventeenth, a hiatus of about a century, without doubt repose in charters, sailing lists, family Bibles, and the like. It is my hope that this volume will bring them forth, thus to clear away the mists and smoke of those tumultuous and cruel years surrounding the Reformation.

There would be no purpose served by reproducing here the extended and voluminous correspondence I have had with Sir Thomas Innes of Learney, Lord Lyon King of Arms of Scotland, concerning the forebears of the four McKee veterans of the Boyne. His foundational analysis, and then his official findings, are contained in the concluding pages of this chapter, which follow. Again the reader is reminded that no higher authority than Lyon exists on Scot history and clan origins.

Sir Thomas Innes of Learney, K.C.V.O., Lord Lyon King of Arms of Scotland adverted to the Aberach Banner of the Mackays in his letter to me dated May 18th, 1957, in the following positive language :

" I am also not prepared to give as a Motto BIDH TREUN, as depicted on Excerpt G, because this is derived from the so-called Aberach Banner which I agree with my predecessor, Sir Francis Grant, is a flag which has nothing to do with the Clan Mackay at all. Sir Francis maintained it was related to the Grays of Skibo, and even as regards them the shield appears to be rather that of the Constable of a Royal Castle than even a Gray line. There is nothing to show that it is, and everything to show that it is not, a Mackay banner at all, and in this I am in agreement with my predecessor "

Received from Sir Thomas Innes,
Lord Lyon, King of Arms,
Edinburgh, Scotland.

September 30, 1957.

Dear Mr. McKee :

I have found certain prints in connection with " Mackies ", or one of them, in the Northeast, which prompts some reflection, as he was using a paly coat of arms with a bend sinister charged with a crescent and two stars.

This suggests a " Strathbogie " possibility—and the Forbes fief was at the very head of Strathbogie—but also does contain a hint of some association with the Moray-tribe, and an illegitimacy.

It all prompts a good deal of thought and the checking up of what may be other points bearing on all this, in relation to Lord Forbes's assertions.

The Strathbogies or Strabolgis became Earls of Atholl, and what if any is to be the connection between Strathbogies and Forbeses ?

One's first impression would be that there were *some* Mackies thereabouts who believed, and had some reason for believing, they derived from an illegitimate son of a 2nd son of line off the Royal House of Moray, and other than off the Morgund line from which the Mackays of Strathnaver sprang, and that the mother was a daughter of a Lord of, or scion from I would rather say, the Lords of Strathbogie.

This however leaves us short of the alleged Forbes connection, which may be quite another and concurrent race of "mac Aedhs".

On the other hand the assumption of the "Strathbogieish" pallets *may* be derived from a badly carved meith stone on Drumminnor castle, of about the early 16th century, and the intention *may* have been to assume "Forbes" arms as the basic background of the shield.

Whilst one would tend to assume the charge on and the bend were the paternal arms, it might be otherwise, and that particular Aedh, a natural son of a Laird of Forbes and a daughter of a second son junior line off Moray ?

One wants to weigh up all this and see whether there is any corroboration, and to what extent this particular "line" probably went.

The whole story set up by Lord Forbes may have related to some quite small race and not necessarily all Mackies of the Northeast.

Certainly the Mackie arms so demonstrated were not those assumed by your ancestors, but the striking thing, to me, is their assumption for their tombstone of plain Forbes shield, when if they imagined or had handed down a descent from Strathnaver, they would surely have inserted the chevron at least, and probably the daggers on it.

It is *that* which makes me think they knew more about the "Forbes legend" than about a Strathnaver ancestry, and seem to have "swallowed" the story that Forbes was the "chief" over Mackay of Strathnaver, of which I consider there is no evidence whatever.

So far, all that "emerges" from the dimness of legend, about this Forbes-Mackay connection, is (a) your set of Mackies did set up plain Forbes arms on the tombstone. (b) Some Mackie or other in the Northeast, did use a coat indicating some sort of illegitimate connection with a second-son-line off the Royal House of Moray, and what seems a branch off the Lords of Strathbogie, at the head of which lay the great Forbes estate. (c) That the Strathnaver line were a branch deriving (as Mac-Vic-Morgainn) presumably from a younger son of a Morgund-named cadet branch of the Royal House of Moray, which bore, or came to be allocated as "correct" a shield doubly differenced (a) by counter-changing azure 3 mullets Argent, into Argent 3 mullets Azure—which is Innes, and (b) by an added "hand" in chief which in the North of Scotland is noticed in the arms of certain Macdonalds, who are however a bit far west ; a Macbean, and a MacGillivray of Dunnaglass, and Mackintosh, but *not* in the 3 handed "Matheson" arms, which was a special grant de novo of something Matheson of Attadale wanted from a misreading of "MakMaken" in an Old Heraldic Mss, whereas the true Matheson arms were clearly gyronny Gules and Sable a lion rampant Or.

The "Makmaken" was like the adjacent Adair with nearly similar arms, evidently a Southwest Scottish coat of arms and in fact probably a "MacMincking".

I thus feel we have still to cast round quite a bit for further light on this "Forbes/Strathbogie" connection, but that meantime there does seem some ground for supposing there was some sort of connection apparently through another junior Moray line other than that of Strathnaver.

As you see there is room for further research and weighing up of what may emerge.
I am to look up some other sources from which I may get further clues.

Yours sincerely,
Sgd. Thomas Innes of Learney
Lyon

Letter received from Sir Thomas Innes,
Lord Lyon, King of Arms,
Edinburgh, Scotland.

11th November, 1957

Dear Mr. McKee,

I have received your three letters, but owing to pressure of administrative business, of which in various Governmental directions the Lord Lyon's Office still has a good deal, I have been unable to take up going into matters like the Mackay points in the detail I had intended immediately on returning to Edinburgh. I hope, however, to do so within the next week or two, if nothing further supervenes.

Your letter of 2nd October with the copy of a letter from Major-General James Innes, H.E.I.C.S., of the Madras Establishment to his sister Anne Innes who lived at Garmouth, and which is in part a duplicate of what he had written to his brother, afterwards Sir John, is interesting. It is interesting as giving some further details in regard to the correspondence (of which there is quite a packet) of the Major-General's, and from the Mackay point of view it is interesting because it seems to corroborate my supposition that those Mackies or Mackays came from the Aberdeenshire/Banffshire corner of Scotland. It would be interesting if your kinsman at Detroit can locate any other correspondence with the North-east of Scotland indicating how this letter came into the possession of his branch of the McKees, because that might help in locating the origin of the three brothers.

As regards your letter of 25th October, you are quite right in saying that Lord Reay "swallowed" the Forbes story and deducing that, since the Chief did so, the clansfolk were more or less obliged to be bound by what he accepted. What still amazes me is how he, with an ancestral Royal House of Moray, was ready to swallow such a legend.

I do think we are on the lines of finding a reasonable explanation for the ground on which Lord Forbes set about "snaffling" the Mackays, but I still hope to deduce a little more, and I think the connection is possibly through the House of de Strabolgi, or some other family related to that interesting race who came to be connected with the Earldom of Atholl, but whose earlier history is rather shadowy.

In a subsequent letter I am writing you a bit more about some researches we have made into Mackays, and, indeed, a set of MacGhies who became chemists in Aberdeen, but I meantime post off this letter so that you may know I am not overlooking all you write.

As regards the Mackay illustration, I suppose that if Lord Reay approves it would be a good plan to have a colour plate of the whole matriculation, including not only his armorial achievement but also the pinsel which now perpetuates the Bratach Bhan. Then you could have an uncoloured book-plate-looking achievement of Lord Reay's arms in a larger size, but you would find the matriculation makes a good colour-plate, and can easily be read with a magnifying-glass.

As soon as I have gone over the other material which I hope to weigh up, I shall write to you about the detail for your own arms, but in this matter I think you are exaggerating the relevancy of the "hand". There is some reason to believe it appears as a "difference" only,

and my sister has a theory that it indicated the person who was, or had been, *tanister*, both in the Macdonald and potentially the Moray princely House.

Yours sincerely,
Sgd. Thomas Innes of Learney
Lyon

DESCENT OF THE CLAN MACKAY

(WRITTEN ESPECIALLY FOR BOOK OF MCKEE)

by Sir Thomas Innes of Learney,
Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order,
Baron of Learney, Kinnairdy and Yeochrie, Advocate,
Lord Lyon King of Arms of Scotland

The Clan Mackay claims descent from the Ancient Royal House of Moray, the *Ri Moreb*, provincial Kings of the rich lands lying South of the Moray Firth, and one of the "Seven Earls of Scotland", who were traditionally handed down as Chiefs of the tribes descending from "The Seven Sons of 'Cruithne the Pict'". Who the Picts were is still a matter of historical and archaeological controversy, but there is no question but that a Pictish Kingdom of Alban existed, whose *Ard Righ* supposedly represented a mythical ancestor Cruithne The Pict, and that the seven great provinces grouped round the South, East and Northern sectors of the mountain-system of Breadalbane conceived themselves as having a common tribal origin and that they had a highly developed tribal system and interesting habits in many ways rather different from those of other Britannic countries.

To much importance has tended to be attached to the Kingdom and line of Dalriada, or roughly, Argyll, colonized by Irish Gaels, and it is overlooked that the people and customs of the Seven Provincial King-Earls, have all along been the backbone and principal element in Scotland, even if, in the person of Kenneth Macalpine, through his descent from a Pictish Princess, the throne of both the Picts and the Scots came to be held by a line in male descent from the Dalriad Kings, and this line gained rather more ascendancy at its start than it otherwise might from King Kenneth's success in "the treachery of Scone" in 844, when he signalled his succession by strategically slaughtering the Seven Earls during the inaugural conclave.

The ancient race of Moray, whose cognizance the star is found graven in even prehistoric cave devices on the rocky coast North of Elgin, was in the early 12th century, represented by a direct line, which failed on the fall of the Earl-King of Moray in 1130 at the battle of Stracathro. Nonetheless, relatives and successors made many efforts during the next 100

¹ "... Cruidne, son of Cinge, was the father of the Picts inhabiting this island, and had seven sons—Fib, Fidach, Fodla, Fortrenn, Got, Ce, and Circinn. They divided the land into seven divisions as Columille says, and the name of each man is given to their territories." *Celtic Scotland*, Skene, 1886, quoting *Pictish Chronicle* (a work of the 10th century), Isidore of Seville who wrote in the sixth century, and the Irish Nennius.

The Historiographer-royal for Scotland then comments, "Five of these divisions can still be identified: Fib is Fife, Fodla (Fotla) is Athfoitle, now corrupted into Atholl; Fortrenn is the district between the rivers Forth and Tay; Circinn the district of Mearns, a name corrupted from Maghgirginn, now Kincardineshire; and Cait is Cathenesia, or Caithness."

Mr. Skene relates the substance of three separate Pictish legends, and among other things states 'seven kings of the Cruithnigh of Alban governed Erin at Tara.' Thus they were ard-rights of Erin.—R.W.M.

years to recover their little realm, but each of these attempts to save the Autonomy of the Realm of Moray failed.

Perhaps the main reason for this was that what seems to have been the next most powerful branch of the Royal House of Moray, the Pictish Lords of Duffus, cast in their lot with the King of Scots, the Ard-Righ Alban, and doubtless hoped to rise upon the fall of the *Ri Moreh*, though the High-Kings took only too good care to see that the house of Duffus did not achieve quite that. It comes into prominence in the person of Ferskin, or Freskin, alleged to have been, but evidently *not* a "Fleming",—"Ready Dagger" is the translation of his name from the Erse—and though he got lands in Strabrock Linlithgow, no doubt to link him to the Lowland monarchy, he took the name of *de Moravia*, and became ancestor of the Murrays, and such a style according to John Riddell, Advocate, the famous peerage lawyer, indicates that the house of Duffus, as with the Robertsons, *de Atholia*, were the heir male branches of the Moravian and Atholian royal houses. Again, fortunately for the central monarchy, the Morays of Duffus quite soon sank in three co-heiresses, and once more the direct line of Moray was reduced to fragments.

The third salient branch of the Royal House of Moray has, according to what I regard as well founded tradition and collateral evidence not formerly considered, the house of *Aeodh*, whence the Clan Mackay of Strathnaver, in Sutherland.

In Sir Robert Gordon's *History of Sutherland*, they are described as the *Clan Mhic Morgainn*, a style which indicates "a son of a younger son of Morgund", and such a person in the Royal House of Moray is readily traceable in Morgund of Pluscarden, Lord of the rich valley some six miles South of Elgin, guarded from the North by the precipitous scarp of the Heldon Hill, and which the Kings of Scots soon seized and "gave" to the priory of Pluscarden. Clearly then, it was from a scion of the line of this Morgund that the Clan Aeodh, whose eponymus was of this name, sprang, and hence their clan name of Mackay. (*MacAeodh*). Can we get any other guidance as to whence they came off, and how and why they are found first in Ross and then in Sutherland, and not in their native Moray? I think we can. It is well known that the Chiefs and Chieftains of Moray were, in the mid 12th century, subject of a mass deportation from their native province, and other supporters of Malcolm IV introduced in their place. It has been said the deportation could not have extended to the ordinary folk, so it is to the chieftains that we have to look for the heirs of the banished Moray chieftains.

The Moray arms came to be a blue shield with three silver stars, and the earliest shield of the Mackays, in 1503, was, according to the record of Lord Lyon Sir James Balfour of Denmiln, silver, with three blue stars, and a dexter hand appaumé proper in center chief. This indicates a younger branch of a cadet branch of the Royal House of Moray, which is much what the name Mac Mhic Morgainn, itself connotes.

Looser modern writers speak of Mackays as a "Clan Morgan" and suggest a connection with the "Tosch of Clan Morgan" in Buchan, mentioned in the *Book of Deer*. This however is not consonant with Sir Robert Gordon's older terminology, and Morgund was quite a common Pictish name. There is no ground to relate the Morgund of Pluscarden and Moray with a minor *toisheach* in a quite different "realm", the province of Buchan.

The observation has been made that the Mackay arms of 1503 are the same as those of Innes of that ilk, in Moray, save for the addition of the hand appaumé proper, a difference which has been sometimes supposed to indicate a tanister, or heir-nominate, and occurs in

some coats around Western Moray, e.g. MacGillivray, Macbean, and certain Macdonald coats.

But there is another feature. The Major Plant Badge of the Mackays is a bulrush, and the Innes crest worn by Alexander Innes, 13th of that ilk, is a spray of plant which on examination is clearly a "segg", or bulrush. Innes was originally a marshy plain, as still commemorated in the name *Leuchars*, the fief immediately west of the "greens of Innes", so it seems hardly possible not to associate the early Mackay history with this domain in the Laich of Moray 5 miles northeast of Elgin.

The Innes traditions are corroborative, (1) that Berowald, a warrior in the Army of Malcolm IV, got it as a reward for a stratagem whereby he outflanked the Moray army in 1159, and so led to them coming to the agreement for deportation instead of being attacked, and presumably vanquished; (2) that the race of Innes of that ilk were descended from the ancient Moraviennes. The Inneses regard the two traditions as indicative that the charter given to Berowald at Christmas 1160, of Innes, was probably supplemented by marriage with a daughter of the race of native owners, which would account for the perpetuation of the arms and badge, and that in the circumstances these Pictish owners were none other than the junior branch off Morgund of Pluscarden, scion of the Royal House of Moray, and ancestor of the Mackay chiefs, who were first given property in Ross, and later under aegis of the Bishop of Caithness, got lands in Sutherland, and so became Lairds of Strathnaver, and continued to bear into the 16th century, the starred arms, differenced by the hand proper, which marked them as a cadet, and maybe tanister, of the branch of Morgund of Pluscarden; and all of which corroborates the Mackay descent from the Royal House of Moray. A greater and prouder descent than this, from a virtually primeval Royal House of the Picts, and native inhabitants of Scotland, no one could wish or find.

In the 17th century, a strange change occurred in the arms and indeed traditions, of the Mackays of Strathnaver, first in regard to a suggestion that the Clans of Forbes, Urquhart, and Mackay, had a common origin, and secondly that the Mackays derived from a natural son of an ancestor of Lord Forbes, so that they were cadets of Lord Forbes' family. The Urquhart connection, was otherwise related to the Forbeses by a rather unreconcilable story about the Forbes' chief being Keeper of Castle Urquhart on Loch Ness, but since Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty had compiled a genealogy setting forth his descent of the Urquhart chiefs from Adam, this rather overwhelmed any attempt to hitch *him* onto the Forbeses!

An examination of the Forbes and Urquhart badges shows no common connection between the three races as was pointed out by W. R. Kermack in his *Treatise on Badges*. These Plant Badges were really not marks of identification, but the sacred plants of each race.

A Forbes may, it appears indeed, have been Governor of Castle Urquhart in the time of Edward I, and have been killed as handed down, but his wife was probably a *del Ard*, and the Urquharts are seen to have really been a seafaring tribe which settled about Cromarty, and moving later down the south coasts of the Firth, got their name from acquiring the fief of Urquhart opposite Dingwall; this "emerges" from a stray phrase at one point in the fabulous "pedigree" and shows what the older and true Urquhart tradition had been.

The Forbeses derive their descent traditionally from one Ochoncar, who slew a bear or bears by which the Braes of Forbes were rendered uninhabitable, and took possession of the district.

This is a tradition of "first occupation", the fundamental and proper origin of allodial property in land, and that by which any sovereign acquires a deserted island even today.

Forbes, however, is associated also with *Kearn*, a distinct holding 5 miles north of Forbes, and in the headwaters of Strathbogie; the precise relation of Forbes to Kearn has never been explained. Strathbogie of old belonged to a race whose arms were "paly" (later tinctured Or and Sable), and on whom devolved the Earldom of Atholl. It is therefore possible there was some early connection between the Forbeses and the Lords of Strathbogie, and indeed Ochoncar may have been in some way related to, or descended from, a primeval Lord of Strathbogie, and his Forbes arms with the bears' heads related properly to his Forbes land and exploit, if one may so term it.

We next approach consideration of what can possibly be the explanation of Lord Forbes' *plugging* the legend that the Mackays were a branch, and an illegitimate one, of the House of Forbes.

The explanation may be related to the arms attributed in Pons' Manuscript (1620 approx.) of arms for *Mackie*, as *paly of six Or and gules, on a bend sinister Azure, a crescent between two spur revels Argent*. "Spur revels" are normally mullets of six points puerced.

This coat of arms seems clearly the foundation of Lord Forbes' story about the Clan Mackay, and it requires much closer examination. The only amazing thing is how and why Lord Reay, Mackay of Farr and Strathnaver, "swallowed" it, and to the extent of changing his ancient arms for a variant of Lord Forbes' bears' head shield. The Mackay supporters had indeed been bears, but not, I am sure, "Forbes" bears, for a bear appears in Northern heraldry, *e.g.* the bear-badge of the Earls of Caithness, and one has to recollect that at a time in the 16th century Mackay was very much attached to the Earls of Caithness, so their bear badge may have far more likely had that connection than one with the Forbes' bears.

Nevertheless, and quite apart from any "Mackay of Strathnaver" association, this "Mackie" coat *does* have some very interesting *implications*, for it does suggest (a) a "Strathbogie" basic-design, though the tinctures are more those of Ruthven, and the bend does suggest a Moray connection, differenced by a crescent, as for a second son, though such a crescent might easily come from some other family's arms.

Still these Mackie arms *do* hint at a possible origin from an illegitimate connection between someone related to the House of Moray and someone related to the House of Strathbogie or some cognate race. Indeed, on account of the circumstance that the earlier Strathbogies did not in early days use other colours than the Or and Sable which they did when they inherited Atholl, and even these arms may have come to them from some earlier race, and one notes that the Fedargs, or Meldrums of Meldrum, some 20 miles East of Strathbogie, were also in the early stage a shield paly of six.

One would say therefore that there was a local tradition in the Northeast that certain Mackies there sprang from an illegitimate connection of some scion of the Royal House of Moray, or anyway a Moray, and some member of the Strathbogie or suchlike race, and that the Forbeses claimed that it was a natural son of a Forbes Chief (or cadet?) which "the arms", if we may so describe this coat, don't bear out. Structurally they would I think rather suggest that a scion of the House of Moray begat illegitimately, a son on the daughter of some Strathbogie family.

Anyway, I think it is on this fragmentary and garbled tale, illustrated by this 1620 "Mackie" coat of arms, that there was built up the story of the Mackays being a branch of Lord Forbes' family. Lord Reay was in great difficulties, and doubtless accepted any story of Lord Forbes', if he got Lord Forbes' assistance with the creditors and neighbors who were oppressing him at that juncture, and similar worry including over debts and charges of

illegitimacy, which were being hurled at the Mackay Chief in the mid-16th century ; and recollections of these may have assisted Lord Forbes in working up a story which was useful in linking to his clan, to oppose the Gordons, the military prowess and warriors of the Mackays, themselves at feud with the Gordon Earls of Sutherland, who were steadily trying to reduce the Mackays from the proud position they claimed as descendants of the House of Moray. I think we have a strange mixture of genealogy and politics to unravel, and that considerable more time and research is to be required to elucidate the whole story of this Forbes-Mackie-Mackay tale and the relative armorial figures involved in it.

Nothing in these arms however suggests that Lord Forbes' story actually related to the Mackays of Strathnaver, and indeed the story itself rather suggests it was some other Cadet of the House of Moray, who was involved in the piece of Armory recorded by Pont, and the story worked up by Lord Forbes.

However, we do find that from this arose a fundamental change in the arms of the Mackay chief, since Lord Reay was induced to abandon his ancestral coat illustrative of his regal descent from the House of Moray, and instead to take Lord Forbes' three bears' heads into his shield instead of as his own bears which had been the Mackay supporters, and certain of the older insignia, now two "hands proper" but with forearms and issuant from extremities of a chevron, and holding a dagger towards a stag's head. The *manu forti* thus survives with the crest, the difference, instead of the basic star-charge, and the bears, having got into the shield, a pair of 17th century soldiers replace the real Mackay bears beside the shield, who are there observed as supporters on an old carving at the House of Tongue prior to the unfortunate change which coincides with the creation of the Reay peerage, and the supervening crisis to their waning financial affairs.

Having thus commented on the regal origin of the Mackays and the manner and circumstances in which their ancient arms passed into those now rather confusingly used, it is next expedient to comment on certain well-meant efforts to extend the Clan to include a number of distant races and houses which on scientific and historical grounds could not be heraldically or genealogically endorsed by modern scientific experts.

Members of the Clan Mackay have, like members of almost every other Scottish surname, spelt their name in many different, and oftimes hardly recognizable, ways. Question in their case, as in others, thus arises : who and which are members of the Clan Aoidh of Strathnaver whereof Lord Reay is Chief ? Some sept names are common to several clans—those derived from occupational origins, and so forth—and no less many patronymics. This is because the tendency was to give a man identification by attaching *Mc* and *which* (vic) to about two or three generations, occasionally with a nick-name attached. What "clan-name" one emerged with depended largely on which Christian name stuck at the moment surnames were fixed, in the late 18th, or even early 19th century. Tradition (subject to qualification) and locality are often the only guide, though in default of other fact or tradition, the surname borne in modern times became (and in principle already was so by the 16th century) the "index" of the clan or family to which one belongs (and it is useful to state that arms and crests of MacSnooks can not and do not descend to Jenkinse, either directly or through Macdonalds, Fitzgeralds or Joneses ; as many enquirers now seem mistakenly to suppose.) Broadly speaking, *your surname is the index of what clan you belong to, which chief's crest brooch you may wear in your bonnet or sash, and what tartan you wear.*

Nevertheless there are problems, not only over sept-names, but even as to near-spelt names, and on this some observations are rather necessary anent Clan Mackay.

We have seen how the Mackies of Aberdeenshire and the North-East, have long been regarded as members of either Clan Forbes or Clan Mackay, and indeed seem the link on

which Lord Forbes early in the 17th century persuaded Lord Reay to believe he was a branch of Clan Forbes. Arms and history and tradition together evince that this was not so, and that the Clan Mackay, unlike Clan Forbes, has a descent from the Royal House of Moray, and of old bore its stars, and not the Forbesian bears' heads. Still, not only the Mackies seem to have a midlink connection with Strathbogie, but a number of "MacKies", and suchlike spellings do seem also to have traditional connection with Clan Mackay. This creates a problem over such names as MacKee/MacKie, in its various spellings, and also the MacGhies all mainly families from the South-West of Scotland.

Sir George Mackenzie, in his *Treatise of Heraldrie*, points out in his chapter on the purposes of arms (Sec. 8), that arms are often a better test and indication of ancestry than spelling of surnames. (Works II, p. 576). It is accordingly important to look at these surnames from that angle. Early 19th century family historians have blandly suggested that the Forbes arms are similar to those of MacGhies and MacKies, which one would have thought such an impudent absurdity that even a layman would not ordinarily have said it, nor would any medieval soldier have deduced that the bearers of such arms were of the same company or feudo-tribal unit.

(1) The arms of Mackay (modern) are : Azure, on a chevron Argent between three bears' heads couped Argent, muzzled Gules, a hart's head erased between two hands grasping daggers points inwards Proper.

Mackay ancient : Argent three mullets Azure accompanied by a dexter hand couped appaumé Proper, in chief.

Now let us examine the arms and background of these "Names" of South-West Scotland which writers attempted to connect with the Northern Mackays.

(2) *MacKie of Hassock of Cumlodan*, bore a silver shield with two or three ravens, and on a chief Azure, a lion passant Argent. The family would thus seem derived from the Princes of Galloway if anything is to be deduced from these arms, which are quite unlike either the old or the later Mackay arms. The Cumlodan tradition likewise contains no hint of a Moray or Strathnaver origin, and is related to localized Galloway tales connected with The Bruce, and old occupation of land in the province from whose princely chiefs these MacKie arms seem derived.

(3) *MacGhie of Balmaghie*, clearly an anciently established family whose very estate is named after them, and seems related to the Isle *MacGhie* across in Ireland, and to a totally different history and background from Mackays of Strathnaver or the Royal House of Moray. The MacGhie arms, Sable, three leopards faces Or, are also as unlike, in colour and charges, as could be, from either of the Mackay arms. On no ground is there the slightest suggestion of similar origin, or belief thereof, and the 19th century statement that their chief bore the same arms as the Strathnaver Mackays is as wild as the suggestion wishfully thinking they might be descended from a certain Martin Mackay who was killed in Lochaber.

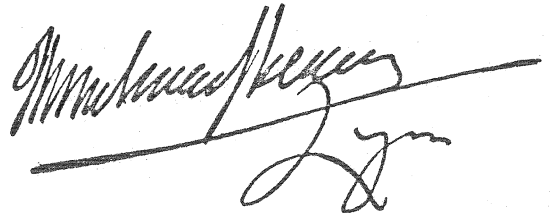
(4) The Mackays of Argyll, to whom *Brian Vicar Mackay* recipient of the Gaelic charter belonged, present another facet. They are of course claimed, from their surname, as scions of the Race of Strathnaver, but it is significant that the Argyllshire Mackays are also claimed as a branch of the Galloway MacGhies, who, though not so far as I know—and from their arms I should not expect—that these ever claimed connection with Clan vic Morgainn, yet MacGhies do seem to have claimed these Argyllshire Mackays as a branch of theirs. I have so far seen no evidence in favour of *either* origin, and they seem more likely to have been a quite distinct race of "children of some Argyllshire *Aoidh*". In absence of other evidence,

however, one can here quite see that *Clan Vic Morgainn* will stake a claim on these Argyll Mackays, and assert, as they do, that they were an early branch. So far, there is nothing to contradict that.

(5) The Neilsons of Galloway (and of the North) present another claim and (even apart from MacNeil claims on them) one can only say that they may well be quite different and that the Nielsons of Craigcaffie, etc., in the South-West have quite a different history from those of Sutherland. Nearer the Northern homeland, there are evidently quite differing races of *MacPhails* ("sons of Paul"), for in 1672 MacPhails were *primarily* declared Members of Clan Chattan, though Mackays may well have a small *siol Phail* of their own, descended of some "Paul Mackay", and no one disputes them the *Polson* variant of this name.

In expressing these opinions, I am in no wise reflecting on the greatness or grandeur of the *Clan Vic Morgainn*. The size or district spread of a clan is frequently no guide to its status or importance and a smaller well-knit clan is often stronger and of greater influence than a wide and unconvincing congerie of unrelated name entities. To fill up a clan or its society with (in the words of Macpherson of Invereshie's jibe at the Farquharsons) (c. 1700) : "Such other tag and rag as are here brought in to help make a clann for him", does not strengthen the tribe—certainly not if the "intake" has an ancient independent history and background which always creates danger that the intaking clan may *not* be able to "enjoy them peaceably without danger of a co-rival". Strength lies rather in vigorously developing the true clan, especially in a numerous name like Mackay, and those of other spellings and forms of arms, locality, or careers, evidently do have a real traditional connection with *Clan Vic Morgainn* of Strathnaver. It is time clan societies came to distinguish between, more widely as some already do, the *Members of the Clan* (those bearing the Clan-Name and any Sept-Name), and the relatives of these or others taken in as "followers" on other grounds and who are more properly *the Sencliathe*, if over 81 years dependancy, or *Cliathe-og*, if of less than 81 years, and placing a higher premium on such dependancy or followership, thereby clearly defining the actual *membership of the clan* as a valued and ascertainable character.

It is indeed important to dispose vigorously of the idea that one can count up one's great-great-great-grandparents, and from the "names" in these claim to belong to a dozen clans and wear as many or more tartans! Yet foolish people now daily ask such questions, and have evidently no idea what the structure of a clan or patriarchal or tribal community is, or the circumstances, or *indicia* which from time immemorial and the custom of Scotland have governed membership of such. Allusion to these aspects of clanship, and to the membership of Clans and their septs, may correct misconceptions and assist in the organization and strengthening, and stimulating the deeply inspiring and justifiable pride, in the actual membership, and insignia, of the historic Clan Mackay.



13 February, 1959.