

THE INNES TARTAN.*

By THOMAS INNES OF LEARNEY.
Carrick Pursuivant.

IN Thomas Smibert's *The Clans of the Highlands of Scotland*, 1850, practically the earliest detailed authentic work on Scottish tartans, a brilliant seven-colour tartan (the dominant colours of which are red and black)¹ is assigned (p. 270) to the Morayshire Clan Innes, whose descendants have invariably used it,² and of whom Smibert gives an account. He incidentally comments upon the indefinite suggestions regarding the origin of the name "Innes" put forward by James Logan in his *Clans of the Scottish Highlands*, 1843-47, though in this work Logan inferentially—and armorially—associates tartan with the Morayshire Inneses in a manner to be noticed hereafter.³ In *The Scottish Gael* Logan does not even allude to the Clan Aonghais, but in his heraldic frontispiece, the blue stars of Innes duly, and properly, appear amongst the arms of the clans.⁴

* Although this article deals only with two clans, it discloses the haphazard nature of the assertions found in the average "tartan book" as issued to the public, and shows the desirability of editors of such works sending proofs of the articles upon the various clans to be revised, where possible, by the chiefs or chieftains, or some other authority on each individual clan.

¹ Two other Morayshire tartans—Brodie and Dunbar—are also dominantly red and black.

² A verbal description of Plate XLVII would read: 6 red, 1 black, 1 red, 1 black, 1 red, 6 black, 1 azure (light blue), 6 black, 1 red, 1 black, 1 red, 1 black, 6 red, 1 yellow, 2 red, 3 blue (deep), 2 red, 1 black, 5 green, 1 black, 2 red, 1 white, 2 red, 1 black, 5 green, 1 black, 2 red, 3 blue (deep), 2 red, 1 yellow, 6 red, 1 black, 1 red, 1 black, 1 red, 6 black, 1 azure (light blue), 6 black, 1 red, 1 black, 1 red, 1 black, 3 red.

³ Logan points out the distribution of the name in Morven, Skye, and Moray, without committing himself to the ownership of the tartan displayed, which although a red one, is not actually the tartan of the Moray Inneses.

⁴ The absence, in Logan's work, of the Innes tartan, is probably explained by the remark in Vol. I, p. 237, that he includes no "family tartans." Writing in the nineteenth century, he may have counted Innes of that ilk as a "family," and certainly would have been unaware that the Privy Council had described the Inneses as a "clan."

In these circumstances it is surprising to find that in the subsequent works issued by Messrs. W. & A. K. Johnston, the designation of the tartan has been altered to "Macinnes," and that the specific history of the Morayshire Inneses has been replaced by nebulous, and as it transpires erroneous, references to the Clan Aonghais (*anglice*, Macinnes) upon a theory apparently built up during the last thirty years by the late Mr. Frank Adam, F.R.G.S., whose identification of the tartan discloses fundamental inconsistencies, and a careless transcription of James Logan's list of tartans in *The Book of the Club of True Highlanders*, page 18. Not only does Adam omit all but an accidental reference to the real Macinnes six-colour tartan,¹ but assigns them instead the seven-colour tartan of the Inneses of Moray.

In his latest work, *Clans, Septs, and Regiments of Scotland*,² Mr. Adam begins: "It is remarkable how little of the history of this Clan (Aonghais) is on record," and proceeds to deplore that Smibert, "one of our acknowledged clan authorities and historians," should have allocated the tartan to "the east coast Inneses." In his earlier work, *What is my Tartan?* 1896, Mr. Adam attributes neither chief nor arms to the Clan Aonghais, but in 1924³ without condescending upon the identity of any Aonghais chief, he assigns him arms: *Azure, on a chief Argent, three mullets of six points of the first. Crest: A bee sucking a thistle. Motto: E LABORE DULCENDO.* This, however, is not recorded in Lyon Register,⁴ has nothing indicative of chiefship, nothing suggestive of the West Highlands, and is simply a conglomeration of the armorial bearings of the lairds of

¹ *Clans, Septs, and Regiments of Scotland*, 1924 ed., p. 495.

² 1924 ed., p. 80.

³ *Clans, Septs, and Regiments of Scotland*, 1924, p. 378.

⁴ On p. 402, Mr. Adam says: "These are the arms registered in Scotland," but up to now (1931) no such arms have been registered.

Innes,¹ Balvenie,² and Benwall,³ the three principal branches of the very family to whom Mr. Adam denies any connection with the tartan!

It is therefore interesting to note that, although no member of the Clan Aonghais has ever registered arms, the Lyon archives evidence that in the seventeenth/eighteenth century, one of the Macinneses was (unlawfully) using the following arms:—Quarterly, 1. *A castle with two towers*; 2 and 3. *On the sea in base undy, a lymphad with sails furled and flag at the prow*; 4. *Gyrony of eight, apparently Or and Sable*. Crest: *A boar's head erased*. Motto: IRID CHIPT DHE ACUS AN RIGH.⁵ This is evidently a true West Highland coat, and corroborates the other information available, viz., that the Clan Aonghais were indigenous inhabitants of the districts of Morvern, Ardgour, and Lochaber, a branch (along with the Macgillivrays)⁶ of the Siol Gillebride.⁷

We shall hereafter deal with the history of the Clan Aonghais, but since it is neither with the Macinnes arms nor the Macinnes clan that this tartan has been associated, we shall first deduce its connection with the Inneses of Moray, to whom the tartan truly belongs.

In the first place, let us establish the existence of an Innes clan, and for this we have fortunately the highest authority. On February 15, 1579, the Privy Council took steps to settle "the deidlie feid and

inmitie standing betwix the *clannis* and surnames of the Dumbarris¹ and Inneses."²

Innes of that ilk, like Brodie of Brodie,³ traditionally claimed (and Forbes of Col-loden strongly argued) descent from the original Moravienses.⁴ Like the Frasers, Chisholms, Gordons, and Sinclairs, there seems now little doubt regarding its origin,⁵ though it certainly makes its debut under the best auspices, for it was at Christmas, 1159-60, on the occasion of the peace between Malcolm IV. and the great Somerled, that Berowald received his charter of the lands of Innes—at that period an island in the Ligh of Moray,⁶ so at any rate the family bears a genuine Celtic surname. If Berowald was really one of the "peaceful people"⁷ calculated to develop the land, the King of Scots was either a bad judge of character, or the lairds of Innes during the next six generations must have consistently intermarried with the turbulent Morays whom they were intended to replace,⁸ and succeeded in earning a reputation for lawless savagery of the most bloodthirsty description.⁹ Incidentally, Sir Walter, the tenth Chief, was in 1438 acknowledged as "cousin" by the Lord of the Isles,¹⁰ and the successive Chiefs of Innes maintained a standing bond of friendship with their MacIntosh kinsmen, the Captains of Clanchattane.¹¹

From the 16th/17th century onwards, the chiefs of Innes were, however, usually found on what is called the "progressive" side of politics, and at the close of the eighteenth century, after the repeal of the Acts against Highland Dress¹² the time

when such families usually put "on record," so to speak, their claims to a particular tartan, Sir James, the twenty-fifth Chief, had gone to England, having severed his connection with the North of Scotland in 1767, and some forty years later became Duke of Roxburghe.

With other branches of this Northern House, the situation was different. The Barons of Innermarkie were Hereditary Constables of Redcastle beyond Inverness,¹ and possessed Highland domains such as Edinglassie and Glenmarkie in the head waters of the Deveron—Balvenie, Kinnermonie, and others in Strathspey. The Baron of Toux was Chamberlain of the Celtic Earldom of Ross,² and owned extensive estates in the Highlands.³ They intermarried with Grants, Leslie, Sinclairs, Frasers, Mackenzies, Sutherlands, Munros, etc. The Inneses of Coxton, in addition to being connected—like most of the family—with the Gordons, were allied to Mackenzies and Munros, and also spread (in the families of their cadets), to the remote Highlands of Southern Banffshire, and to the shores of Lochalsh. The Clan Innes were the principal family around Elgin, and in 1669 James Brome described Elgin as "the chief city of the Highlands,"⁴ so Elgin evidently had Highland characteristics of which the most obvious sign to the tourist is, the Highland garb. This, indeed, is actually illustrated in Slezer's drawings of Elgin Cathedral.⁵ Indeed, the

whole North-East of Scotland was "highland" in its customs and appearance. Aberdeenshire and the North-East was regarded as "Highland" for the purpose of the "Disarming Act," which suppressed Highland dress. Plaids would not have been forbidden to the burgesses of Aberdeen in 1576,¹ if they had not been the accustomed garb in the surrounding country—as indeed we know it was, from carved stones such as those at Skene,² though lairds and others who rode, no doubt found the "plaid and trews" referred to in the Lord Lyon's blazon of the Skene coat-of-arms³ more suitable than the kilt, for equestrian use.

It would be surprising if the Laird of Innermarkie, who fought beside Huntly at Glenlivet, the Cavalier Baronets of Balvenie (Sir Robert and Sir Walter), who were Royalists in the days of Montrose,⁴ the Baronets of Coxton, who were with Viscount Dundee's Highland army throughout its campaign,⁵ who fought in the '15 and the '45, along with the Innes lairds of Drumgask, Edingight, and Cowie,⁶ should not have possessed a tartan when every Jacobite family made a point of doing so. The families of Coxton and of Balnacraig were literally to a man notorious Jacobites, deep in the Councils of the Chevalier, and one of these—Father Lewis Innes—had been Jacobite Secretary of State for Scotland. It is significant that the "bee and thistle" crest so closely associated with the Innes tartan, is that emblazoned on the sporran of the Laird of Balnacraig,⁷ and in one book this tartan is

¹ Lyon Reg., 1672, and December 14, 1698: *Argent, three mullets of six points Azure*.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 168, January 12, 1753; Vol. I, 170, February 20, 1782; and Vol. XXI, 36, January 20, 1912: *Argent, three mullets in chief Azure*.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 334, November 9, 1688: Crest, *A thistle growing from the wreath proper, with a bee sucking the flowers thereof*. Motto: E LABORE DULCENDO.

⁴ We think that—as often happens with a primitive seal copyist—the quarters have been inverted and the galley should be first and fourth.

⁵ Ask gifts of God and the King.

⁶ To whom Mr. Adam says they were "affiliated," p. 405.

⁷ Skene, *Highlanders of Scotland*, II, 114, 122.

¹ A Dunbar tartan is given in Stuart's *Vestiarium Scoticum*, and a sample was exhibited at the Inverness Highland Exhibition, 1930.

² Privy Council, II, p. 267.

³ Shaw, *History of Moray*, II, 249.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 313, *Familie of Innes*, pp. 5-6.

⁵ *Familie of Innes*, p. 49.

⁶ Shaw, *History of Moray*, I, 313, 320, 335-6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁸ They subsequently married the heiress of the Thanes of Aberchirder, a branch of the Clan Donnachie.

⁹ *Familie of Innes*, p. 129.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹¹ *Familie of Innes*, p. 14.

¹² Statute 1782, cap. 63.

¹ *Great Seal*, Vol. III, No. 3117; *Privy Seal*, Vol. II, No. 1540.

² *Excheq. Rolls*, XV, 319.

³ *Tartans of the Clans*, 1906, p. xxi. The annotator of the *Roll of Highland Landlords* comments: "Not known what lands he possessed in the Highlands." He and his family owned *inter alia*, Inverbreakie, Ballnegall, Strathrorie, Kenrive, Ballintraid, Dibiedail, Rosken, Pitglassie, and Cullmelloquy in Ross-shire. *Great Seal and Privy Seal Registers*.

⁴ Brome's *Travels*, 1707 ed., pp. 179-80. Inverness had been largely dominated by the Cromwellian military fort, and presumably gave Brome the impression that it was a strategic centre rather than an ancient Highland city.

⁵ *Theatrum Scotiae*; and H. B. Mackintosh, *Elgin, Past and Present*, p. 51.

¹ Stewart, *Old and Rare Scottish Tartans*, p. 10.

² *Familie of Skene of Skene*, p. 48; cf. also Gordon of Knockespoth, S.N. & Q. VII, 238, and miniature of Gordon of Glenbucket in Taylor's *Jacobites of Aberdeenshire, etc.*

³ *Old and Rare Scottish Tartans*, p. 21.

⁴ Spalding, *Trubles*, II, 336.

⁵ Earl of Crauford, *Royal Proclamations*, II, No. 2829; J. Philip, *The Grameid*, 159; Sir Alexander Innes, Bt. of Coxton, and General Buchan, were the very last of the Cavaliers to capitulate. Leven and Melville *Books*, III, 240.

⁶ A. and H. Taylor, *Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire*, pp. 312-21.

⁷ J. Stirton, *Craith and Braemar*, p. 136.

annotated "The Jacobite Tartan" and associated with the arms of Innes of Balvenie,¹ of whom Coxton was a branch.² That the family did use the tartan is fortunately established from contemporary evidence. In 1574 Elizabeth Hepburn, the relict of William Innes, fifteenth of that ilk, left her daughter Marjorie, "ane plaid,"³ which was therefore presumably of "Innes" tartan.⁴ In 1625 Grizel Innes, daughter of the Laird of Blackhills,⁵ had amongst other things—such as five diamond rings—"ane tartan plaid" valued at £10.⁶ In 1651 Adam Innes of Towiebegg carried a Highlander's weapon, viz., a "dirk," with which he assaulted a neighbour at church.⁷ In 1674 John Innes of Edingight owned a "whinger with knives," viz., a Highland dirk,⁸ worth 40s.—so we may assume that his "back and body clothes, 20 merks," included a "highland outfit" to wear with it,⁹ no doubt the usual "plaid and trews,"¹⁰ which was the ordinary garb of a North-Eastern laird in the seventeenth century.¹¹

In 1789, only seven years after the repeal of the proscription of the Highland dress, Hugh Innes in Netherton of West Auchmore in Glenrinn, Banffshire, owned "12 ells of tartan plaid," and also "three highland plaids."¹² The Moray Inneses did then, and from the Middle Ages onwards, consistently use tartan, with Highland

accoutrements, and at the very time when tartans were of special significance, and half a century later it was the red Innes tartan Smibert found them using. Where ancient use is proved, the colours of old are presumed to be the colours as found.¹

There remains, however, more immediate corroborative evidence: for the tartan was that which the late Colonel Thomas Innes of Learney, C.V.O. (who died in 1912 in his 99th year) regarded as the tartan of the Innes family, and that it was this tartan his forbears had worn. Colonel Innes was, indeed, a close link with the '45. His own grandfather and great-uncle² fought with Prince Charlie. The Colonel, b. 1814, is corroborated by David M. Peter,³ who gives the same sett of tartan, but in a broad pattern of 12½ inches, presumably taken from a plaid:—

8 red, 1 black, 1 red, 1 black, 1 red, 6 black, 1 blue, 6 black, 1 red, 1 black, 1 red, 1 black, 6 red, 1 white (yellow, per Smibert and modern weaves), 2 red, 3 green (deep blue), 2 red, 1 black, 5 green, 1 black, 2 red, 1 white, 2 red, 1 black, 5 green, 1 black, 2 red, 3 green (blue), 2 red, 1 white (yellow), 6 white, 1 black, 1 red, 1 black; 1 red, 6 black, 1 green, 6 black, 1 red, 1 black, 1 red, 1 black, 3 red.

This is exactly the pattern as still woven, except that the deep blue (non-existent in the real "Macinnes" tartan) is left green, and the yellow is white. Anyone who paints a "pattern stick" will find the quantities and pattern are identical, and fundamentally different from the true "Macinnes" tartan preserved by Logan. The variation of colour in the yellow and blue is, in the circumstances, negligible. Competent modern investigators observe that "the recognized clan patterns could

show great variation in detail."¹ Moreover, in old pieces of cloth, faded yellow might easily be mistaken for white. Such instances occur in the Cockburn Collection,² and the size of the sett indicates the tartan which Peter saw was a piece of eighteenth-century cloth. We have been unable to ascertain whether the example still exists at Cowie, but if, as seems probable, it was an old family plaid, the consistency of the eighteenth with the nineteenth century versions of the Innes tartan may be considered remarkable, considering the "wide dissimilarity" so often commented on between eighteenth-century tartans and those now pertaining to the same names.³ Numbers of these variations are referred to in Mr. Adam's book,⁴ and in every case the variation is far wider than in the present case. No doubt many of them originated in the local weaver, lacking some particular dye at the moment of weaving. On the other hand, Lord Macdonald's portraits at Armadale show that six different setts were worn by his own family, whilst of ten portraits at Castle Grant, each shows a distinct pattern, though they share the same "hue," i.e. dominant colours.⁵

We are informed by a friend versed in Highland textiles, that the Innes tartan does not seem of a remote Highland, or primitive, form, and that tartans of this nature were most usual amongst the wealthier families on the borders of the Highlands. This is what one would expect in the Laich o' Moray, and the Nor' East, where the "Huntly" tartan displays similar characteristics.

It only remains to determine whether Peter's, or Smibert's version ought to be considered the correct one. We are dis-

posed to accept the latter, which had the sanction of Colonel Innes (whose evidence was almost contemporary with both writers). All three agree as to the dominant colours, the pattern, and its connection with the Innes family, whilst every author, past and present, associated the tartan with the armorial stars of Innes.¹ A variation minus the blue and yellow lines may have been worn by the Edingight and Cowie lines—and being the simpler sett may even represent a survival of the earliest pattern used by the clan, but the full seven-coloured tartan, so invariably associated with the family coat of arms, must be considered the generic tartan of the Innes Clan.²

We have now traced the use of Highland garb and tartan in the Clan Innes of Moray, from the Middle Ages to the present day, and have demonstrated that it is this particular pattern which has been inseparably associated with the Innes family and its armorial bearings from the earliest sources of investigation. It only remains to enquire how the tartan ever became associated with the name "McInnes," and that is readily explained.

In Lower Strathspey, just where the Leslie and Innes families intermingled,³ we find in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, several families of McInnes (never spelt *Aonghais* or *Macinnes*),⁴ closely associated with the local branches of the Innes family. At present their precise connection with the parent stem cannot be deduced, but the circumstances denote kinship, and that the form "McInnes" was adopted for distinction by one or two

¹ A sample of this tartan is shown in the late J. G. Mackay's collection (Inverness Exhibition, B7, 19). He had refrained from labelling it "Macinnes" for reasons which will now be understood.

² Compare use of variations—differing more from parent tartan—by cadets of Clans Campbell, Stewart, or Macdonald.

³ Compare the Leslie-Innes composite coat-of-arms in Logan's *Clans of Scotland*, frontispiece.

⁴ We do not in old writs look for accurate or consistent spelling, but the name as spelt in the North-East is always *McInnes*, with no hint of an *Aonghais* origin.

¹ Messrs. Renton's *Tartan Book*, Edinburgh.

² Innes of Balnacraig, cadet of Drainie, was connected with Coxton, Catharine Gordon, widow of James Innes of Drainie, having married secondly Alex. Innes of Coxton, who died in 1612. (*Acts and Decrees*, clxix, fol. 245; *The Deeds Field*, No. 5, p. 76.)

³ Edinburgh Tests, November 19, 1574.

⁴ We know of no "Hepburn tartan," and even if it existed, it would not have been "suitable" for Miss Marjorie Innes of Innes.

⁵ Fasti, VI, 386.

⁶ *Acts and Decrees*, cccclxxvi, fol. 282.

⁷ Joharn Session Records.

⁸ *Old and Rare Scottish Tartans*, p. 19.

⁹ Extract Testament, Commissariat of Moray, *Chronicle of Edingight*.

¹⁰ *Old and Rare Scottish Tartans*, p. 28.

¹¹ E.g. Gordon of Knockespeck, *S.N. & Q.* VIII, 238; Skene of Skene, F. J. Grant, *Nisbet's Heraldic Plates*, No. 77.

¹² Commissariat of Aberdeen, December 21, 1789.

¹ Heraldic rule laid down by Court of Session, *Fiscal v. Murray of Touchadam*, 1778. Brown's *Supplement*, V, 490.

² Alexander Innes of Cowie, and John Innes, eighth of Edingight. Taylor, *Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire*, p. 312.

³ *Baronage of the Mearns* (1855), p. 169.

¹ C. I. Fraser of Reelig, *Notes on Highland Tartans*, 1930, p. 4. (Inverness Exhibition Pamphlet.)

² Inverness Exhibition, Lot B7, 3.

³ C. I. Fraser, p. 5.

⁴ E.g. Cameron, Chisholm, Drummond, Ferguson, Macdougall, Mackintosh—"Many variations." Macintyre, Macpherson, Ogilvie, Robertson, Skene—"Much difficulty in determining the correct sett."

⁵ *Old and Rare Scottish Tartans*, p. 28.

branches of the Clan, just as others took the name McTary or McCary. These McInneses seldom rose above the rank of tacksmen,¹ such as the McInneses in Arbrodin and Midthird, but one of them, Thomas McInnes of Auchurruchan, became a landowner, and, along with John Innes of Conrack, is witness to the marriage in-fetment of Conrack's sister, Catherine Innes, to Thomas Grant in Nevie, upon lands in the Highland lordship of Strath-avon.² This is the very district where, a century later, Hugh Innes in Auchmore owned the tartan plaiding. Of these Banffshire McInneses, another Thomas served with Glenbucket in the '45, and was executed at York.³ In some of the Registers, one finds "Innes" and "McInnes" used by apparently the same person in different entries, and there are instances too frequent to be accidental, of Inneses and McInneses sharing the same holdings. It is with these Banffshire McInneses, a sept of the Moray Clan Innes, and not with the Clan Aonghais, that we must associate the tartan.

It seems not unlikely that the "MacInnes" arms with three mullets in chief, and the "Bee and Thistle" crest, may have actually been used by some of the Banffshire McInneses (though never registered). If so, it indicates that they sprang from Innes of Benwall, and it is suggestive that several of that line had to flee from Donside to Glenmarkie, about 1565-75, on account of murdering a member of the powerful family of Keith.⁴ They obtained a remission from the Crown; but some of them may well have found it convenient to alter their name, as many other Scots have done for similar reasons,⁵ in days of private vengeance, and the Lyon Clerk's account preserves the details of the vindictive manner in which this particular feud was carried on.

It only remains to add, that the septs of the Clan Innes of Moray are: McInnes, McTary,¹ McRob,² Annis, James,³ Reid-furd,⁴ to which Innies, Ingies, and another curious local name, *Yunie*, may probably be added. The chiefship of the family is now, in accordance with a decree of the competent Scots Court—Sir James Innes of that ilk, third Baronet, was certified to be *chief of the race of Innes*, by the Lord Lyon, King of Arms, December 14, 1698—vested in Sir Henry John Innes-Kerr, Duke of Roxburghe and Earl Innes, ninth Baronet and twenty-eighth Chief from Berowald.

(To be continued.)

SOME EARLY SCOTTISH CLERGY (VIII, 180-181).—Preserved in what is called the Treasury, in the Dean and Chapter Library, at Durham, are a large number of Charters, deeds, documents, etc., connected with, or relating to, Scotland. Amongst the witnesses to many of these MSS. are the names of Scottish Clergy. Many years ago we made extracts from these documents, and have pleasure in passing on to readers of the *Scottish Notes and Queries*, the names of all the early Scottish Clergy, we found therein:—

1. Peter, chaplain of Bervie, and Peter, Priest of Coldingham, were witnesses to a Charter of Simon, Prior of Coldingham, [11.-98], granting a Manumission to Haldan, son of Dune, and his heirs—undated but c. 1190. R—priest of Seleschiriche (Selkirk), was a witness to a charter of Thomas I, Prior of Durham (1158-82), granting this church of Edenham to Goze, clerk of the Church of Edenham—

¹ Records of Elgin, I, 236.

² "James Innes alias McRob" (*Inverness Sasines*, II, 204). Witness to an Inverbrecky Document. Probably the MacRoberts, in Aberchirder, have a much better claim to the Innes tartan than Robertson!

³ In the Urquhart Registers, the Clerk occasionally writes a known "Innes" as "James," and the alternative in some cases seems to have been adopted.

⁴ *Banff Sasines*, Vol. IX, p. 141.

¹ Botriphnie and Boharm Session Registers.

² *Banff Sasines*, 1659, Vol. IX, p. 127.

³ Seton, *Prisoners of the '45*, No. 2044.

⁴ *Familie of Innes*, p. 255.

⁵ J. H. Stevenson, *Heraldry in Scotland*, pp. 369-71.

c. 1180; other clerical names in the same charter include John, the Archdeacon [of Durham, c. 1180-90]. Helias and William, Clerks of the Bishop [of —] and Dolfin, William, and Simon—all Priests.

2. Peter, chaplain of Coldingham; with Peter, chaplain of Berwick; Master John, the Archdeacon [of Durham, 1180-90] and John [rural] dean of Foghow were all witnesses in a charter of Bertram, Prior of Durham [1189-1209], granting to his faithful clerk, Stephen Bonenell, the tithe of Swinton, etc., Co. Berwick, c. 1189.

3. Peter, chaplain of Berwick [as in last], was a witness with Roger, Bishop of St. Andrews [1188-1202], John, the Archdeacon [of Durham, c. 1180-90], and John, dean of Foghow [as above], to a charter of Bertram, Prior of Durham [1189-1209], granting lands in Bondington, belonging to the church of Berwick-on-Tweed, to Walter, son of Robert —, c. 1189.

4. Osbert, Abbot of Kelso; William, Abbot of St. Cross; and Hugh, Abbot of Newbattle; Master Ranulph, the Archdeacon of St. Andrews; Ralph and Walter, chaplains to the Lord King; Andrew [rural] dean of Foggohow; and Herbert, dean of Glasgow; all occur as *Witnesses* with the Lord William, King of Scotland [1160-1214], and the Earl David, his brother, to a charter of Roger, Bishop of St. Andrews [1188-1202], confirming concessions made to the Priory of Coldingham, by Bertram, Prior (1188-1208), and monks of Durham—dated at Edinburgh on the Feast of the Purification of St. Mary [February 2], 1193.

5. John [rural] Dean of Foghow, [No. 4], was a witness with Rannulf, the Archdeacon [of St. Andrews]; Andrew [rural] dean of Tiningham; Patric, Parson of Linton; Alexander, Parson of Dunbar [etc.], to a charter of John, Archdeacon of Laodon [Lothian], granting to Roger, Bishop of St. Andrews [1188-1202], and the Monks of Durham, the churches which the Prior and Convent had in Lothian.—c. 1190.

6. Nicholas de Lowhmaben, was official of the Archdeacon of Lothian in 1286.

7. David de Marr was Archdeacon of Lothian in 1372.

8. Sir [Rev.] William Hall, Rector of Huton [Hutton], was a witness to a charter of William Drax, Prior of Coldingham [1417-41], granting lands in West Lumsden within the barony of Coldingham, to Alexander de Lumysden, Lord of West Lumsden—dated at Coldingham, 5 January, 1438.

9. Sir Thomas Tortwicke, chaplain [of —], witness to the same charter, William de Werdale, Vicar of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Berwick-[on-Tweed], made a composition with John [de Aclif], Prior of Coldingham [1391-1417], for an annual pension of £20, which was confirmed by Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham, in 1408.

Additional biographical matter, or ecclesiastical records to any of the above persons would be welcomed. Dates are particularly wanted.—J. W. FAWCETT.

(To be continued.)

BRAEMAR AND CORGARFF CASTLES.—It is significant of the fear shown by the Government of Jacobite intrigues on Deeside and Donside that even in April, 1764, while one company of Lennox's regiment (the 25th) were stationed at Aberdeen with one corporal and six rank and file, each at Peterhead and Fraserburgh respectively, Braemar and Corgarff Castles were garrisoned, each by one subaltern, one sergeant, one corporal, one drummer and twenty rank and file, while Banff had only one corporal and six men. These three places were supplied from nine companies of Napier's regiment (the 12th), stationed at Fort George (P.R.O.: W.O., 4: 75A: p. 187). In November, 1753, the chimneys at Braemar were raised to prevent "smoking." Mr. Director Skinner reported that he had "removed the inconvenience at a much easier rate" than he had estimated. Unfortunately the report which he seems to have made does not seem to have been preserved (P.R.O.: W.O. 55: p. 72).—J. M. B.

The books, however, were not only in London, but were actually in the possession of John Bill, His Majesty's printer, who no doubt anticipating their removal to Aberdeen, had arrested them in London for a debt of 900 marks, owing him by Thomas Reid—no doubt partly for books bought from him. From an entry in the Town Council Register dated January 11, 1626, it would appear that the Town Council in the name of Reid's Executors, had paid that off by borrowing 200 marks from Robert Farquhar, the Burgh Treasurer, and 700 marks from Thomas Cargill, Master of the Hospital. The actual releasing of the arrestment would appear to have been carried out by David Melvil, merchant commissioner for the burgh of Aberdeen, by whom they were transported to Aberdeen in hogsheads by sea.

For the maintenance of the librarian, Reid had left 6000 merks to be invested in land in Aberdeen, and to bring in annually of silver rent, 600 merks.

On December 1, 1624, at a meeting of the Provost, Baillies and Council, it was pointed out "it will craive a long tract of tyme before the said 6000 marks bring in an annual profit of 600 merks." Also that "if the saidis buikis sall ly still in dry wairis, during all this interim not only sall the most pairt of theme mothe and consume, But lyikwayis the clergie of the towne and college sall be defraudit of the use and benefite of the saidis buikis for a long space of tyme, to the great prejudice of church and commonweal, for the remeid quhair of . . . it is thought meit and expedient by the Provost, Baillies and Counsell That the said haill bookes and manuscripts sall be transported frome the keyheid out of the sellar quhair they are lyand for the present in hogheidis to the College of this burgh. And their set up in the college librarie be Catalogue and Inventar. Providing that Mr. Patrick Dun, Principall of the said College give his Bond to the Counsell . . . to make them extant and forthcummand . . . when required." Also Patrick Dun is to observe the Council's injunctions and

Alexander Chalmer, Dean of Guild, is ordained to, "repair the Wyndowes of the College librarie and to give them plett Irne stenshoues for the greater security."

The whole matter being thus at last arranged, David Melvil was instructed to hand the books over to Principal Patrick Dun. And so we have a list of the books and manuscripts "received from David Melvil," and signed "Pa. Dune. P."

Included in the Library were about twenty-five valuable manuscripts, amongst others the Aberdeen Bestiary—or to give it its official title, "Isiodorus de natura hominis, bestiarum, etc.," which is a splendid illuminated manuscript of the late 12th century on vellum which once was in the Royal Library and acquired thence by Thomas Reid.—W. B. M.

SOME EARLY SCOTTISH CLERGY (VIII, 180-181; IX, 28-29):—

1. Blahan, Priest of Litun; Aldulf, Priest of Aldhastor; Henry, Priest of Einhale; Orne, Priest of Edenham, and John, Priest of Ledgardeswoode, were all witnesses to a charter of Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews [1122-1159], confirming churches to Coldingham Priory—16 Kalends of August; the feast of S. Kenelm [July 15] 1127.

2. Turord, the Archdeacon (of —) with Aulfo, the chaplain; and Ralph, the chaplain; and Swain and Goscelin, the priests, and Robert the clerk, were all witnesses to a charter of Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews [1122-1159], granting the chapel of Newton and its tithes to Coldingham, c. 1140.

3. Robert, Prior of St. Andrews, Thomas, Prior of Scone, Osbert, Prior of Jedworth; Osbert, Prior of St. Crose; Adam, chaplain of the King at Roxburgh (etc.), were all witnesses to a charter of Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews [1122-1159], granting the churches of Edenham and Nesbit to Coldingham—8 Kalends of November [Oct. 23], 1150.

4. Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow [1147-1164], with John, Abbot of Kelso; Osberte,

Abbot of Jedworth [i.e. Jedburgh]; Thor, the Archdeacon (of —); Gamel the [Rural] Dean; Aldred [Rural] Dean of Roxburgh; Nigell, the Priest; Goce, "Sacerdote" [Priest] of Sticket [etc.], were all witnesses to a charter of Ærnold, Bishop of St. Andrews [1159-1160], confirming the Church of Edenham to St. Cuthbert of Durham and his monks, c. 1159.

5. Andrew, the Archdeacon [of Lothian], with Galfrid, Abbot of Dunfermline [etc.], was a witness to a charter of Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews [1163-1173], granting the Church of St. Laurence of Berwick to the Church of the Blessed Mary of Kelso, c. 1170.

6. Andrew, the Archdeacon of Lothian; with Walter, Archdeacon of St. Andrew; Gaufrid, Abbot of Dunfermline; John, Abbot of S. Cross; Amfrid, Abbot of Newbottli; Roger, Abbot of Dryburgh; Aiulf and Patrick [the Rural] Deans; Alexander and Albin, the chaplains; Gaufrid, clerk of Tiningham [etc.], were all witnesses to the charter of Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews [1163-1173], confirming the Church of St. Lawrence of Berwick to Coldingham, c. 1170.

7. Osbert, Abbot of Jedworth, with Andrew and Mathew, the Archdeacons Aiulf and Jocio, the [Rural] Deans; Nigell and Alexander, the Chaplains [etc.], were all witnesses to the charter of Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews [1163-1173], confirming the Church of Edenham, etc., to Coldingham, c. 1170.

Osbert, Abbot of Jedworth; with Nicol the Chancellor; Andrew, Archdeacon of Lothian; Aiulf and Jocio, the [Rural] Deans; Hueic and Eilaf, chaplains of Bervie; Romfar, the chaplain; Alan, Priest of Hiltun; Alan, Priest of Wallsend [died in 1178], were all witnesses to a charter of Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews [1163-1173], and Edalred, Abbot of Rievaulx [1171-1177]; and William, Abbot of Melrose [1177-1181], regarding a controversy between the Church of Durham, and the Church of Kelso, concerning the Chapel of Ercheldon, c. 1170.—J. W. FAWCETT.

(To be continued.)

THE INNES TARTAN.

BY THOMAS INNES OF LEARNEV.
Carrick Pursuivant.

THE CLAN AONGHAIS.

We may now revert to the Clan Aonghais or Macinnes, to whom pertains not only a handsome dark green tartan described by Mr. F. Adam as a "hunting Macinnes," but also a bright tartan dominant in red and green, attributed upon the authority of Logan, and depicted in MacIan's drawing, but which apparently escaped Mr. Adam's notice, and has led him into an inconsistency which one is surprised he did not himself observe. In his table of "clan tartans to scale,"¹ quoting from *The Book of the Club of True Highlanders*, Mr. Adam gives:—

"Macinnes—Red 16½, green 14, azure 6, black 2, yellow 1, white 1. Width of pattern 5½ inches."

This six-colour tartan is manifestly not the seven-colour Innes tartan which Mr. Adam describes as "Macinnes," for in that, there is a heavy proportion of black, and of the eight parts blue, six are deep, and only two azure. We therefore look back to page 491 with interest, only to find that in the "Table of Tartans," no Macinnes sett appears at all. When, however, we revert to Logan's original list, published by Macintyre North,² the genuine dress Macinnes sett appears as follows:—

¼ black, 6 green, 1 red, ¼ black, 1½ red, ¼ black, 8 red, 1 yellow, 1½ red, 3 azure, 1½ red, ¼ black, 4 green, ¼ black, 1 red, 1 white,³ 1 red, ¼ black, 4 green, ¼ black, 1 red, 3 azure.

Here, then, we have a genuine Macinnes tartan which Mr. Adam overlooked. Perhaps his list was really excerpted from *The Scottish Gael*, Vol. II, p. 402, where no Macinnes tartan is given. This work was published in 1831 (but excludes what he

¹ *Clans, Septs, and Regiments of Scotland*, 1924 ed., p. 495.

² *Book of the Club of True Highlanders*, p. 18.

³ This line is distinctly azure in MacIan's plate.

calls "family tartans,"¹ and why no Macinnes tartan appears may be a matter for speculation, but by 1847 he assigns the six-colour tartan, and future writers cannot afford to ignore this beautiful sett, or continue to be misled by what turns out to be Mr. Adam's carelessness.

It is this tartan which is shown in the Macinnes drawing,² for where the Innes tartan would show black with a pale-blue line, Macfan's drawing unmistakably shows the grey-green band with a distinctly black centre line.³

When drawn out, this tartan has one peculiarity, viz., that as laid down by Logan, it does not seem to form a complete square. There are several such tartans, but we fancy it was meant to be completed: 1 red, 1 yellow, 8 red, 1 black, 1½ red, 1 black, 1 red, 6 green, ½ black. Logan's description may have been taken from a fragment, and the complete sett—with the variation of the azure centre line (in place of white) is that shown on the figure in Macfan's plate.

The green "hunting" tartan was brought into notice by Mr. John Macinnes,⁴ Onich, Inverness-shire.⁵ Its origin and history deserves further investigation. It has in some ways an appearance (at first sight) of resemblance to the "Hunting Stewart," which is suggestive, for in "the 1745" several of the Clan Aonghais fought under Stewart of Ardsheal.⁶ Earlier

writers, such as W. & A. Smith, Mauchline, infer that the Clan Aonghais wore McGillivray tartan,¹ and Mr. Adam admits that it was only since his book was published that Smith's work came to his notice.² We have already observed that, regarding the Macinnes arms, he is completely at fault, both in fact and speculation,³ for neither are the quasi-Macinnes arms he ascribes registered, nor did the Macinneses bear either these arms nor the arms of Macdonald. It is therefore not in the least surprising to find him equally at fault regarding the Innes and Macinnes tartans.



The Clan Aonghais, as we have stated, was principally identified with Morvern, Ardgour, and Lochaber, and formed, along with the MacGillivrays, a branch of the Siol Gillebride.⁴ After the conquest of Argyll by Alexander II. the Siol Gillebride, as supporters of Somerled, were broken up and, it is said, scattered.⁵ Of them, "Neil an Bogha" is said to have founded the Hereditary Archers of Mackinnon of Mackinnon. Other Macinneses were, or became, a sept of the Clan Macfarlane.⁶

¹ *Authenticated Tartans*, Mauchline, p. 121.

² *Clans, Septs, and Regiments of Scotland*, p. 349a.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 402.

⁴ Skene, *Highlanders of Scotland*, II, pp. 114, 122; W. and A. Smith, *Mauchline*, p. 121.

⁵ Skene, *Highlanders of Scotland*, II, 115.

⁶ *History of Clan Macfarlane*, J. Macfarlane, p. 156.

It may, however, be a question if these are the same race as the "Clan Aonghais" named Angus. Bishop Forbes, who admits making careful enquiries, spells the name of the Mackinnon's follower *MacGuines*,¹ and *Guiness* is a well-known Celtic name, on the other hand, a *G* sound is not an impossible rendering in certain parts of the West.

The greater portion of the Clan Aonghais seems to have remained in, or near, their native territory, which was acquired by Campbells and Macleans. Ardgour is said to have been forfeited to the Lord of the Isles about 1390, when the last Macinnes was murdered at Ardtornish. Mr. A. MacLean Sinclair says that the Lord of the Isles granted Ardgour to the Macleans prior to 1432,² so the territorial eclipse of the Clan seems to date from the early fifteenth century. Whilst the Macgillivrays attached themselves to the Clan Macpherson,³ the Macinneses attached themselves to the Macdougall-Campbells or *Clan Dougal of Craignish*,⁴ who were subsequently converted into Campbells⁵ on the same principle that the Setons created "Bow o' Meal Gordons" in Strathbogie.⁶ In the eighteenth century we find part of the Clan following Stewarts of Appin,⁷ which is consistent both with their district and with the dark-green tartan—which, if it be as old, may refer to this branch of the Clan. It may be doubtful if armorial bearings were common in the West so early as some of these events, but the genuine Macinnes coat-of-arms exactly bears them out.⁸ The galley is common to many West

Highland coats. In Argyllshire the castle still subsists in the arms of Maclean of Ardgour, whilst the gyrons in some form were duly assigned to all recruits for the extension of Siol Diarmid, but were in the case of the Clan Aonghais evidently "arms of patronage," for the Rev. John McInnes (a Hanoverian and a Presbyterian) referred to the Duke of Argyll as his "patron," thus indicating connection with the branch which passed under Campbell sway. In short, these are precisely the type of arms we should expect a Macinnes chief or chieftain to bear, and likewise it is a green tartan, or else one containing a good deal of red and green, we should expect to find worn by Clan Aonghais if they departed from the MacGillivray sett. Therefore, both in arms and tartan, we actually find exactly what was to be anticipated.

It is suggested that the Macinneses were lairds of Kinlochaline, and in the latest edition their chief is styled "MacAonghais Chean Lochaluinn," translated "Macinnes of that ilk."¹ This seems a very free, not to say most inaccurate, translation, and, moreover, is not the style of a Celtic chief at all, and this alleged ownership of Kinlochaline evaporates when closely examined. It may, or may not be the "Kynlouchlane" granted by Robert the Bruce to Arthur Campbell,² but there is no recorded Crown or other writ evidencing MacInnes proprietorship, and it may be just a question whether such a castle existed prior to the murder of the last Macinnes, circa 1390. Of its subsequent history, one finds that on January 9, 1539-40, "Kinloch in Morvern" is resigned by Hector Maclean of Dowart in favour of his son,³ and on April 11, 1617, there is a charter thereof to Roderick Mackenzie of Cogeauche,⁴ celebrated in history as the

fishes of the last, seem based on the arms of Cluny-Macpherson, whom they followed, but the presence of the galley will be noted as in the Macinnes arms.

¹ *Clans, Septs, and Regiments of Scotland*, 1925 ed., p. 28.

² Great Seal, I, App. B, No. 620.

³ *Ibid.*, III, No. 2005. ⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, No. 1628.

¹ *Lyon in Mourning*, II, 251, 253; III, 22.

² *Clan Gillean*, 305.

³ *Highland Clans and Tartans of Scotland*, J. Grant, II, 115, 122.

⁴ *Highlanders of Scotland*, II, 115, 122; Smith says the Clan Aonghais was kindred to Craignish, *Authenticated Tartans*, 121.

⁵ *Highlanders of Scotland*, II, 121.

⁶ *New History of Aberdeenshire*, Smith, p. 722.

⁷ *List of "Rebels"*, 384, 385.

⁸ The arms of MacGillivray recorded by a nephew of the Chief in 1800. *Lyon Reg.*, I, 584: *Azure a galley, sails furled, oars in action Or, flagged Gu.* On a chief of the second, a buck's head cabossed Sable, between two cross crosslets

¹ P. 237.

² *Clans of the Scottish Highlands*, Logan, 1847, Vol. II.

³ The "inner" green lines are evidently a lighter green.

⁴ Mr. J. Macinnes, who was most particular about this green tartan, made no objection to its use as a "hunting tartan" by the Moray Inneses when, about 1908, Mrs. F. N. Innes of Learney applied for it on an occasion when the red tartan was considered too bright. Col. Innes, however, took exception to the "innovation." The Colonel's attention was drawn to the red tartan being labelled "MacInnes" (in one of W. & A. K. Johnston's books). He said this statement must be new and was a mistake; that it was always known as the "Innes tartan" in the old days.

⁵ *Clans, Septs, and Regiments of Scotland*, p. 351.

⁶ *Scottish Hist. Soc., List of Rebels*, pp. 284, 385.

"Tutor of Kintail." It was besieged and burnt by Young Colkitto about 1645, a peculiar state of affairs, had a Macinnes owner been acting for King Charles. Mackenzie was, however, a Covenanter, who left "a name of terror" and severity behind him in Morven,¹ and the strong tower of Kinlochaline was no doubt the centre of his administration.

The presence of a *castle* in the Macinnes coat-of-arms, along with the traditional connection with Kinlochaline Castle, is significant. The truth probably is that MacAonghais was Constable or Keeper of Kinlochaline Castle. Such appointments were frequently hereditary, and is suggested by the Castle in their arms. A Castle also appears in the arms of the Hereditary Captain of Dunstaffnage.² These circumstances, however, suggest that the "Constabulary period" was considerably later than 1390, for armorial bearings—let alone quartered shields—were not common in the West, so early as that. The arms may quite well be sixteenth century, and pending further elucidation, it seems reasonable to suppose that a Macinnes Constabulary existed about that time, and long subsequent to the tragedy of 1390. It is significant that Logan connects Macinnes with the siege of 1645, and that in the following century a MacInnes—using the suggestive arms—is found under the "patronage" of the Presbyterian House of Argyll. Probably he was a descendant of the very Constable who held the castle for the Tutor of Kintail. Miss M. E. M. Donaldson, who gives an excellent description of Kinlochaline Castle³ "scarcely knows what construction to place" upon the "not very convincing" legends⁴ served up by Mr. Adam, who has unfortunately misled her into supposing that "MacAonghais" has "a unique crest" of "a thistle," etc.,⁵ the truth being, as already stated, that the MacInnes

crest is a boar's head, whilst the Thistle and Bee—far from being "unique"—is shared by several branches of the Morayshire Innes clan in Aberdeenshire.¹ Miss Donaldson finds various carvings at Kinlochaline, but naturally the Stars, Bee, and Thistle were not amongst them.

It is unfortunate that no steps have yet been taken to record any version of the real Macinnes arms in Lyon Court. If, or when, such application is made, investigation will no doubt be directed to ascertain whether the Petitioner is a McInnes or a Macinnes, in order to determine whether he should bear the stars of Moray; or the galley and gyrons of the West. Similar considerations of descent and origin should govern persons named MacInnes in determining whether they should wear the dominantly red and black tartan of the Clan Innes of Moray, or the dominantly red and green tartan of Clan Aonghais.²

Regarding the latter Clan and its connection with the romantic Keep of Kinlochaline, there is room for much instructive investigation, for which the Macinnes arms, whose existence has fortunately been preserved in the Lord Lyon MSS. Collection of unofficial arms, must be of the greatest importance, and we are glad to have been able to draw attention to this interesting Highland coat of arms.

In criticising compendious works, such as those of Mr. Frank Adam and Messrs. W. & A. K. Johnston, one has to bear in mind the inevitable difficulties in covering such a broad area as the whole tartan-owning families of Scotland, particularly in a book which appears to have been largely written in Borneo, but many of these errors need never have arisen, and anachronisms could have been avoided, if the author had

¹ Innes of Blairton: Innes, Minister of Gamrie; Innes, Parson of Belhelvie; and T. Innes, a cadet of Benwall. Lyon Reg., I, p. 334.

² Messrs. W. & A. K. Johnston, in their 1906 work, give an Angus tartan. It would be a matter of interest to ascertain whether this is the tartan of Perth and Forfarshire families named Angus, or whether it was an "Angus District tartan," such as those of the neighbouring districts of Strathearn, Dunblane, and Atholl.

³ *Scots Peerage*, III, 70.

⁴ *MacAonghais* is the Celtic title of the Captain of Dunstaffnage.

⁵ *Further Wanderings, Mainly in Argyll*, p. 311.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

² *Ibid.*, p. 312.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF EDINBURGH PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

By DR. W. J. COUPER.

VI.

AMONG the Laing MSS., preserved in Edinburgh University, are many letters, some of which give interesting particulars of Government action in regard to Edinburgh periodicals. The following are extracts, and so far as known have not yet appeared in print. For the most part they are *verbatim*, unless otherwise indicated. The locations of the MSS. are 500; 501; 501, Div. II. Much interesting information regarding the political position at the time may be had from *Scotland and the French Revolution*, by Dr. Henry W. Meikle, Glasgow, 1912.

J. Sibbald, Manager, to Lord Advocate, 10 Feb. 1792.

Under Bankrupt Act, *Courant* and the *Mercury* enjoyed monopoly of adverts. relating to bankruptcies. Acts expire this session and will be renewed. *Herald* should get its share.

Henry Mackenzie to Ld Adv., 14 April 1792.

Enclosing the above and approving of it. "It is in fact the only newspaper, now in Scotland sincerely and truly affected to the Government."

1793.

In a note of expenditure "on account of Secret Service"—*inter alia*:

"Feb. 14. To Mr. Robt Dundas, clerk of Signet by order of Lord Adv. £403 16/-"

This was devoted to seven objects, the first being the *Herald*.

"STATE of Money imprest in the hands of John Pringle, Esq., His Majesty's Sheriff Depute of City of Edinburgh, on ac. of Secret Service—

(whilst refraining from such a lavish display of *hogus* armory as his works unfortunately exhibit) consulted the official records of heraldry, "the handmaiden of history," which are available¹ in the Court of the Lord Lyon, King of Arms of Scotland.

UPSETTLINGTON AND ITS CHURCH.—The village of Upsettlington in Co. Berwick, on the north side of the Tweed, opposite Norham in Northumberland, was long considered part and parcel of Northumberland. As far back as 1083 it paid xls [40 shillings] a year to the Bishops of Durham, as we learn from the Episcopal Survey called Boldon Book, and subsequent post-mortem inquisitions prove the right of the said Bishops to death duties. The church of Our Lady, or St. Mary the Virgin, at Upsettlington, is an ancient structure, but when the first church was erected I know not. In 1318, however, it was converted into a place of strength by the Scots during the siege of Norham Castle that year. The present church, a singular architectural edifice, consisting of a chancel with transepts both with semi-hexagonal terminations, nave and belfry, all roofed within and without by solid groining and masonry, with bold projecting buttresses terminating in crocketed funnels, King James IV. of Scotland rebuilt the church in 1500, probably on the original site, as we learn from the following inscription on a tablet:—

D. O. M.

"Hanc ædem beatæ Virgini Mariæ sacram ab inclyto Jacobo quarto Scotorum rege, anno post Christum natum MD exstructam, ad deinde temporis vetustate accolarumque incuria collapsam etiam pene ruinis involutam, jam tandem fundi parochialis Domini sua pecunia instaurandam Curarunt. Denique campanili addito Gulielmus Robertson a Ladykirk ornamand curavit MDCCXLII."—J. W. FAWCETT.

¹ Like the other historical records of Scotland, the Registers in the Court of the Lord Lyon may be inspected gratuitously by research students for literary and historical purposes.

Partick, and, by the usual irony of fate, the first person buried in the ground was this same William Purdon's wife, known in the village as "Quaker Meg." Burials were made in this graveyard up till December 11, 1857, when they were discontinued. The future historian of this strange and fast disappearing sect will find some interesting data in the list of interments in this same ground, now in possession of the Society of Friends of Glasgow. A Quaker's funeral being a kind of show for the villagers, the walls were usually crowded by men, women, and children, who did not always observe an edifying or even respectful silence during the interment. The Society of Friends have now granted the property, in perpetuity, to the Commissioners of the Burgh of Partick, to enable them to utilize a portion of it in effecting an improvement in the line of street, on condition that they keep what remains of it in good order, and that the sum of rs. be paid annually to the Friends' Society of Glasgow.

The family of Purdons were great folks in Partick in olden days; they "owned siller and land forbye." One of them, in 1790, along with other two Partick bodies named William Robb and Allan Craig, granted the land in Kelvin Street for the building and playroom of the old Subscription School. The original title-deed is subscribed on June 23, 1790, and gives not only a list of subscribers, but instructions regarding trusteeship, selection of schoolmaster, and the kind of education to be given to the children.

GORDON RIOTS.—There has been recently added to the British Museum "An Account by Lord George Gordon of his proceedings during the riots, 1780, from May 29 to June 9": a detailed narrative, apparently unfinished. The manuscript was presented to the British Museum by Miss Eskill, in memory of her brother, C. Eskill van Noorden.—R. MURDOCH LAWRENCE, F.S.A., Scot.

CLAN MACGILLIVRAY.

IN Mr. Innes of Learney's article on the Innes Tartan in the March number there is a statement concerning this clan which calls for some remark. It is to the effect that on the overthrow of Somerled of Argyll by Alexander II. in the thirteenth century "the Macgillivrays attached themselves to the Clan Macpherson," and the authority for it is given in a footnote as *Highland Clans and Tartans of Scotland*, by J. Grant. I do not know the work thus cited, or whether it is regarded as of any authority, but certainly the statement attributed to it requires some explanation. In the first place it is very questionable whether the Macphersons existed as a clan in the thirteenth century, and in the second place it is by no means certain that there was then a clan of Macgillivray. The sole authority for it is W. F. Skene in his *Highlanders of Scotland*, and apparently the name was of his own bestowing, as on page 114, Vol. II, of that work he says, "I have ventured to call this tribe the Siol Gillibride or Gillivray" because "an old sennachy of the Macdonalds" speaks of the names Macinnes and Macgillivray as prevalent in Morvern, Ardgour, and Lochaber (one would like to know something more about this "old sennachy"). In his later work, *Celtic Scotland*, he omits all mention of either clan Macinnes or clan Macgillivray. The late Dr. Alexander Macbain, a well-known authority on Celtic matters, in his edition of *The Highlanders of Scotland* published in 1902, says in a note on Skene's "Siol Gillivray" that "Gillibride could never phonetically become Gillivray," and that "the whole page is a mistake."

There were Macgillivrays in Mull and perhaps in other parts of the Highlands, and Skene's "old sennachy" may be right in placing some of them in Morvern, etc.; but the best known were the Macgillivrays who formed one of the component tribes of the Clan Chattan confederacy—the Clan Chattan of history—under the

chiefs of Mackintosh. They are stated in the Kinrara MS. Mackintosh History (see Macfarlane's *Genealogical Collections* in the Scottish History Society's 33rd volume, p. 165), to have sprung from one Gilbrai, who in 1263 put himself and his posterity under the protection of Ferquhard, fifth chief of Mackintosh, and his successors. These Macgillivrays were for several centuries settled in Strathnairn and Strathdearn, in the heart of the Mackintosh country, and are found taking a prominent part in the doings, warlike and otherwise, of the Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan down to their last appearance in the field on the fatal day of Culloden in 1746, when their chieftain, Alexander Macgillivray of Dunmaglass, was killed at the head of the Mackintosh regiment raised by the chief's wife for Prince Charlie, of which he had been given the command as Colonel. In the Bond of Union among Clan Chattan in 1609, when the heads of the various tribes solemnly declared their allegiance to the chiefs of Mackintosh, three of their leading men are found among the signatories, as are also the leading men among the Macphersons, including Andrew of Cluny.

In the face of these facts and considerations it is difficult to see how Mr. J. Grant could have placed the Macgillivrays under the Macphersons, but it is just possible that he may have been misled by Douglas' *Baronage* (1798), which actually makes the Macgillivrays of Dunmaglass and of Mull cadets of the Macphersons, as descended from Ferquhard Gilliriach, a younger son of the alleged Muriach, parson of Kingussie, from whom the Badenoch Macphersons trace their descent. But this derivation is discounted by the same author's statement concerning another son of Muriach, that he was "progenitor of all of the name of Smith in Scotland," and by the fact that this part of the Macpherson genealogy rests on the authority of "the ingenious Sir Æneas Macpherson," as Douglas calls him, a gentleman of very vivid and exuberant imagination who wrote towards the close of the seventeenth century.

In a footnote to page 45, Mr. Innes quotes the arms recorded by a Macgillivray in 1800 (? 1801), and remarks that they "seem based on the arms of Cluny Macpherson, whom they followed." If this Montreal Macgillivray was really a nephew of the Macgillivray chieftain of that time (which I doubt), it is in the highest degree unlikely that he would base his coat on any Macpherson coat. Probably Mr. Innes' remark is suggested by the galley in the arms, but the galley is a charge in the arms of all the Mackintosh families; it occupies the second and third quarters of the shield of Duncan, the 11th chief, in 1490, and of that of his successor in 1505, and the fourth quarter of the arms of the chiefs since 1679. Pont (1624) and Sir George Mackenzie (1680) give the galley, or lymphad, as constituting with a dexter hand fessways holding a heart paleways the coat of Mackintosh "as the chief of the Clan Chattan," and it was presumably this coat on which the arms granted to Macpherson of Cluny in 1672 were based, these arms, according to the Lyon's declaration of November 10, 1672, being given to Cluny as a cadet of Mackintosh's family "whose predecessor married the heretrix of Clan Chattan."

The galley was probably introduced into the Mackintosh arms while the Mackintoshes were vassals of the lords of Isla and the Isles—that is, between 1314 and 1476. It appears in the arms of most other clans who were connected with those lords.

W. F. Skene—especially in his *Highlanders of Scotland*—and F. Adam are unsafe guides through the intricacies of Highland clan lore. Mr. Innes himself seems from his article to have gauged the trustworthiness of the latter; and as regards the former I may mention that in 1874 Skene wrote to me as follows: "My work on the Highlanders was a juvenile work written nearly forty years ago, and of course additional information and more matured consideration has led me to modify many of my views." The result of this modification is apparent in

his *Celtic Scotland* (1874-80), where much of what he wrote in 1837 is either reversed or omitted altogether.

A. M. MACKINTOSH.

TWO LETTERS FROM THE YOUNG PRETENDER.

IN the departmental archives of Lille are preserved two letters from Prince Charles Edward, which read as follows:—

(1)

Florence, ye 15th May, 1778. Mr. Walker.—I received yrs. of ye 21st April, and It givies me pleasure to finde by it ye Loyalty of them under yr. Charge, which however I never doubtted of, so both you and them may be assured of my Constant protection on all occasions; your Letters will always bee agreeable to me; If anything essential shoud happen, recon you will advise me of it; So remain yr. Sincere Friend,
CHARLES R.

Mr. Walker, President Genl. of ye English Benedictins.

(2)

Florence, ye 2d June, 1775. Mr. Welsh.—I received yrs. of ye 7th May, and now write to Mr. Cowley in answer to his, being willing to employ him, accepting also ye proposition he makes, of Mr. Augustin Kellet, ye procurator, to supply in ye Correspondence in case of his absence; Should think it proper therefore that they may both assist Mr. Gordon in my affairs, so to have a full knowledge of them; It dose me pleasure to finde that you are persuaded of my particular Esteem for you, and my just regard for yr. worthy Congregation, So remain assuring you of my sincere friendship,

CHARLES R.

Mr. Welsh, Late Prior of ye English Benedictins, at Paris.

The press-mark of both letters is 18 H 61.—J. H. BAXTER.

SOME EARLY SCOTTISH CLERGY (VIII, 180-181; IX, 28-29, 42-43).

THE following were witnesses with William, King of Scotland [1160-1214], viz., Osbert, Abbot of Kelso; William, Abbot of St. Cross; Hugh, Abbot of Newbottell; Hugh, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and Chancellor to the King; William Malevicino, Archdeacon of Lothian; Jocelin, Archdeacon of Dunkeld; Hugh, Chaplain to the King; Richard de Prebenda; Ralph and Walter, Chaplains of the Lord King; Andrew [rural], Dean of Lothian; John [rural], dean of Foggehew; Master Adam, Parson of Hereshill; Herbert [rural], Dean of Glasgow; Robert, Parson of Edenham; Walter, Chaplain to the Earl Patrick; Patrick, Parson of Home, etc., to a charter of Roger, Bishop-Elect of St. Andrews [1188], concerning churches in Scotland belonging to Coldingham, c. 1193.

Master Ranulf and Master John, Archdeacons, were witnesses with Richard and Richard de Legecestrie, Chaplains to the Bishop; Andrew [rural], Dean of Lothian; John [rural], Dean of Kyngor [Kinghorn]; William, Chaplain of D'uesi, etc., to a charter of Thomas, Prior of St. Andrews, and the councillors regarding a convention between Roger, Bishop of St. Andrews [1188-1202], and Bertram, Prior of Durham [1188-1208], c. 1195.

Osbert, Abbot of Kelso; William, Abbot of St. Cross; Hugh, Abbot of Newbottell; Master Ranulf, Archdeacon of St. Andrews; Richard de Prebenda; Ralph and Walter, Chaplains of the King; Andrew [rural], Dean of Foggehew; and Herbert [rural], Dean of Glasgow, were all *witnesses* with William, King of Scotland, II., to a charter of Roger, Bishop of St. Andrews, confirming a convention made between the Convent of Coldingham and Bertram, Prior of Durham, and the convent there, at Edinburgh, Feb. 2, 1193.

Osbert, Abbot of Kelso; Robert, Abbot of Dunfermline; William, Abbot of Edinburgh; Thomas, Prior of St. Andrews; Master Ranulf, the Archdeacon; William Malveisin, the Archdeacon; Andrew and

John, the [rural] Deans, etc., were all *witnesses* to a charter of Roger, Bishop of St. Andrews, granted to Bertram, Prior of Durham, concerning the churches in the diocese of St. Andrews belonging to Coldingham. Pentecost [Whitsuntide], 1199.

Andrew [rural], Dean of Tiningham, with the unnamed Abbots of Kelso, Edinburgh, and Jedworth, the unnamed Prior of Tinemwe [Tynemouth]; Master Ranulf, Archdeacon of St. Andrews; John [rural], Dean of Fogghow, etc., was a witness to a charter of Roger, Bishop of St. Andrews, confirming the churches in Coldinghamshire to St. Cuthbert, and the monks of Durham—I.

Master Alan de Richemund, had a confirmation of the church of Ederham from Roger, Bishop of St. Andrews (the chapel of Erchilden excepted) in the presence of Andrew [rural], Dean of Lothian; John [rural], Dean of Fogghow, etc., I . . .

N.B.—I am grateful to the several unnamed correspondents who have sent me notes on some of the clergy named in these articles, and shall be thankful for any record, and especially for dated ones. They help one to build up the cleric's career. All such names (with references) have been slip indexed for easier reference.

The collection and compilation of these is practically virgin soil. There is no *Fasti Scotica* like *Le Neve*, *Fasti Anglica* (1717) (revised and enlarged in 1854), and such a reference work is badly wanted. My old literary friend, Bishop Dowden, contemplated such a work, but death thought otherwise. I gave him a lot of matter for his other vol. or vols., of Scottish Bishops, which, alas! never saw light. Where the MSS. is I know not. He was most anxious to learn, and ever grateful to receive. Are there no literary workers in these subjects? If there are I'd like to correspond. I have card-indexed all the clergy named in S.N. & Q., 3rd ser., VI-IX, and will do other works if I can get hold of them. Our North of England Libraries are almost bare of such Scottish reference works, and a worker in this district is

handicapped. I, myself, am sixteen miles from a reference library. If I could get the loan of any works on Early Scottish Clergy I am prepared to card-index all such names. Am glad to give and receive help.—J. W. FAWCETT, Satley, Co. Durham.

TRAVELLING IN SCOTLAND IN 1605.

IN Scotland a horse may be hired for two shillings the first day, and eight pence the day untill he be brought home, and the horse-litters use to send a footman to bring backe the horse. They have no such Innes as bee in England, but in all places some houses are knowne, where passengers may have meate and lodging; but they have no bushes or signes hung out, and for the horses they are commonly set up in stables in some out-lane, not in the same house where the passenger lyes. And if any man be acquainted with a Townes-man hee will goe freely to his house, for most of them will entertaine a stranger for his money. A horseman shall pay for Oates and Straw (for hay is rare in those parts) some eight pence day and night, and he shall pay no lesse in summer for grasse, whereof they have no great store. Himself at a common table shall pay about sixe pence for his supper or dinner, and shal have his bed free; and if he will eate alone in his chamber, he may have meate at a reasonable rate. Some twenty or thirty years agoe the first use of Coaches came into Scotland, yet were they rare even in Edenborough. At this day since the Kingdomes of England and Scotland were united, many Scots by the King's favour have been promoted both in dignitie and estate, and the use of Coaches became more frequent, yet nothing so common as in England. But the use of horse-litters hath been very ancient in Scotland as in England, for sickly men and women of qualitie.

FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY.

THE INNES TARTAN.

By THOMAS INNES OF LEARNEY,
Carrick Pursuivant.

My article (IX, 23 and 43) upon the Innes tartan, and statements concerning the Clan Aonghais by the authors of various tartan-books, appears to have created some interest, judging from the correspondence which I have since received upon the subject, and my attention has been drawn to several interesting points, on which a few notes may be appropriate.

CLAN AONGHAIS.—My attention is drawn to an article upon the Macinnes clan, by Lieut.-Col. John Macinnes, V.D., in the *Celtic Monthly*, IX, 55, 66, 84, 102.¹ Lieut.-Col. Macinnes is the author of a well-known work, *The Brave Sons of Skye*, and in regard to the later members of the clan Aonghais, evidently possessed a good deal of information which one regrets he did not embody in a more connected form, so that the relationship of the various members of the clan to whom he refers, might have been elucidated for future historians. He derives the clan from a certain Angus, whom he says "was succeeded by his son, Muredach, and this is all we know of his descendants for hundreds of years."

Before affirming this descent, one would have liked him to narrow the gap a little. Meantime, one notices that he says (p. 56) the Macinneses and MacGillivrays of Morvern are the same, and at page 67, "Angus and Donald are such common Christian names that wherever one finds a Macdonald, one finds a Macinnes almost certainly."

This points to what I hinted: that it may be a question whether these various Macinneses of Morvern and Skye, the Bowmen of the Mackinnons, and the Septs of the clans Macfarlane and Macmaster, belong to the same race, or whether they are not each of different origin. That, in

many cases, must be so when the prefix *Mac* is applied to a Christian name such as Angus.

At p. 68, he says:

"I may mention here that the present Lyon King of Arms is of opinion that the Inneses of the North-East of Scotland are of common origin with the Macinneses of the West and South-West of the kingdom."

I am not aware under what circumstances Sir James Balfour Paul committed himself to such a statement, and I even doubt if he had been correctly understood. I really do not think there can be any question of Berowald, (upon whom the lands of *Inness in provincia de Elgin* were conferred by Malcolm IV at Christmas, 1159-60, and whose descendants took their name from that property), having an ancestry in common with the posterity of Muredach Mac Angus, whose descendants went amissing for all those centuries. Possibly the Lord Lyon had been struck by the probable connection between the Moray Inneses, and the Speyside Macinneses which I pointed out was well founded.

At page 103, however, Col. Macinnes answers a question which I raised regarding the green hunting tartan, whose origin and history I said "deserved further investigation." Col. Macinnes refers to Mr. John MacInnes, Onich, as "the designer of the beautiful MacInnes hunting tartan," which statement, I imagine, settles the origin of that sett.

YUNIE.—I indicated, with some qualification, that the name *Yunie*, found around Elgin, might, like some other queer spellings, indicate a branch of the Moray Inneses, whose name in early times was sometimes spelt *Ynes*, etc.¹ Another correspondent suggests that *Yunie* is, however, simply Ewen, with the characteristic Scottish termination "ie," and refers to other forms, such as Ewnie, Anie, and Younie, and suggests that MacYoun and

McEwan are of similar origin. On investigation, I find that this may be concluded to be the case; for example, on May 23, 1633, when John Hay of Kinowdie and Elizabeth Innes his wife had sasine of certain lands, *Thomas Ewnye in Dageinsche* and Robert Chalmers in Little Coxton, were amongst the witnesses.¹ I agree that *Yunie* is more likely to be synonymous with Ewnye and Ewanie, than with Ynes and Innie. As in the case of the Macinneses and others, one should guard against supposing that these Morayshire Ewens are any connection with MacEwans of Southern and South-Western Scotland. They seem to be a distinctly local race, originating between the Spey and Lossie, and their progenitor was probably a certain *Eugenius*, to whom William the Lion granted the lands of Meft, in regard to the tenure of which there was some dispute in 1263.² In 1345 we find another: *Eugenio filio Ferchardi*, witness to a charter by the Earl of Moray.³

Ewen, or Eugenius (there was also Ewen, laird of Moniak, whose surname is unknown) (which I suggest is simply a Latinised form), is evidently a Christian name, and the lands of Meft in subsequent centuries formed part of the Innes estates, about which there were from time to time disputes with Dunbars as to various interests. It is at present impossible to conclude whether these subsequent Ewens and Yunies were the male posterity of Eugenius, or of any other local family, but from the situation of the property, they must at any rate have been very closely identified with the Innes clan, in connection with whom they continually turn up in successive centuries. Considering the "district" nature of most of the older tartans, these Morayshire Yunies seem to be more closely connected with the Innes tartan of the locality in which they originate than with the MacEwan tartan of South-West Scotland.

¹ Moray Sasines, IV, 338.

² Shaw, *History of the Province of Moray*, III, 184.

³ *Familie of Innes*, p. 60.

MACGILLIVRAY.—Mr. A. M. Mackintosh has contributed a most informative article on the MacGillivrays and their connection, or reputed connection, with the Macphersons, Mackintoshes, and clan Chattan. Concerning this and their coat of arms, much might be said. Mr. Mackintosh has dealt with the matter most carefully in *The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan*, pp. 32, 535, 537, but there appears to me still some curious points to be cleared up. Not, however, directly relating to the Clan Aonghais. My reference, "Vol. II, pp. 115 and 122," was to Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, and not to James Grant's *Highland Clans and Tartans of Scotland*, which was inadvertently preserved as part of the footnote to a sentence I had deleted from my draft MSS.,¹ regarding a Macpherson coat of arms depicted by Mr. Grant; *per fess Argent and Azure, a hand couped fessways, holding a dagger in dexter chief, and a cross crosslet of the first in sinister chief*. I was quite unable to authenticate the existence of such a coat of arms, and therefore deleted reference to it.

I am quite prepared to believe that the MacGillivrays of Morvern are a different race from the MacGillivrays of Dunmaglass, and further, that the Siol Gillebride may be a myth. Lieut.-Col. Macinnes² may therefore be preserving the proper tradition when he says that the "Macinneses and MacGillivrays of Morvern were the same," for MacGillivray of Morvern may be a very different clan from MacGillivray of Dunmaglass. It may further be true that the Macinneses and these MacGillivrays used the same tartan as hinted at by W. and A. K. Smith of Mauchline. Conceivably, this was Logan's red and green tartan, which has been latterly suppressed.³ Messrs. Smith then presumably allocated what I suppose is the *MacGillivray of Dunmaglass* tartan, to both races of MacGillivrays, which, on Smiths' part, was a not unnatural mistake.

¹ No fault attaches to the printer.

² *Celtic Monthly*, IX, 66.

³ *Book of the Club of True Highlanders*, II, p. 18.