

*The MacLachlans of Kilbride and their Manuscripts**

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The publication in 1760 of *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* by James MacPherson had many repercussions, not least of which was a greater awareness in Scotland of the existence of mediæval Gaelic manuscripts, leading eventually to the preservation of some of them for posterity. The Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland appointed in 1797 under the convenorship of Henry MacKenzie to inquire into the 'nature and authenticity of the poems of Ossian' prefaced their Report published in 1805 with an expression of gratitude to their contributors and correspondents, and among those named was Major MacLachlan of Kilbride (MacKenzie 1805:iii). This, as is made clear later, was Major John MacLachlan, the possessor of a number of Gaelic manuscripts. A letter, apparently written shortly after Major MacLachlan's death c. 1803 by Lord William MacLeod Bannatyne, reveals that the latter was responsible for drawing the attention of the Highland Society to the Kilbride manuscripts. He also gave the Society a manuscript which he had obtained in Cowal and which, he was told, once formed part of the Kilbride Collection. At his prompting the Committee appointed Donald MacIntosh to inspect the Collection (MacKenzie 1805:app. 280-4). His catalogue (N.L.S. 73. 2. 24, no. 15), dated 4 May 1801, lists twenty-two items, the first five of which were lent to the Society by Major MacLachlan, initially for a period of three months only (Ingliston Archs., A. iv. 16, p. 7).¹ A more detailed description of the contents of these five manuscripts and an account of the one gifted by Lord Bannatyne were made for the Highland Society by Dr Donald Smith (MacKenzie 1805:app. 285-99).

In his letter Lord Bannatyne goes on to suggest that the manuscripts which had remained in Major MacLachlan's hands were 'not unlikely to be obtained from Capt. Sime of Stuckgarvan [*sic*], his nephew and heir'. A letter dated 4 October 1804 from Dr Donald Smith to Sir John Sinclair reported that 'Captain Sim, the possessor of the Kilbride MSS lives at his mother's, Mrs Sim, Stockwell, Glasgow' (N.L.S. 73. 2. 24, no. 47). His mother, widow of George Sime of Stuckgowan, Loch Lomond, was Elizabeth MacLachlan who was served heir to her brother, Major John MacLachlan, in 1804. Between the years 1816 and 1821 Christian Sime, daughter of Elizabeth

* This paper was written as a contribution to an unpublished collection of papers by former pupils and colleagues presented to Professor K. H. Jackson in June 1976 to mark his completion of 25 years as Professor of Celtic at the University of Edinburgh (1950-75).

MacLachlan and widow of William Marshall, made a number of attempts to recover the five Kilbride manuscripts on loan to the Highland Society. It is clear that she wanted them for their monetary value and she eventually succeeded in obtaining four of them (Ingliston Archs., A. i. 11, nos. 6-7; A. i. 18, nos. 23, 26; A. i. 19, nos. 33-6; A. iv. 16). The fifth remained with the Society simply because it was not identified as a Kilbride manuscript at the time (Ingliston Archs., A. i. 3, no. 68). It was probably the case that both John Sime and his mother had died by 1816 and that Christian was now the owner of the Kilbride Collection. The next we hear of the whereabouts of these manuscripts comes in a letter signed 'Charles Edward', from internal evidence almost certainly Charles Edward Sobieski-Stuart (N.L.S. 50. 2. 1, no. 250). He wrote that he saw them in 1839 or 1840 'in the hands of a man of the law in Glasgow who was the "adviser" of an old lady, the last of the Kilbride family', apparently Christian Sime. In 1844 John MacKenzie, writing in Gaelic, reported that twenty-one Kilbride manuscripts were 'still to be seen in the library of the Royal Faculty of Procurators, Glasgow' (MacChoinnich 1844:244)²; presumably as itemised by Donald MacIntosh in 1801 minus the one that had remained with the Highland Society. An inventory of these manuscripts was made by the Glasgow law firm of Gordon and Meeks in 1851 (N.L.S. 73. 2. 10, no. 15).

W. F. Skene had already begun to acquire Gaelic manuscripts for the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh and his scroll catalogue of 1861 shows the acquisition of the Kilbride Collection 'found in the repositories [*sic*] of a deceast man of business in Glasgow who had been agent for the family' (FR 192:6). Sobieski-Stuart's 'man of the law' and Skene's 'deceast man of business' were no doubt one and the same, probably Hugh Kerr whose signature and initials appear frequently in the margins of these manuscripts and who acted for Christian Sime (Ingliston Archs., A. i. 19, no. 36) when she was negotiating for the return of the five manuscripts that her uncle had lent to the Highland Society. Hugh Kerr was doubtless associated with the firm of Gordon and Meeks and it is not unlikely that the inventory of 1851 was drawn up on his death.³ Meanwhile in 1850, at Skene's prompting, the Highland Society had deposited all their mediæval Gaelic manuscripts in the Advocates' Library (FR 123), including, of course, the Kilbride manuscript that Christian Sime had failed to retrieve and the one that Lord Bannatyne had presented to the Society. The manuscripts that remained in Major MacLachlan's possession after 1801 are now catalogued MSS v-xxxI (N.L.S. 72. 1. 5-31). Those that he lent to the Highland Society are MSS xxxII-xxxVI (N.L.S. 72. 1. 32-6),⁴ MS xxxIV being the one that they retained until 1850. Lord Bannatyne's Kilbride manuscript is MS LIII (N.L.S. 72. 2. 3).

In the course of his search for Gaelic manuscripts, Lord Bannatyne tells us that he was directed to James MacIntyre of Glenoe, a well known Gaelic scholar and antiquarian of the time, who showed him a manuscript

which he mentioned as received from Major M'Lachlan of Kilbride, one of whose predecessors he stated to have been a dignified Ecclesiastic, I think one of the Deans of Argyle



PLATE II Coast of Lorn between Loch Etive (top right) and Loch Melfort, as represented on George Langlands' Map of Argyll-shire, 1801, marking Kilbride in Seil island (lower left).

about the time of the Reformation, and whose family were said to have retained for a considerable time, a peculiar taste for Gaelic antiquities, in consequence of which they had once possessed a very large collection of Gaelic manuscripts collected partly in Ireland, and partly in the Highlands of Scotland (MacKenzie 1805:app. 282).

Dr Donald Smith, who seems not to have seen Lord Bannatyne's letter, identified the 'dignified Ecclesiastic' as

a Ferquhard, son of Ferquhard MacLachlan, (who) was bishop of the Isles, and had Iona or I Colum Kille in commendam from 1530 to 1540; from which time, almost nearly to the present, they and the MacLachlans of Kilchoan, their relations, have been distinguished for taste and learning (MacKenzie 1805:app. 290-1).

And, although Lord Bannatyne rightly congratulated himself on being 'the instrument of preserving from obli 'on what appears to be the largest and most valuable collection of Gaelic manuscripts now remaining in the Highlands of Scotland', the foregoing is almost all that is known of the ancestors and kindred of Major John MacLachlan of Kilbride.⁵ Even at that, Ferchar, son of Ferchar, Bishop of the Isles (1530-44), was not a MacLachlan of Kilbride but a MacLean of Kingairloch (Steer and Bannerman 1977: 117, 130-1),⁶ while there continues to be some doubt about which of a number of places named Kilbride in Argyll gave rise to their designation.

The earliest MacLachlan of Kilbride who can be identified for certain in the official records is fittingly called Patrick, their most characteristic forename, as we shall see. His descendants are traced in the appendix, as are the immediate family of the MacLachlans of Kilchoan (see below, pp. 18-28). In 1591 Patrick was already dead but he had occupied the lands of Kilbride Beg, nine acres in all, on the island of Seil in the parish of Kilbrandon, Nether Lorn, now granted by James VI to Patrick's son, Neill (RSS:62. 15). In 1600 Neill, as minister of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, was granted the 4 merklands of Kilbride in the Lordship of Lorn together with the salmon fishing in Loch Feochain and in other waters running through the said lands lying between the lands of *Colgain* and *Dunachach* (Cal. Charters: 15. no. 3682). This must be Kilbride in the parish of that name rather than Kilbride at the head of Glen Feochain in the neighbouring parish of Kilmore which seems in any case to have been 5 merklands in extent (OPS 1851-5:2(1). 120). *Dunachach* is probably *Dunach* to the south east of Kilbride on the shores of Loch Feochain (OS, 1 in.), while the map of the dioceses of Argyll and the Isles in *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (OPS 1851-5:2(1)) shows a *Colgyn* immediately to the north west of Kilbride. Finally, rentals indicate that, towards the end of the seventeenth century at least, the MacLachlans of Kilbride were leasing in part or in whole the 6 merklands of Kilbride on Seil (Breadalbane Muns., 9/1, 22). In 1692 Patrick MacLachlan, presumably he who was head of the family from c. 1683 to 1719, was tacksman of Kilbride, Seil (Breadalbane Muns., 9/1). All this makes it difficult to decide which of the three Kilbrides associated with the MacLachlans appears in the designation.

To begin with, it should be noted that after Major John MacLachlan had permanently disposed of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, in 1776 (Reg. Deeds, Dal.:220. 1541), he continued to use the designation 'of Kilbride'. In 1750 John MacLachlan of Kilbride, trying to persuade the Duke of Argyll to convert the wadsett of the Garvellach islands, only recently redeemed from him, into a tack, suggested an excambion thereof with the lands of Drisaig, Loch Avich; these islands, he goes on, 'lye very convenient for him as being near adjacent to his lands of Kilbryde' (Saltoun Coll., box 408). This statement would only be true if he was referring to Kilbride Beg and/or Kilbride on Seil, certainly not to Kilbride in the parish of Kilbride. Patrick MacLachlan, pursuing the same objective in 1757, referred to his 'close neighbourhood' to the Garvellach islands (Saltoun Coll., box 416). According to the editors of *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (OPS 1851-5:2(2). 825), the church of Kilbrandon, Seil, was the burial place of the MacLachlans of Kilbride and inscribed graveslabs record the burial there of Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan, minister of Kilninver (d. 1685) and of his son, Mr Duncan MacLachlan, minister of Strathlachlan (RCAMS *Argyll* 1971-:2. 140). When Mr John MacLachlan (d. 1660) was minister of Kilbrandon, his ruling elder, at least for the years 1650 and 1651, was John MacLachlan of Kilbride (MacTavish 1943-4:1. 182-3, 198). Clearly the island of Seil was the MacLachlans' main centre of activities.

That Kilbride Beg, only 9 acres in extent, should have given rise to the MacLachlan designation is unlikely in any case, but the late nineteenth-century tradition bearers of Nether Lorn, one of whom was John Clark from Kilbride, Seil, were in no doubt that 'the old mansion-house of Kilbride, long since crumbled to ruins' was once the MacLachlan residence. Only latterly did they live at the nearby house of Yate⁷ (Gillies 1909:viii, 18-20). In Gaelic the head of the family was known, apparently by the seventeenth century, as *Fear Chille-Bride*, literally 'man of Kilbride', a title generally reserved for the holder of lands on the basis of a tack or lease, and, as we have seen, it was the 6 merklands of Kilbride, Seil, that the MacLachlans held in this way at the end of the seventeenth century. It was probably the case that their connection with these lands had begun much earlier and that it is this Kilbride which figures in their designation.⁸

That the MacLachlans of Kilchoan were an offshoot of the MacLachlans of Kilbride is amply demonstrated by their continued association with one another throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but nowhere more obviously than in the grant in 1630 of the 6 merklands of Kilchoan in the mainland part of the parish of Kilbrandon equally to Mr Patrick MacLachlan of Kilbride, minister of Kilninver, and Mr John MacLachlan, minister of Kilbrandon. In 1643 Patrick granted to John his half of Kilchoan (GRS, 1 ser.:28. 2; PRS *Argyll*, 1 ser.:2. 67). It has been assumed that John was a son of Mr Neill MacLachlan and therefore a brother of Patrick (Gillies 1909:18) but the initial grant of Kilchoan was witnessed by Donald MacLachlan who is described therein as being a brother of Patrick only. And indeed such evidence as we possess suggests that their common ancestor was a pre-Reformation figure.

In 1659 a call came to Mr John MacLachlan, minister of Kilninver, from the parish of Kilbrandon 'where his father and predecessors were before him' (MacTavish 1943-4: 2. 195). In 1616 his father Mr John MacLachlan, vicar of Kilbrandon, was set one quarter of the teinds thereof, 'they [presumably the MacLachlans] being heritable vicars of the said vicarage of Kilbrandon'. Mr Patrick MacLachlan of Kilbride witnessed the transaction (Reg. Deeds, 1 ser.:273. 336). Finally, the lands of Kilbride Beg, granted to Mr Neill MacLachlan in 1591 and formerly occupied by his deceased father, Patrick, had belonged to the vicars of the church of Kilbrandon as part of its patrimony. Neill himself was vicar of Kilbrandon at least by 1597 (GRS, 1 ser.:7. 249). The implication of these statements is that the connection of the MacLachlans with Seil and the church of Kilbrandon was already of long-standing by the end of the sixteenth century. How long remains to be seen.

In 1621 a grant in wadsett of two of the 4 merklands of Carnban, Seil, with two of the 6 merklands of Kilbride as warrandice, was made jointly to a husband and wife (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:1. 171). The wife was called 'Margareta ney nean vc sir Patrick alias McLauchlane', which seems to mean 'Margaret, daughter of the daughter of the son of Sir Patrick, of the surname MacLachlan'. The minister of Kilbrandon in 1580 was 'Duncan mc sire Padrik', 'Duncan, son of sir Patrick' (Reg. Deeds, 1 ser.:33. 305). It seems likely that sir Patrick was a MacLachlan. And although Margaret was apparently also a MacLachlan on her father's side, it was clearly her intention to demonstrate her descent from her most prominent MacLachlan ancestor in the recent past through her mother. The very fact that she was included in the transaction suggests that the grant was made in virtue of her connections rather than those of her husband who was not a MacLachlan. The title 'sir' indicates that Patrick was a cleric in the pre-Reformation church and the fact that his son was still alive in 1580 suggests that he flourished around about 1560. In other words we may have identified the MacLachlan ancestor who figured in late eighteenth-century tradition as 'a dignified Ecclesiastic' at the time of the Reformation. Mr John MacLachlan, minister of Kilbrandon, who, perhaps significantly, was bailie for Margaret's sasine, may well have been, like her, a descendant of sir Patrick.

In 1577 joint tenants of the 4 merklands of Kilbrandon, Seil, included Patrick *Densone*, vicar of Kilbrandon, and his sons, John and Duncan *Densones* (Reg. Acts and Decs.: 79. 57). *Densone*, clearly a surname here rather than a patronymic, is a translation of Gaelic *mac an deoin*, 'son of the dean'. It was not uncommon for descendants of a cleric to use alternately with their kindred surname one which recorded his ecclesiastical rank. An obvious parallel for our purposes is James MacGregor, dean of Lismore (d. 1551), who, together with his brother, compiled the collection of mediæval Gaelic poetry known as the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* and whose descendants sometimes used the surname *Mac an deoin* (Black 1962:206). The *Densone* forenames are characteristically MacLachlan and we can probably assume that an ancestor had been a dean, presumably of the diocese of Argyll or Lismore, as the eighteenth-century tradition reported.

However, the fact that Duncan Densone, as minister of Kilbride, witnessed the same document in 1580 as Duncan, son of sir Patrick, minister of Kilbrandon, clearly indicates that sir Patrick cannot be the dean and therefore that the 'dignified Ecclesiastic' who flourished about the time of the Reformation and the dean are not one and the same person as tradition would have us believe. The dean was probably an earlier MacLachlan cleric. Just as Mr John MacLachlan, minister of Kilbrandon (d. 1660), was probably a descendant of sir Patrick, so his contemporary Mr Patrick MacLachlan of Kilbride was probably a descendant of Patrick Densone. Indeed, Mr Patrick MacLachlan's grandfather, Patrick, who was already dead by 1591, may be the same as Patrick Densone which would make his father, Neill, a brother of John and Duncan Densone. Whatever the case we can trace with some confidence two MacLachlan families closely associated with one another and with Seil and the church of Kilbrandon into the pre-Reformation period.

If the dean who figured in the ancestry of the MacLachlans was a dean of Argyll as later tradition maintains, then we would have to go back to the first on record for a possible candidate, at least in terms of name. This was Lachlan (Latin equivalent *Rolandus*), son of Lachlan, who flourished in the middle of the fourteenth century (*CPP*: I. 201, 573). But nothing else relevant is known about him and it should be noted that there are several series of gaps in the list of recorded deans of Argyll between Lachlan and the Reformation, the latest being from 1470 to 1514 when James MacGregor first appears as dean (*Watt* 1969: 29-31). However, there is other evidence which points to the MacLachlan connection with Seil being already in existence by the fifteenth century at least.⁹ In what seems to be a specific reference to grave-slabs of the distinctive West Highland type in the Kilbrandon graveyard in 1852, it is maintained that some were 'of MacDonalds and some of MacLachlans of Kilbride' (*OPS* 1851-5: 2(2). 825-6 and n.). There is no documentary evidence for MacDonalds in this area and we can dismiss the ascription of grave-slabs to them as on a par with the erroneous tradition that all such monumental sculpture was removed from Iona after the Reformation. Both are attributable to the fact that the distinctive West Highland style of stone carving was a product of the MacDonald Lordship of the Isles whose ecclesiastical centre was Iona (*Steer and Bannerman* 1977). Four grave-slabs of this type are still extant in the graveyard. On stylistic grounds two can be dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, and another to round about 1500 (*RCAMS Argyll* 1971-: 2. 140). No decoration is now visible on the fourth stone but it has on it an inscription in Lombardic capitals which indicates that it was carved before 1500. The inscription, now incomplete, reads: 'Hic iacet Callenus Patricii . . .'. *Patricius*, for Gille-Pádrúig or Patrick, is, as we have seen, a characteristic MacLachlan forename, while *Callenus*, a Latinised form of Gaelic *Cailean*, Scottish equivalent *Colin* (*Steer and Bannerman* 1977: 141, 157), is, significantly as we shall see, a common forename among the MacLachlans of Craiginterve.

The long succession of clerics and the continuing connection with the church of

Kilbrandon is sufficient indication that the MacLachlans of Kilbride belonged to the professional orders of mediæval Gaelic society. And although their chosen profession was overwhelmingly the church in our period, the pattern of interconnection between different professions so prevalent elsewhere in this society is not absent, for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century records make it clear that they were related to the MacLachlans of Craiginterve, an hereditary medical family in the employ of the Campbells of Argyll. Indeed, this probably explains their continuing interest in medicine implicit in the otherwise remarkable number of medical manuscripts in the Kilbride Collection. That the MacLachlans of Craiginterve were the original stock is suggested not only by the fact that they, together with their main sixteenth-century offshoot, the MacLachlans of Innis Chonnell, keepers of the castle thereof, were much more important in terms of landed wealth but also by the fact that the grant in 1630 of the 6 merklands of Kilchoan equally between Mr Patrick MacLachlan of Kilbride and Mr John MacLachlan, minister of Kilbrandon, was made by Colin MacLachlan, fiar of Craiginterve, with the consent of his father Archibald. Moreover they can be traced back into the fifteenth century with confidence. Craiginterve is in the parish of Kilmartin and still extant is a letter of gift, dated 2 February 1512, by Colin, Master of Argyll, to 'Johne Lech Angussonne of Cragynterf and to his lawful heirs they being leeches' (AT). *Angusius medicus* witnessed a charter by Colin, Earl of Argyll, in 1470 (AT, 17 Dec.), while witnesses to an instrument of sasine of the barony of Kilmun to Archibald, Colin's son, in 1493, were Colin, son of Angus, and Neill Leich (AT, 14 May). The two families had almost certainly diverged sometime before 1500.

Colin, not to mention *Gill-easbuig* or *Archibald*, another common Craiginterve forename,¹⁰ were also the characteristic forenames of the Campbells of Argyll, and it has been recently suggested that the MacLachlans of Craiginterve were in fact Campbells, and that they took the subsidiary surname of *MacLachlan* from Lachlan, son of John, son of Angus, who was head of the family by 1539 (H. Campbell Notes, Craiginterve Writs, 3-4; MacPhail 1914-34:4. 26). This in itself is not unlikely; many minor Campbell families in the area habitually used surnames derived from their subsidiary kindred names during this period (Steer and Bannerman 1977:140, 142). It was suggested also that keepership of the important Campbell stronghold of Innis Chonnell would not have been granted to other than Campbells. Furthermore, although never apparently formally employed by them, the association of the MacLachlans of Kilbride with the Campbells was by their own admission a close one. Petitions to the Duke of Argyll by John MacLachlan of Kilbride in 1749 and 1750 and by his nephew, Patrick, in 1757 for a lease of the Garvellach islands held by John until c. 1750 in wadsett, emphasise their long-standing support for the ruling Campbell family (Saltoun Coll., boxes 407-8, 416). John reminded the Duke that the late Earl of Argyll had 'such confidence in the close attachment of my Predecessors to his family that he prevailed with my grandfather to take a wadsett' of the Garvellach islands, 'formerly part of MacLean's estate . . . and although he met with several obstructions, yet at length he

forcibly obtained possession of these islands'. Patrick maintained that his 'sole motive' for requesting a lease was

the natural attachment I have to these islands, as my predecessors got them at first for their attachment to the family of Argyll whom they had the honour to attend in the expedition to Mull and for whom they afterwards maintained them at the risque of their lives and fortunes, for these islands being part of the Mull Estate, and being remote lay alwise open to the incursions of the former proprietors whose partys frequently came there, and stript the grounds of all cattle of whatsoever kind, whilst the Owners were obliged to shelter themselves in rocks unknown to those robbers.

In fact the first Campbell expedition to Mull did not take place until 1674 (Willcock 1907: 197–8), eight years after the wadsett of the Garvellach islands had been granted to John MacLachlan of Kilbride by Archibald, Earl of Argyll. But no doubt the grant is to be seen in the context of the continuing feud between the MacLeans and the Campbells. John in 1749 stated that the 'MacLeans did for sometime smother their resentments on account of my grandfathers having thus dispossessed them'. However, it should be remembered that his grandfather's brother, Mr Neill MacLachlan, was factor for MacLean of Duart at this time and the MacLeans may not have undertaken their deprivations until after Neill's death *c.* 1672.

Patrick, ignoring the fact that his own ancestors and kinsmen were strongly Jacobite in sympathy, as we shall see, went on to point out that Dugal MacDougall of Gallanach, the present tacksman of the Garvellach islands, and his predecessors had been Jacobites,

and tho' they cou'd not compleat their cheif design, did not cease to endeavour the ruin of the branches of the family [of Argyll], a principal one whereof had very nigh fallen by their hands if not prevented by my predecessor for which, my lord, and for our attachment to the family and it's branches, ever since we bear the heatred of the Clan MacDougal.

John MacLachlan concluded his petition by maintaining that his proposal to take a lease of the Garvellach islands was prompted 'meerly that in my old declining years I may have the pleasure to live and die under your Graces Wings'. In the event Patrick's final petition of 1757 was successful, although not before he had offered a thoroughly inflated rent (Cregeen 1964: xvii, n. 2) and probably also not before he had taken an oath of allegiance to George II dated to the same day as the final petition (Saltoun Coll., box 416).

John and Patrick pulled out all the stops and it is inconceivable that, if Campbells themselves, they would have neglected to remind the chief of the clan of that fact. Especially Patrick who could hardly have failed to point out the incongruity of a MacDougall holding the lease at the expense of a Campbell. The Campbell forenames of the MacLachlans of Craiginterve are therefore probably attributable to the fact of their formal employment by the Campbells, an even closer attachment than that apparently enjoyed by the MacLachlans of Kilbride. Likewise the many Campbell marriages made by the MacLachlans would be explicable purely in terms of a small and

militarily insignificant kindred maintaining itself and its identity alongside the powerful and ever expanding Clan Campbell. The strong pressure to marry into neighbouring Campbell families would also explain the total lack of recorded marriages between the various MacLachlan branches throughout our period. Their continued recognition of their kinship without periodic reinforcement by marriage is a measure of the strength of the kin basis of the society to which they belonged.

As early as 1746 the professional MacLachlan kindred that we have been considering was specifically linked with the territorial kindred of the same surname, the MacLachlans of Strathlachlan. To that year is dated a memorial on the state of the Highlands by the presbyterian minister of Inverness, Mr Alexander MacBean, in which he informs us that the MacLachlans of Strathlachlan 'of a long time profest to be of our Communion. But one Mr John McLachlan, a most violent Episcopal minister poisoned his chief and the gentlemen of his name to a strange degree' (Blaikie 1916:85). This was Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan. It is true too that *Patrick*, the characteristic Kilbride forename, was also common among the MacLachlans of Strathlachlan (MS 1467:v 229-52), while Mr Duncan MacLachlan of the Kilchoan branch (d. c. 1685) was minister of the parish of Strathlachlan from 1676 (*RPC* 3 ser.:6. 154). But that is the sum total of demonstrable connection between the two sets of MacLachlans in the records of our period. Moreover, in a letter to Bishop Robert Forbes in 1748, Mr John MacLachlan refers to Lachlan, chief of the MacLachlans of Strathlachlan, in terms which suggest that he did not look upon him as his chief (Paton 1895-6:2. 209-10), and the fact that Mr Duncan MacLachlan had to petition the Privy Council in 1679 for payment of his stipend from the parishioners of Strathlachlan (*RPC* 3 ser.:6. 154, 669) is not indicative of a particularly close relationship. It may simply be that Mr Alexander MacBean, writing at some distance, was persuaded by the surname into making a natural but in this case erroneous deduction. The fact that Lachlan MacLachlan was the leading Jacobite in the area is sufficient to explain Mr John MacLachlan's initial association with him and his kindred. Even the MacLeans from Mull and Morvern, who took a part in the rising and whose chief had been imprisoned by the authorities in June 1745, accepted Lachlan's leadership and fought in the MacLachlan regiment at Culloden (Paton 1895-6:2. 209; Blaikie 1916:85).

There can be no doubt, as we shall see, that the MacLachlans of Kilbride remained episcopalian after the Revolution Settlement of 1689-90 and the most prominent Jacobite among them was Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan. Mr Alexander MacBean says of him that he 'did more mischief among other clans than any three priests I ever knew' (Blaikie 1916:85). MacBean's assessment is borne out by John's own letter of 1748 to Bishop Robert Forbes which was in reply to a request by the latter to help him 'make up as compleat a collection as possible of Journals and other papers relative to the history' of the '45 (Paton 1895-6:2. 65), and which contains a brief autobiographical description of John's part in the rising:

if you'll make mention of any of our clergy that were in that army, I expect you'll not

forget your writing friend who was the only clergyman at the battle of Gladsmuir [Prestonpans], and who can get several gentlemen to attest that if his project and example had been follow'd, neither Cope nor any of his horses had escap'd, which wou'd have made the victory still more compleat. He attended the Prince to Darby and back again, was at the battles of Falkirk and Culloden, acted chaplain to the Prince, and had a commission to be chaplain-general to all the loyal clans.

After Culloden John went into hiding in Wester Ross but had returned to Kilchoan by 1748 where, he tells us:

I live for the most part now like a hermite, because all my late charge almost were kill'd in battle, scatter'd abroad, or are cow'd at home, and the people of this country are generally so bigot in Whiggerie, and so insolent on their late success, that it is vastly mortifying to me to live amongst them (Paton 1895-6:2. 208-10).

In 1757 we find Mr John MacLachlan attempting to prevent Alexander MacDougall of Dunollie from redeeming the wadsett of the 6 merklands of Ballimore, Kerrera, granted to his grandfather in 1663. And it is interesting that, despite his deep involvement in the '45, he still felt that he could appeal to the Duke of Argyll for support in this matter (Saltoun Coll., box 416). He had indeed mentioned the important part the Campbells had played on the Hanoverian side in his letter to Bishop Robert Forbes but only in the passing and without a single derogatory comment. In the event Ballimore seems to have been lost to the MacLachlans of Kilchoan. As far as Argyll was concerned, it may have been a case of balancing the books, for in the same year, as we saw, he allowed John's kinsman, Patrick MacLachlan of Kilbride, to recover the Garvellach islands from MacDougall of Gallanach.

According to tradition, Mr John MacLachlan lived out the rest of his life in the parish of Kilbrandon until his death sometime after 1763, 'affectionately known as "Maighster Shon", a man beloved and revered in the district for his goodness and kindness of heart, who nevertheless during forty years of faithful ministry is said to have made but one convert to his church' (Gillies 1909:19).

The first hint that the MacLachlans were going to take the stand so firmly maintained by Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan comes in the minutes of the Synod of Argyll held in September 1646 which censured Colin MacLachlan of Craiginterve among others for 'their reall joyneing themselves in actuall rebellion with these cruell, insolent and barbarous enemies of this kirk and kingdom under the command of these bluidy and excommunicat traitors, James Graham and Alexander MacDonald' (MacTavish 1943-4: 1. 100). So too Mr John MacLachlan, minister of Kilbrandon, although one of those ordered by the Synod to minister to the Covenanting forces in July 1645, had since come under 'suspicion of compliance with the rebels' (MacTavish 1943-4:1. 98, 101).

The death of Cromwell in 1658 elicited a short Gaelic poem attributed to *Fear Chillebhrìde*, presumably John MacLachlan of Kilbride (d. c. 1681), which is a reflection on the inevitability of death even for the most powerful among us, and it is easy to

imagine that he was not unhappy that this should be so in Cromwell's case (MacDonald and MacDonald 1911:152). A much less equivocal composition is the poem celebrating the birth of Prince Charles in Rome on 20 December 1720 by John MacLachlan of Kilbride (d. c. 1750) (MacChoinnich 1844:243-4; Campbell 1938:1-6).¹¹ This John MacLachlan was probably too old to take an active part in the '45, while Patrick, his nephew, was almost certainly too young; but it may be significant that his is the only certificate confirming an oath of allegiance to George II in the Argyll papers of the period (Saltoun Coll., box 416).

Ultimately, however, the most striking evidence for the total acceptance by the MacLachlans of the episcopalian form of church government comes from the register of the Synod of Argyll. As ministers, students and elders, they swarm over its pages for the period 1639-61 and presumably over those of the missing episcopalian register of 1661-90. But when the meetings of the presbyterian Synod were resumed in September 1687, references to them are, comparatively speaking, few and far between, and, when they do occur, they are most often in the context of their continued adherence to the episcopal church.

It was suspected that Mr William MacLachlan, episcopalian minister of Kilmartin, and almost certainly a MacLachlan of Craiginterve,¹² had taken with him the missing register to Ireland in 1690 (MacTavish 1943-4:1. viii). He was one of three MacLachlan ministers who together petitioned the Privy Council in 1682 to be allowed to take the 'Test', although a year late in so doing (*RPC* 3 ser.:7. 453). The other two were Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan, minister of Craignish, and his brother, Duncan, minister of Strathlachlan. It is clear that Mr John MacLachlan, who was still alive in 1709, gave up or was forced to relinquish his charge in 1690. It was reported in 1693 that Mr Patrick MacLachlan, a member of the Islay branch of the MacLachlans of Kilbride,¹³ and 'late episcopal incumbent' of the parish of Kildalton, Islay, had gone to Ireland (Reg. Syn. Argyll:3. 118). In 1697 the parish of Kilninver was declared vacant because Patrick, son of Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan (d. 1685), episcopal incumbent thereof, did not qualify himself 'conforme to ane act of parliament thereanent' (Reg. Syn. Argyll:3. 781). His brother, Archibald, was accepted as a probationer but apparently got no further because the presbytery of Lorn found that 'their suspicions of his inclinations' in 1713 were justified (Reg. Syn. Argyll:5. 143). Another brother, Martin, who was actually ordained minister of Kilbride in 1699 and who was therefore the only member of the MacLachlan kindred to be accepted into the ministry in the church of Scotland after 1690, was initially suspect, for he had to make a declaration before the Synod in 1698 'of his fixed purpose and resolution to adhere to presbyterian government now in existence and established by law in the kingdom of Scotland' (Reg. Syn. Argyll:3. 790). In the event he was drowned some six months after his ordination and so his witness in the pages of the register is necessarily brief. Indeed, the only MacLachlan to appear comparatively regularly therein after 1690 was Angus of Innis Chonnell as ruling elder of the parish of Kilchrenan between 1708 and 1735 (Reg. Syn.

Argyll: 5. 1; 6. 123), but his son, Lachlan, was to be a captain in the Prince's army (Blaikie 1916:456).

It is remarkable that a kindred which normally acted in the interest of the Campbells should so consistently take the opposing side in the wider political and religious controversies of the period. It is even more remarkable that, having done so, they continued to expect and, in part at least, to receive support from Argyll, nor, apparently, was their position in society much diminished, if at all. Whatever the explanation, and one might be that Campbell power in mainland Argyll was less monolithic than is sometimes supposed, it is further evidence for the view that religion was the dominant factor in determining support for or against the Stewart dynasty in the Highlands of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The MacLachlans had all the hallmarks of a kindred which belonged to the Gaelic learned orders of the mediæval period. They carried on their profession, initially medicine, if we can judge by the continued prominence of the MacLachlans of Craiginverve, on an hereditary basis. But, as for almost all families involved in this and other professions, the church attracted recruits from their ranks. In the case of the MacLachlans this had clearly begun before the Reformation. Thus the MacLachlans of Kilbride, almost certainly established as a distinct family unit by the fifteenth century, had probably become exclusively associated with the church by 1560 at least. In other words they had joined the ranks of those hereditary lines whose profession was the church (Thomson 1968:67-8). They seem to have made a smooth transition from the old to the new at the Reformation and we can trace their association with the church and parish of Kilbrandon from 1577 into the eighteenth century. It was their refusal to accept the presbyterian form of church government after 1690 that finally ended their active participation in the ministry. And Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan seems to have been the last to serve in a professional capacity, albeit as an episcopalian minister. It is not without interest that in the end they returned to their medical origins in the person of John's grandson, Alexander, who graduated Doctor of Medicine at Glasgow University in 1783 (Addison 1898:391).¹⁴

The collection of mediæval Gaelic manuscripts is itself evidence for the continuing interest in Gaelic culture traditionally claimed for the MacLachlans of Kilbride. Major John MacLachlan, the last of them in the direct line, was represented as being very reluctant to leave MSS xxxii-xxxvi with the Highland Society in 1801 (Sinclair 1807:3. 570). He carefully signed four of them and probably also the fifth, now missing.¹⁵ He is even credited, as we shall see, with adding at least one manuscript to the collection.

It is almost certainly Major MacLachlan's father, Duncan, whom Mr Donald MacNicol, in his book written in 1775, claims to have been 'esteemed, and very deservedly, one of the greatest antiquarians, of his time, in the Highlands' (MacNicol 1779:4, II, 342). And, according to Nether Lorn tradition of the nineteenth century, he was a poet, of whom, we are told, 'the translator of Ossian makes honourable

mention as a preserver of Gaelic poetry' (Gillies 1909:131). John, Duncan's brother and predecessor (d. c. 1750), was also a poet, and his poem on the birth of Prince Charles 'shows a smooth and careful style and a knowledge of Latin and Gaelic mythology' (Campbell 1938:1). Equally accomplished is the poem on the death of Cromwell attributed to his grandfather, also John (d. c. 1681).

The Synod of Argyll was accustomed to employing members of hereditary literary families who were still maintaining a precarious hold on their profession in the seventeenth century to promote the study of Gaelic and the provision of religious material in that language (Thomson 1962:xxxiii, xxxvii-xli; 1970:183-6). So, following on the Synod's decision in 1649 to translate the *Shorter Catechism* on its own account, apparently the first project of its kind undertaken by that body, it is not surprising that some, if not all, of the ministers originally approached, should be themselves members of those families who had for long looked upon the church as an hereditary profession, and who therefore shared in the common cultural heritage of the Gaelic learned orders of the mediæval period. Of the seven appointed, no less than three were MacLachlans (MacTavish 1943-4:1. 127). They were Colin, minister of Lochgoilhead, and, judging by his forename, of the Craiginterve branch; John, minister of Kilbrandon and progenitor of the Kilchoan family; and Martin, minister in Islay. Martin seems to have belonged to the Islay branch of the MacLachlans of Kilbride (see n. 13) and he is one of the very few ministers recorded in the register of the Synod of Argyll between 1639 and 1661 who had not received a university education in Arts. Yet he was named on a further two occasions that translations of religious material into Gaelic were mooted (MacTavish 1943-4:1. 127, 185; 2. 99). It may be that his scholarly knowledge of the language was one of the factors that persuaded the authorities of his fitness for the ministry.

Finally, because the MacLachlans of Kilbride were in being in the sixteenth century and in view of their persistent literary interests thereafter, it is tempting to include among their number Gille-Pádrúig MacLachlan, a poet represented by two poems in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*. Gille-Pádrúig or Patrick is, of course, the characteristic Kilbride forename, while one of his poems is a eulogy addressed to a Campbell, namely, James Campbell of Lawers. It concludes in the approved bardic manner with three stanzas in praise of the latter's wife, Mariota, daughter of Sir Duncan Forester of Skipnish, and three in praise of his chief, Colin, Earl of Argyll. It must therefore have been composed between 1513, when Colin succeeded to the earldom, and 1527, the year in which Mariota died (Watson 1937:106-25, 283).

The question of how long the Kilbride Collection was in existence is not an easy one to answer. The manuscripts themselves give us no help in terms of distinguishing individual MacLachlan owners, simply because, apart from Major John MacLachlan, none of them wrote, signed or in any way annotated the surviving manuscripts in their collection, or, at least, none has as yet been identified. Dr John Smith, in a letter dated 1797, says that he had seen 'part of a large treasure' of manuscripts twenty years before

(MacKenzie 1805:app. 73). This is almost certainly a reference to the Kilbride Collection, for it was in 1777 that he was appointed assistant minister to the parish of Kilbrandon (MacVicar 1933-4:2). According to Smith, the 'large treasure' had been 'left by a gentleman who died 30 or 40 years ago', that is, in 1767 or 1757, and therefore probably John MacLachlan who died *c.* 1750. It can hardly be his successor, Duncan, who was apparently still alive in 1775.

A number of the surviving manuscripts could not have been acquired by a MacLachlan earlier than John's father, Patrick, who was head of the family from *c.* 1683 to 1719. Thus, for example, MS XX was still in the possession of Mr John Beaton in 1690, MS XXXIII in 1700 and MS V in 1701 (MacKechnie 1973:1. 137, 160, 172), and it may be that they and other Beaton manuscripts now in the collection were not acquired by the MacLachlans until after John Beaton's death *c.* 1715 (Campbell and Thomson 1963:44; Isles Tests.:2. 52). MS XXXVI was not written by Hugh MacLean, schoolmaster at Kilchenzie, until 1690-1 and was thereafter, at least for a time in the possession of Colin Campbell of the Kilberry family who commissioned it (MacKechnie 1973:1. 176; Campbell and Thomson 1963:10).

The only specific reference to a MacLachlan as a collector of manuscripts occurs in the manuscript history of the Mathesons compiled by Captain Alexander Matheson of Dornie *c.* 1868 (Matheson 1953-9:154). He maintains there that a manuscript written by Murdoch Matheson (Matheson 1971-2:182) in the mid-seventeenth century was acquired by 'Captain MacLachlan of Kilbride'.¹⁶ Major John MacLachlan was the only head of the family on record to hold the military rank of captain, which he did between the years 1770 and 1776 at least. This manuscript, which, we are told, contained 'many of Bishop Carsewell's sacred songs', seems to have been no longer in the Kilbride Collection by 1801 when Donald MacIntosh made his catalogue.

But there is plenty of evidence to show that the later MacLachlans at least, including the Major before 1801 anyway, were nothing if not generous with their manuscripts. Dr John Smith wrote that much of the collection was 'scattered' before he saw it in 1777 and he supposed that more had been dispersed since then (MacKenzie 1805:app. 73). His supposition was correct. Lord Bannatyne tells of a manuscript which he got from James MacIntyre of Glenoe (d. 1799) and which had been given to the latter by Major MacLachlan. Bannatyne returned the manuscript to MacIntyre but had no idea what became of it thereafter. His brief description of the contents does not seem to tally with those of any of the surviving Kilbride manuscripts (MacKenzie 1805:app. 282). Furthermore, Bannatyne implies that the 'two or three' manuscripts given by Major MacLachlan to General Sir Adolphus Oughton and to Sir James Foulis of Colinton were never returned (MacKenzie 1805:app. 283). Assuming that these two noted Gaelic scholars of their day (MacNicol 1779:309-10) visited Major MacLachlan together, as seems likely, it must have been sometime before 1780, the year in which Oughton, Commander-in-chief of the army in Scotland, died (*DNB*). An address on the origins of the Scots presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in December

1780 by Sir James Foulis may be some indication of what he, at least, had been hoping to find in the MacLachlan manuscripts (Foulis 1792:1-12).¹⁷

Mr James MacLagan (1728-1805) tells us that Mr Archibald Lambie, minister of Kilmartin from 1737 until his death in 1767, had 'seen and read' in manuscript a Gaelic translation of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* in the possession of MacLachlan of Kilbride (MacLagan Coll., no. 122). It is no longer present in the Kilbride Collection but this and other works attributed to Augustine are translated or quoted in translation elsewhere in Gaelic manuscripts of the period (MacKinnon 1912:24; Abbott and Gwynn 1921:365; Flower 1926-53:2. 444, 555).

Another literary note in the MacLagan Collection (MacLagan Coll., no. 122) claims that MacLachlan of Kilbride got from Mr Colin Campbell, minister of Ardchattan (1667-1726), a 'pretty large' Gaelic manuscript containing the 'Disputes between Fionn and Gaul'. MacLagan's authority for this statement was Colin's son, Dr Alexander Campbell, a noted antiquarian who was still alive in 1775 (MacNicol 1779:341). This is almost certainly the tale entitled *Bruighean bheag na h-Almhuin* that appears in two surviving manuscripts in the Kilbride Collection, namely, MSS XXXIV and XXXVI. The first was already in existence by 22 October 1603 when it was in the possession of Eoghan MacPhail and we have already noted that the second was written in 1690-1; it is much the larger of the two and may well be the manuscript in question (MacKechnie 1973:1. 175-6).

Evidence that the Kilbride Collection was in being by the seventeenth century comes from the history, as far as it is known, of MS LIII. Sometime between 1797 and his death in 1803, Mr John MacKinnon, minister of Glendaruel, gave the manuscript to Lord Bannatyne, informing him that he had got it 'from some country people in his neighbourhood' who claimed that it had once formed part of the Kilbride Collection (MacKenzie 1805:app. 283). Marginalia in the manuscript itself appear to show that it had been in the possession of a family of Campbells with Cowal connections, the latest owner thereof being Mr William Campbell, minister of Kilchrenan (1745-93), whose father, also William, had been minister of Glendaruel (1712-42), and the earliest being 'Robert Campbell at Glensluan', apparently forester for Argyll in Cowal and author of a Gaelic poem addressed to the famous Welsh scholar Edward Lhuyd and printed in the preface to his *Archaeologia Britannica* published in 1707 (Lhuyd 1707; MacKinnon 1904-5:5; Campbell and Thomson 1963:xiv; MacKechnie 1973:1. 214-15). Since the manuscript itself was written in the early sixteenth century (MacKinnon 1912:159) and since no owner can be identified before Robert Campbell, there is no reason to doubt that it had previously been in the possession of the MacLachlans of Kilbride.

Again, Alexander Carmichael, in a series of notes on the family of Kilbride, reports that many of their manuscripts are said to have 'perished in the raid of Alexander MacDonald, better known as Alastair mac Cholla Chiotaich' (Carmichael-Watson Coll., no. 167). This receives some support from a statement made by John MacLachlan of Kilbride on 15 October 1750 to the effect that 'in the beginning of the civil troubles

in King Charles the first's reign' almost all the MacLachlan documents concerning the 20 shilling land of Drisaig, Loch Avich, 'were carried off and destroyed' (Saltoun Coll., box 408). But, in view of the known sympathies of the MacLachlans for the cause espoused by Alexander MacDonald in 1644-5, it seems unlikely that the latter was directly responsible.

The traditions of the ancestry of the MacLachlans of Kilbride recorded by James MacIntyre of Glenoe and Dr Donald Smith and quoted at the beginning of this paper, which imply, if they do not specifically state, that the Kilbride Collection was in being by the time of the Reformation, are complemented by another tradition that the MacLachlans acquired manuscripts which had been in the monastic library of Iona. Its most circumstantial expression occurs in the letter already quoted and dated 4 December 1860 by Charles Edward Sobieski-Stuart, which says: 'When the monastery of Iona was destroyed it took several days to burn the books piled in heaps for that purpose. Two or three boat loads were saved however by the Kilbride family, one of its members being a *member* of the sacred edifice' (N.L.S. 50. 2. 1, no. 250). The date of this event, if it ever took place (Steer and Bannerman 1977: 82-3), was clearly thought to be 1560 or thereabouts. But the fate of those manuscripts not saved by the MacLachlans reads suspiciously like another description of the same event quoted in the *New Statistical Account* which says that they were 'gathered in heaps and consumed with fire' (*NSA Argyll*: 7. 326), and Sobieski-Stuart's reputation for literary embellishment might lead us to suppose that he invented the rest, were it not for the fact that P. H. Gillies, referring to the Kilbride Collection and reporting nineteenth-century tradition from Nether Lorn, writes soberly: 'it is believed that the majority of the older MSS formed originally part of the library of Iona' (Gillies 1909: 129). Moreover, Mr Archibald Lambie maintained that the translation of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, which he claimed to have read in a MacLachlan manuscript, was done in Iona, but, as we have already noted, the manuscript has apparently not survived. And the fact is that no evidence has yet been deduced from the extant manuscripts to indicate that any of them was ever in the monastic library of Iona.¹⁸

However, there are a number of manuscripts in the Kilbride Collection which, purely in terms of the date at which they were written, could have been in the possession of the MacLachlans in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. We have already remarked on the fact that they seem to have studiously avoided indicating ownership of any of the manuscripts in their possession, apart, that is, from Major MacLachlan, and then apparently only because the manuscripts in question were leaving his hands for Edinburgh. This is unusual when we compare those of other professional families, especially perhaps of other medical families such as the Beatons. Indeed, the very fact that a number of the older manuscripts in the Kilbride Collection, including six or seven with a mainly medical content, have no indication of ownership and comparatively few marginalia, in some cases none at all which is later than the date of writing, suggest that they have been almost from the beginning in the library of the MacLachlans.

MS LIII is particularly significant in this context, for it contains a considerable body of marginalia written after it had apparently left the Kilbride Collection, probably sometime in the second half of the seventeenth century, but none which can be dated earlier than that. A possible explanation for the MacLachlans' lack of interest in indicating ownership of these manuscripts may be their early commitment to the church of Kilbrandon and their abandonment of the medical profession. From then on they remained in one place and their manuscripts were consequently in less danger of being lost or mislaid. Whereas the Beatons, who continued to practise medicine in the classical tradition into the seventeenth century and who were constantly on the move, travelling from one noble patient to another, as their manuscripts, which they carried with them, sometimes bear witness, must always have been conscious of the possibility of loss, implicit in the comparative frequency with which they wrote their names on them.

The MacLachlans first appear in the records holding land not because they were a territorial kindred like the Campbells or the MacLachlans of Strathlachlan but in virtue of their professional services, whether as physicians or churchmen. But in the seventeenth century, perhaps a little earlier in the case of the MacLachlans of Craiginterve, we can watch them becoming a territorial kindred in their own right; to the extent that MacLachlan of Kilbride and MacLachlan of Kilchoan both figure in the cess roll of Lorn for 1662. As many as half of the sixty-two land holders assessed therein paid less cess than MacLachlan of Kilbride (Breadalbane Muns. 9/1). At the same time as they were assuming a territorial dimension they began to shed their professional commitment to the classical tradition of the Gaelic learned orders. An early indication of this may be the indenture in 1606 of Duncan, son of the late Colin MacLachlan of Craiginterve, to an Edinburgh apothecary (MacGregor Coll., 184/120). Indeed, Colin may have been the last of the parent branch of the family to practise medicine in the old style (H. Campbell Notes, Craiginterve Writs).¹⁹

It is interesting that their progress towards becoming a territorial kindred was partly at the expense of another professional family, the MacEwens of Kilchoan, genealogists, historians, and poets to the Campbells of Argyll. Thus, Neill MacEwen, infested in his late father's lands of Kilchoan in 1627, had to dispose of them to the MacLachlans of Craiginterve sometime before 1630 (Thomson 1970:184), when, as we saw, the latter granted them to the MacLachlans of Kilbride. A stanza of a bardic poem addressed to Argyll and almost certainly composed by Neill begins 'restore to me my father's heritage in honour of my art' (Watson 1931:156), clearly a reference to the loss of Kilchoan. The continued existence of the Kilbride collection of Gaelic manuscripts, if not also the continued interest of the MacLachlans of Kilbride in Gaelic culture, may be due, in part at least, to the smooth transition that they made from the professional to the territorial. The mediæval Gaelic manuscripts of the MacEwens, 'the ancient books of the learned', as Neill described them, have not survived.

Appendix

The biographical accounts of the MacLachlans of Kilbride and of Kilchoan that follow by no means exhaust the references to these people in the records, but they were selected principally to demonstrate their relationships, landed interests, academic attainments and ecclesiastical connections. Nor has coverage of the records been exhaustive; for example, it was not possible in the time to consult those parts of the *Register of Deeds* that are not indexed. A further examination of this and other official and family documents should make the limits of dating more precise and add significant biographical detail. Unless there is other evidence for determining relative age, brothers and sisters are listed in order of appearance in the records.

MacLachlans of Kilbride

- Patrick occupied the lands of Kilbride Beg on the island of Seil, Nether Lorn. He was dead by 1591 (RSS:62. 15).
1 Neill.
- Neill was probably the Nigellus MacLachlan who graduated in Arts from Glasgow University in 1584 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 4). He received a royal grant of the lands of Kilbride Beg in succession to his late father in 1591 (RSS:62. 15). He was vicar of Kilbrandon when he was granted in 1597 a wadsett of the teinds of Kilbrandon (GRS, 1 ser.:7. 249). A charter of resignation in his favour was given by Neill Campbell, Bishop of Argyll, of the 4 merklands of Kilbride in the parish of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, in 1600 (Cal. Charters:15. no. 3682; Reg. Deeds, Dal.:220. 1541).²⁰ He was then minister of the parish. He was dead by 31 October 1615 (Reg. Retours:6. 231).
1 Patrick.
2 Donald witnessed a sasine in 1630 (GRS, 1 ser.:28. 2).
- Patrick matriculated at Glasgow University in 1607 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 67) and graduated in Arts on 28 July 1610 (Scott 1915-50:4. 96). He was vicar of Kilbride, when he was granted the 4 merklands of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, by Andrew Boyd, Bishop of Argyll, in 1614 (*RMS*:8. no. 2133). In 1615 he was retoured heir to his father in the lands of Kilbride Beg (Reg. Retours:6. 231). On 6 September 1616 he was provided to the parsonage and vicarage of Kilchoman, Islay (Scott 1915-50:4. 73). In 1619, as minister of Kilarrow (by this time combined with Kilchoman), he brought an action for payment of the duties of the 20s. land of Drisaig, Loch Avich, against, among others, Alexander Campbell of Ardchattan (Reg. Acts and Decs.: 333. 80). He renounced the wadsett of the teinds of Kilbrandon in 1621 (GRS, 1 ser.:7. 249) and in the same year took sasine of half of the 6 merklands of Dowache, Lorn (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:1. 172). He was still serving as minister in Islay, perhaps the only minister, in 1626 (*Coll. de Rebus Alban.*:123) but he was minister of Kilninver, Nether Lorn, when he took sasine of three of the 6 merklands

of Kilchoan, Nether Lorn, in 1630 (GRS, 1 ser.:28. 2). In 1643 he granted them to Mr John MacLachlan, minister of Kilbrandon (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:2. 67). He was excused a meeting of the Synod of Argyll on 7 October of that year because of illness and it was recorded on 2 May 1644 that the parish of Kilninver was vacant through the decease of the minister (MacTavish 1943-4:1. 78, 90). He married Marion Campbell sometime before 3 February 1623 (GRS, 1 ser.:22. 385).

1 John.

2 Neill first appears on record as one of a number of boys approved by the Synod of Argyll in 1648 for further education. He received 200 merks from the Synod in 1651 to maintain him at the grammar school of Inverary (MacTavish 1943-4:1. 124, 201). He matriculated at Glasgow University in 1653 and graduated in Arts three years later (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 31, 106). In 1658 a grant in his favour of the lands of Kilbride Beg by his brother, John MacLachlan of Kilbride, was witnessed by Sir Allan MacLean of Duart and Murdoch MacLean of Lochbuie (Reg. Deeds, Dal.:22. 192), and by the following year he is on record as 'paedagogue' to MacLean of Duart. In this role he was thoroughly disapproved of by the Synod and they made attempts to have him removed and to bring him before the presbytery of Lorn 'to answer for the scandall of ordinary sweareing and drunkenes, as also the scandall of fornication' (MacTavish 1943-4:2. 195, 203, 210). But all to no avail, for he remained in his post and a bond of 1662 refers to him as 'Governour to the land of MacLean' (Saltoun Coll., box 407). In the same year the 4 merklands of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, were granted to him (Reg. Deeds, Dal.:28. 63). In 1668 a complaint was laid before the Privy Council against Mr Neill MacLachlan and others for illegal imprisonment of a free subject (*RPC*, 3 ser.:2. 515). He was dead by 6 February 1672 (Saltoun Coll., box 407).

John

was served heir to his father who died c. 1643 (Reg. Deeds, Dal.:22. 192). He is on record in 1650 and 1651 as the ruling elder of the combined parish of Kilbrandon and Kilchattan (MacTavish 1943-4:1. 183-4, 198). He was granted the wadsett of the 4 merklands of Oban, Seil, by Archibald, Marquis of Argyll, in 1652 (Breadalbane Muns., 2/64). In 1663 he witnessed a grant of the 6 merklands of Ballimore, Kerrera, to Mr John MacLachlan, minister of Kilninver (GRS, 3 ser.:6. 151). A charter of wadsett of the Garvellach islands was granted to him in 1666 by Archibald, Earl of Argyll (Saltoun Coll., box 407). He leased four of the 6 merklands of Kilbride, Seil, in 1667 (Breadalbane Muns., 9/22) and was retoured heir to his brother, Neill, on 6 February 1672 (Saltoun Coll., box 407). He was probably still alive on 22 November 1681 when his son and successor, Patrick, is called 'fiar of Kilbryd' (Reg. Deeds, Dal.:60. 573) but was almost certainly dead by 19 June 1683 when Patrick was designated 'of Kilbride' (*RPC*, 3 ser.:8. 559). He married Christian, sister of Alexander Campbell of Arivane, who was dead by 5 November 1673 (Reg. Deeds, Dal.:51. 220).

1 Patrick.

2 Archibald witnessed a bond between his father and Alexander Campbell of Arivane in 1673 (*ibid.*).

3 Marie was the subject of the same bond (*ibid.*).

Patrick witnessed a bond by his father in 1670 (Reg. Deeds, Dur.:24. 289). He was fiar of Kilbride by 22 November 1681 (Reg. Deeds, Dal.:60. 573) and had succeeded his father by 19 June 1683 when, designated 'of Kilbride', he was one of many from the area who gave bonds to the Commissioners of Justiciary to keep the peace (*RPC*, 3 ser.:8. 559). Sasine to him, as eldest born son of the late John MacLachlan of Kilbride, of the lands of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, is recorded in 1686 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:2. 147). He was doubtless the tacksman of that name to whom the 6 merklands of Kilbride, Seil, were leased by Lord Neill Campbell in 1692 (Breadalbane Muns., 9/1). In 1709 and again in 1710 he was named cautioner for his sons, John and Neill (Breadalbane Muns., 9/39). He was party to a bond of cautionary dated 10 July 1719 (Paton 1913-22:1. 171). But an inventory of the progress of the wadsett of the Garvellach islands drawn up in 1749 records a charter of adjudication dated 23 February 1719 to Patrick's son, John, 'now of Kilbride' (Saltoun Coll., box 407), which suggests that Patrick had already handed over control of MacLachlan affairs to his son.

1 John.

2 Patrick, Master of Arts and student of theology, was a witness in 1683 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:2. 147). A MacLachlan of that name matriculated at Glasgow University in 1670 and another graduated in 1671 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 39, 121; but see below, n. 13).

3 Duncan.

4 Neill leased the 2 merklands of Clachan, together with the change house and the ferry between Seil and the mainland, in 1709 and 1710 (Breadalbane Muns., 2/64). In 1718 he bound himself to render account to Lord Glenorchy's chamberlain for his intromissions with the ferm and teind meal of Nether Lorn (Paton 1913-22:1. 164).

John was named in the sasine to his father of the lands of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, recorded in 1686 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:2. 147). As John MacLachlan, 'younger of Kilbride', he leased the 4 merklands of Oban, Seil, for seven years with entry at Whitsun 1709 (Breadalbane Muns., 9/39). He was designated 'of Kilbride' in 1719 (Saltoun Coll., box 407). In 1748 a list of wadsetts on the Argyll estate which it was thought lucrative to redeem included the Garvellach islands. This elicited a petition in the following year from John to the effect that he should be allowed to convert the wadsett into a lease. On 15 October he complained that the Duke of Argyll's factors were demanding too much rent for the 20s. lands of Drisaig, Loch Avich, and he offered to exchange them for a tack of the Garvellach islands. In the event the wadsett of the Garvellach islands was redeemed from him, and his nephew, Patrick, reopening in 1757 the possibility of obtaining a lease, claimed that, when they were leased to Dugall MacDougall of Gallanach in 1751, he was so young that he 'could not make any proposal' for them. The implication is that John had died by this time, and indeed, in his petition of 1749, he represented himself as being in his 'old declining years'. Patrick goes on to tell us that his uncle, 'an old infirm man' at the time of his death, had no children (Saltoun Coll., boxes 407, 408, 416).

Duncan was designated 'of Croy' in a sasine of 27 March 1750 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:8. 114). This must be Croy in Dumbartonshire and he presumably obtained possession of the lands of Croy on, or as a consequence of, his marriage to Margaret Leckie. At least a family of that name is on record as possessing the lands of Croy Lecky, Dumbartonshire, in the early seventeenth century (PRS Argyll, 1 ser.:1. 228-30). In 1755 Duncan was designated 'of Kilbride' in a list of assize (Saltoun Coll., box 413). He granted the lands of Kilbride Beg, Seil, and of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, to his son, Patrick, in 1756 (RMS:116. 91, 113). In 1761 he agreed to pay part of the salary of the schoolmaster for the island of Luing (Session Bk.:1. 52, 59). He was bailie for the sasine of the lands of Kilchoan to John MacLachlan in 1763 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:9. 367). He attended the kirk session of 2 September 1766 as a heritor of the parish of Kilbrandon (Session Bk.:1. 101). He seems to have been still alive in 1775, for he was almost certainly the MacLachlan of Kilbride whom Mr Donald MacNicol mentioned in his book written in that year (MacNicol 1779:4, 11, 342), but he was dead by 27 December (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:11. 199, 202). He married Margaret Leckie presumably sometime before 27 March 1750 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:8. 114; RMS:116. 91).

1 Patrick was owed rent by a tenant in Croy in 1751 (Reg. Deeds, MacK.:178(1). 277). And although he claimed to have been too young in that year to make a proposal for leasing the Garvellach islands (Saltoun Coll., box 416), the evidence suggests that Duncan, on his succession *c.* 1750, had placed the administration of the MacLachlan estate in his son's hands. As Peter MacLachlan of Croy he addressed the kirk session on 8 December 1754 on behalf of a miller on the island of Luing who had not yet received payment for making 'a poor man's coffin' (Session Bk.:1. 11). In 1755 he took sasine of the wadsett of the 7 merklands of Auchinellan, Ardskeodnish, and in the following year of the islands and slate quarries of Belnahua, Plada and Ormsary in the parish of Killernadale, Jura (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:8. 460; 9. 58). His father made over to him, as his eldest son born of Margaret Leckie, the lands of Kilbride Beg, Seil, and Kilbride, Mid Lorn, in 1756 (RMS:116. 91, 113). The year 1757 saw at least three memorials by Patrick to the Duke of Argyll giving reasons why the lease of the Garvellach islands to Dugal MacDougall of Gallanach should be set aside in Patrick's favour. A note appended to the last of them dated 9 November indicates that it was successful (Saltoun Coll., box 416). Patrick was dead by 25 February 1760 (Session Bk.:1. 45).

2 John.

3 Hugh makes comparatively frequent appearances in the pages of the Session Book of Kilbrandon between the years 1755 and 1763 (Session Bk.:1. 14, 16, 27-30, 39, 63-4, 67). Therein he is described as a natural son of Duncan MacLachlan of Kilbride and as a merchant who lived in Upper Ardlarach, Luing. But he was living at Ormaig in the parish of Kilmartin when he died on 23 May 1790 (Argyll Tests.:12. 195-6). In 1763 he contracted to marry Jean, daughter of Daniel Campbell of Carsaig (Paton 1913-22:3. 171), who survived him (Argyll Tests.:12. 195-6).

4 Elizabeth.

5 Margaret.

6 Patrick is described as 'brother consanguinean' of Margaret in 1804. As heir portioner to her brother german, Major John MacLachlan of Kilbride, she granted her half share of the 5 merklands of Ard Chonnell to Patrick. In the sasine thereof he was designated 'of Ard Chonnell' (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:16. 225). He was then a lieutenant in the army and may be the same as Lieutenant Peter MacLachlan who was attorney in a sasine on Ormsary in 1796 (H. Campbell Notes, Barbreck Writs). According to nineteenth-century tradition he attained the rank of captain, succeeded to the lands of Kilchoan and died without issue (Campbell 1885:186; see below.

John

witnessed a sasine in 1750 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:8. 114). He had been preferred by the Duke of Argyll to a lieutenantancy in the 'new Additionall Levies' by 28 October 1757 (Saltoun Coll., box 416). He was party to his brother Hugh's marriage contract drawn up in 1763 (Paton 1913-22:3. 171). On 7 August 1770 the Session Book of Kilbrandon records payment of the balance of a fine due by 'Capt. McLauchlan' (Session Bk.:117). He was served heir to his brother, Patrick, in 1771 (Reg. Retours:80. 217). In 1772 he took sasine of the Belnahua islands as Captain John MacLachlan of Kilbride (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:10. 401). On 24 November 1774 he attended the kirk session of Kilbrandon, presumably as a heritor of the parish (Session Bk.:1. 129). A royal grant confirmed him in his possession of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, in 1775 and similarly a year later of Kilbride Beg, Seil (RMS:116. 91, 113). On 27 December 1775 he took sasine of the 20s. lands of Drisaig, Loch Avich, in preparation for granting them to Archibald, son of Hugh MacCalman, surgeon in Larachbane (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:11. 199, 202), and on the same day he took sasine of the 5 merklands of Ard Chonnell, together with the keepership of the castle of Innis Chonnell, as granted to him by Colin MacLachlan of Craiginterve. In 1776 he leased the lands of Ard Chonnell, granting the rent thereof a year later to Ann and Helen, sisters of the deceased Colin, brother of Lachlan MacLachlan, younger of Innis Chonnell. Colin MacLachlan of Craiginterve acted as bailie at the sasine (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:11. 200, 290, 335). Describing himself as Captain in the 55th regiment of foot, John sold the lands of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, for £1,000 sterling in 1776 to Alexander MacDougall of Dunollie 'heretably without any manner of Redemption, Reversion or Regress whatsoever' (Reg. Deeds, Dal.: 220. 1541). A series of documents in the final years of the eighteenth century concern complicated financial transactions involving the lands of Craiginterve undertaken by Colin MacLachlan of Craiginterve with the support of John (GRS, 3 ser.: 573. 245; 582. 200, 207; 608. 119; PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:15. 42, 442). By 1797 John had risen to the rank of major (GRS, 3 ser.:573. 245). According to nineteenth-century tradition from Nether Lorn, a Major John MacLachlan, who had seen service in North America, was laird of Kilchoan (Gillies 1909:36).²¹ This must be Major John MacLachlan of Kilbride, for it was in 'the Major's own house at Kilchoan' in 1801 that Donald MacIntosh compiled his catalogue of the Kilbride Collection (N.L.S. 73. 2. 24, no. 15). It was there too that John's sister and heir portioner, Margaret, disposed of her share of the lands of Ard Chonnell to

Lieutenant Patrick MacLachlan in 1804 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:16. 225). It would seem that John had acquired the lands of Kilchoan from his kinsmen, perhaps on the death of Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan sometime after 1763. We shall see that the latter's immediate family had already taken up residence in Glasgow. John MacLachlan of Kilbride was still alive on 9 October 1802 (Reg. Deeds, Dur.: 295. 46) but he was dead by 1 October 1803 (GRS, 3 ser.:686. 20).

Elizabeth married George Sime of Stuckgowan, Loch Lomond, almost certainly by the year 1773, for her daughter, Christian, came of age in 1794. By that year also Elizabeth was a widow (Reg. Deeds, Dur.:295. 46). She was served heir to her brother, Major John MacLachlan of Kilbride, on 27 July 1804 (Reg. Retours:96. 469) and on 29 August, as one of the two heir portioners of her brother, the other being her sister, Margaret, she was seized in the lands of Kilbride Beg (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.: 16. 250). On 4 October she was reported to be living in Stockwell, Glasgow (N.L.S. 73. 2. 24, no. 47). She was still alive on 4 February 1814 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:27. 152, 155) but was probably dead by 1816 (see above, p. 2).

1 John was heir to his father, George Sime of Stuckgowan, Loch Lomond. He was already in serious financial difficulties by 1794 when his uncle, Major John MacLachlan, appointed trustee by George Sime in 1788, sequestrated 'his stock of cattle'. In 1796 the Sime estate had to be sold by Major MacLachlan (Reg. Deeds, Dur.:295. 46). On 8 October 1804 it was reported that John, now a captain in the army and 'possessor of the Kilbride mss', was living at his mother's house in Stockwell, Glasgow (N.L.S. 73. 2. 24, no. 47). He was still alive on 4 February 1814 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:27. 152) but was probably dead by 1816 when his sister, Christian, seems to have become the owner of the Kilbride Collection (see above, p. 2).

2 Christian came of age in 1794 and was therefore born in 1773. In 1802, supported by her uncle, Major John MacLachlan, she successfully claimed money from the Sime estate left to her by her father (Reg. Deeds, Sur.:295. 46). She was seized in her mother's half of Kilbride Beg and of Ard Chonnell in 1814. By this time too she was the widow of William Marshall, Writer, Glasgow (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.: 27. 152, 155). By 1821 she had recovered four of the five manuscripts lent to the Highland Society by Major MacLachlan. And, if Charles Edward Sobieski-Stuart is to be believed, she was still alive in 1839 or 1840 (see above, p. 2).

Margaret was served heir to her brother, Major John MacLachlan of Kilbride, on 27 August 1804 (Reg. Retours:97. 56). She was already the widow of Hugh Cameron, a merchant in Strontian, when she was described on 4 October as one of two heir portioners of her deceased brother, the other being her sister, Elizabeth (GRS, 3 ser.:686. 20). In 1804 she was seized in her half of the 5 merklands of Ard Chonnell which she immediately granted to her 'brother consanguinean', Lieutenant Patrick MacLachlan of Ard Chonnell (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:16. 223, 225).

MacLachlans of Kilchoan

John was a Master of Arts and he could be either of two MacLachlans of that name who graduated from Glasgow University in 1595 and 1606 respectively (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 7, 10). As vicar of Seil, he witnessed two charters by Andrew Boyd, Bishop of Argyll, in 1615 (*Argyll Rentals*:1. 88; *RMS*:7, no. 1243). In the following year a contract between John and Alexander Campbell of Ardchattan concerning the teinds of the parish of Seil was witnessed by Mr Patrick MacLachlan of Kilbride (*Reg. Deeds*, 1 ser.:273. 336). As minister of Seil and Luing (the combined parish of Kilbrandon and Kilchattan), he was bailie at a sasine in Seil in 1621 (*PRS Argyll*, 1 ser.:1. 171). The 6 merklands of Kilchoan were granted 'irredeemably and equally' between John and Mr Patrick MacLachlan of Kilbride by Colin MacLachlan, fiar of Craiginterve, with the consent of his father, Archibald, in 1630 (*GRS*, 1 ser.:28. 2) and in 1643 Mr Patrick MacLachlan granted his half of Kilchoan to John (*PRS Argyll*, 1 ser.:2. 67). John was moderator of the presbytery of Kilmore (Lorn) in 1651 and in 1657 he declared his readiness to retire from the ministry (*MacTavish* 1943-4:2. 150). He granted the 2 merklands of Deginshe, Kilbrandon, under wadsett to Donald, brother of Colin Campbell of Lochnell in 1659 (*PRS Argyll*, 1 ser.:2. 265). On 9 June 1660 he was granted half of the 6 merklands of Ballimore, Kerrera, together with the ferry of Kerrera, on a charter of alienation and wadsett by John MacDougall of Dunollie (*PRS Argyll*, 1 ser.:2. 387). He was seized in these lands on 11 September but was dead by 2 November (*MacTavish* 1943-4:2. 227). He married Isobel MacDougall (*GRS*, 1 ser.:28. 5), doubtless sometime before 1607, the year in which their son, John, was born.

1 John.

John probably matriculated at Glasgow University in 1636 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 90). He had completed a degree in Arts by 18 August 1643 (*PRS Argyll*, 1 ser.:2. 33) and in the following year he was an expectant in the presbytery of Kilmore (Lorn). On 2 May the Synod of Argyll directed that he should undergo further trials at Inverary on the first Wednesday in August. Presumably successful, he was admitted to the charge of Kilninver in 1649 (*MacTavish* 1943-4:1. 89, 132-3). In 1659, as eldest son and heir apparent, John consented to his father's grant of wadsett of the 2 merklands of Deginshe, Kilbrandon, to Donald Campbell (*PRS Argyll*, 1 ser.:2. 265). In the following year there is recorded the reversion by John of the wadsett of 2 merklands in Braelorn in the name of his son, Duncan, to Alexander Campbell of Barrichbeyan (*PRS Argyll*, 1 ser.:2. 363). He took sasine of the 6 merklands of Ballimore, Kerrera, in 1663 on a wadsett charter by John MacDougall of Dunollie witnessed by John MacLachlan of Kilbride (*GRS*, 3 ser.:6. 151). He was 'of Kilchoan' in a document dated 23 October 1667 (*GRS*, 3 ser.:18. 140) and this appears to be the earliest record of its use as a designation by the family. He was confirmed in the wadsett of Ballimore by the Earl of Argyll in 1669 (*Saltoun Coll.*, box 416) and in the same year he was seized in the 6 merklands of Kilchoan (*GRS*,

3 ser.:21. 396). The inscription on his graveslab in Kilbrandon tells us that he died at the age of 78 on 3 November 1685 (RCAMS *Argyll* 1971-:2. 140). He was married first to Margaret Campbell, almost certainly by 18 August 1643 (PRS *Argyll*, 1 ser.:2. 33; GRS, 3 ser.:18. 140), and second to Elizabeth Campbell who survived him (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5, nos. 3, 5).

1 John.

2 Duncan received £100 from the Synod of Argyll in 1652 (MacTavish 1943-4: 2. 23), probably to maintain him at the grammar school at Inverary. As second lawful son of Mr John MacLachlan, minister of Kilninver, he was granted a wadsett of 2 merklands in Braelorn by Alexander Campbell of Barrichbeyan in 1657 (PRS *Argyll*, 1 ser.:2. 246). He matriculated in Glasgow University in 1662 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 113). Five years later he witnessed a document as Mr Duncan MacLachlan, student (GRS, 3 ser.:18. 140). He was probably a student of theology by this time, for in April 1676 he was presented to the parish of Strathlachlan, having served 'at the said kirk' all the previous year (RPC, 3 ser.: 6. 154). In 1679 he was supplicating the Privy Council for payment of his stipend. He died in 1685 or 1686 (Scott 1915-50:4. 44). He married Ann MacArthur (PRS *Argyll*, 2 ser.:6. 279). Their son, John, succeeded his uncle as head of the family (see below).

3 Patrick was named in 1657 first of Duncan's three brothers who would succeed the latter in the wadsett of the two merklands in Braelorn should he have no lawful heirs (PRS *Argyll*, 1 ser.:2. 246). He graduated Master of Arts from Glasgow University on 18 July 1672 (Scott 1915-50:4. 96). He was bailie for his father and brother, John, in a sasine in 1678 (PRS *Argyll*, 2 ser.:1. 226). On 16 December 1685 he was presented to the parish of Kilninver (Scott 1915-50:4. 96), presumably succeeding his father therein. He was still minister of Kilninver in 1693 when he went surety for two Kilchoan inventories recorded in that year (*Argyll Invs.*:2. 22). But in 1697 Kilninver was declared vacant because Patrick, 'late episcopal incumbent', had failed to accept the presbyterian form of church government (Reg. Syn. *Argyll*:3. 781). He is on record as renting three quarters of the 6 merklands of Laganmore in the parish of Kilninver in 1704, and again in 1709 and 1710 when he is described as 'ane old minister and infirme' (Breadalbane Muns., 9/1, 39). He was served heir to his brother Neill in 1711 (Reg. Retours:54. 209).

4 Neill was the second of three brothers of Duncan who were named as his successors in 1657 (PRS *Argyll*, 1 ser.:2. 246). Neill was a drover. Robbed near Moffat of money made on one of his droving enterprises into England, he and his advocate, Sir George MacKenzie of Rosehaugh, took out a summons before the Privy Council in 1688 (RPC, 3 ser.:13. 301). He died at Nether Kames, Kilmelfort, in September 1692 (*Argyll Invs.*:2. 22).

5 Donald, the third of Duncan's three brothers named as his possible successor in 1657 (PRS *Argyll*, 1 ser.:2. 246), was a witness in 1671 (GRS, 3 ser.:26. 449). He made and gave up his father's testament in 1686 (*Argyll Test.*:2. 117). In 1692 he was named executor on the death of his brother, Neill, who bequeathed to him all his 'goods'. Donald, now in Nether Kames, was also executor for his sister-in-law, Katherine MacAlastair, wife of Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan, who died in

1693 (Argyll Invs.:2. 21-2). He was a witness in 1709 and again in 1715 (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5. nos. 15, 20).

6 Isobel was seized in 2 merklands of Carnban, Seil, in 1671 (GRS, 3 ser.:26. 449).

7 Helen was contracted to marry Iver Campbell of Auchadaherly in June 1688 and she is on record as his widow on 29 June 1741 (Paton 1913-22:1. 18, 219).

8 Martin matriculated at Glasgow University in 1689 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 148). Examined by the Synod in the following year, he was found to be a 'hopefull young man' (Reg. Syn. Argyll:3. 89). He witnessed his brother Neill's will dated 30 August 1692 (Argyll Invs.:2. 22). By 1697 he had graduated Master of Arts (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5. no. 11). He was being supported as a student of divinity by the Synod in 1698 (Reg. Syn. Argyll:3. 790). Ordained minister of Kilbride in May of the following year, he was drowned at Inverary in December (Reg. Syn. Argyll:3. 811, 856).

9 Katherine was named in her brother Neill's will dated 30 August 1692 (Argyll Invs.:2. 22).

10 Archibald was the first, and presumably therefore the eldest, of five children named in his father's will recorded on 27 January 1686 (Argyll Tests.:2. 117). These were presumably the offspring of Mr John MacLachlan's second marriage. Archibald was a witness in 1693 and again in 1697 (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5. nos. 6, 10). He matriculated at Glasgow University in 1702 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 174). By 1708 he had graduated Master of Arts (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5. no. 14). He was described as a student of divinity in 1711, a probationer in the presbytery of Lorn in 1712 and a student of theology in 1713 (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5. nos. 17, 19, 27) but in that year the Synod reported that the presbytery of Lorn found him unsatisfactory material for a minister (Reg. Syn. Argyll:5. 143). He is on record again in 1720 (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 3. no. 42).

11 Hugh was the second of five children named in his father's will recorded on 27 January 1686 (Argyll Tests.:2. 117).

12 Alexander (*ibid.*).

13 Anna (*ibid.*).

14 Christian (*ibid.*).

John received 100 merks from the Synod of Argyll in 1659 to pursue his studies (MacTavish 1943-4:2. 205). He was doubtless one of two MacLachlans of that name who matriculated at Glasgow University in 1661 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 112-13). Whether it was he or the other who graduated in Arts in 1664 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 35), he had completed a Master's degree by 1669 when he took sasine of Kilchoan along with his father (GRS, 3 ser.:21. 396). In the same year he was presented to the parish of Craignish (Scott 1915-50:4. 2). He was still minister of Craignish on 7 February 1689 but by 9 February 1692 he was describing himself as 'minister of the Gospel' and on 26 February 1697 as 'late minister of Craignish' (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5. nos. 3, 5, 10). He was still alive on 5 March 1709 but was dead by 7 February 1711 (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5. nos. 15, 16). He married Katherine MacAlastair who died in March 1693 (Argyll Invs.:2. 21).

1 Margaret, an only child, was served heir to her grandfather in 1730. She was

then wife of James, brother of Patrick Campbell of Barcaldine (Reg. Retours:61. 450; Paton 1913-22:3. 197). Her son, John, unsuccessfully attempted to claim the wadsett of Ballimore as heir of line sometime before 4 March 1757 (Saltoun Coll., box 416; see below).

John, son of Mr Duncan MacLachlan, minister of Strathlachlan (d. c. 1685), had succeeded his uncle, Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan, as heir male by 7 February 1711 (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5. no. 16; Saltoun Coll., box 16). By this time too he had completed a Master's degree in Arts and he was doubtless one of two MacLachlans of that name who matriculated at Glasgow University in 1701 and 1703 respectively (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 172, 178).²² He had occasion to procure himself invested in the lands of Ballimore and of Kilchoan in 1729 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:6. 279). He took a prominent part in the '45, being chaplain general to the army of Prince Charles Edward Stewart (Blaikie 1916:85). Alexander MacDougall of Dunollie attempted to redeem the wadsett of Ballimore from him in 1747 but was unsuccessful partly, it was claimed, because the latter was out of the country 'for being concerned in the rebellion' (Saltoun Coll., box 416; and see above, p. 9). Ten years later John had himself served heir to his grandfather to meet the threat to his possession of the wadsett of Ballimore from John Campbell, the heir of line (Reg. Retours:71. 480; Saltoun Coll., box 416; and see above). However, in the same year and despite an appeal to the Duke of Argyll as the lawful superior, he failed to ward off another attempt by Alexander MacDougall to redeem the wadsett (Saltoun Coll., box 416). He paid a fine to the kirk session of Kilbrandon on behalf of one of his servants in 1762 and he is also on record in that year as baptising an illegitimate child (Session Bk.:1. 59, 61). He was still alive on 16 July 1763 when he granted the lands of Kilchoan to his son, John (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:9. 367).²³ He was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Sutherland of Auchdall, by October 1729 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:6. 279). Later he married Ann and in 1762 he granted her a life rent of the lands of Kilchoan in case she survived him (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:9. 342).

1 John.

John was granted the lands of Kilchoan conjointly with his wife Katherine MacPherson by his father on 16 July 1763. He was then a merchant in Glasgow. Duncan MacLachlan of Kilbride was bailie at the sasine (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:9. 367).

1 John was named eldest lawful son and successor to his father in the grant of the lands of Kilchoan on 16 July 1763 (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:9. 367).

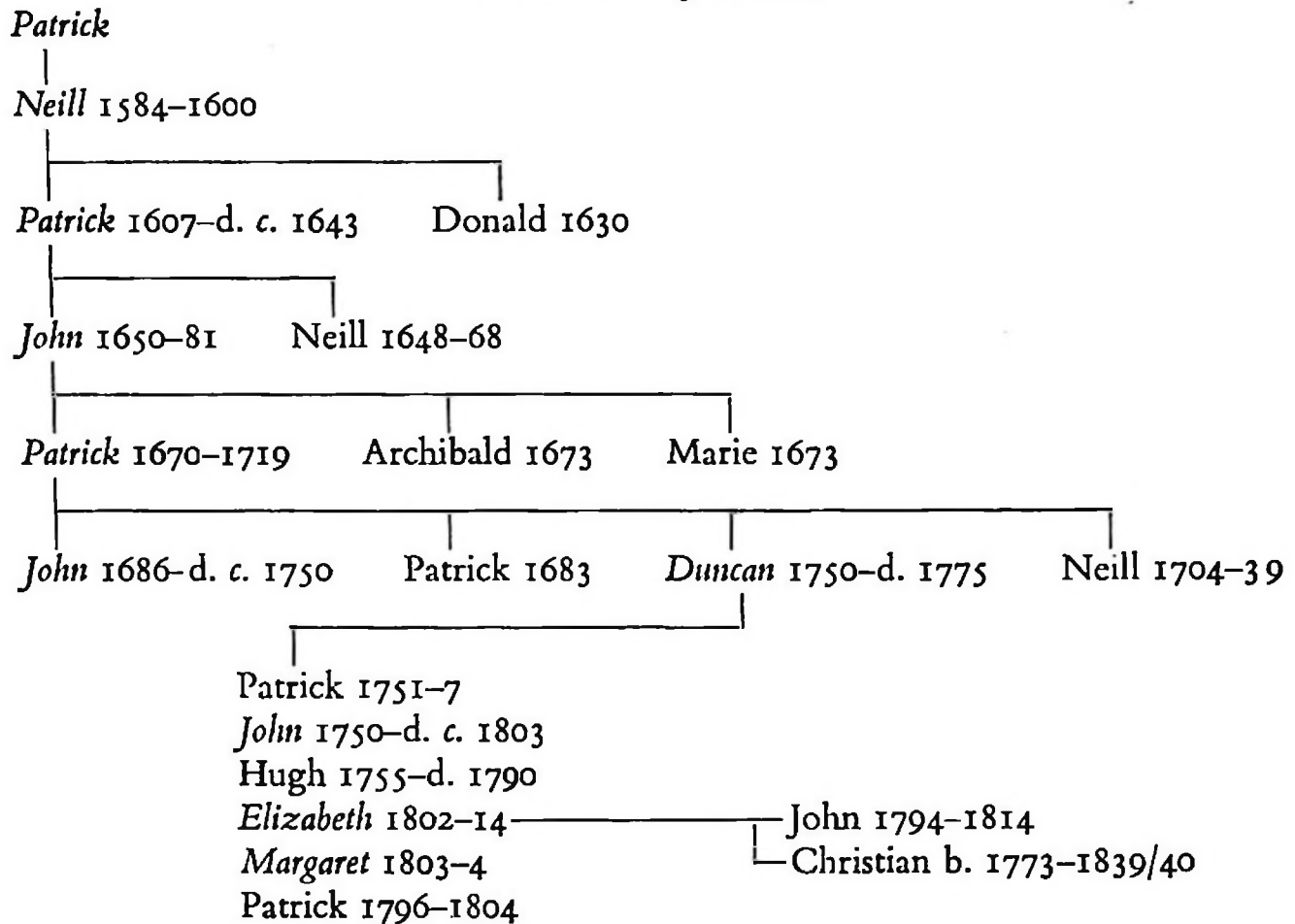
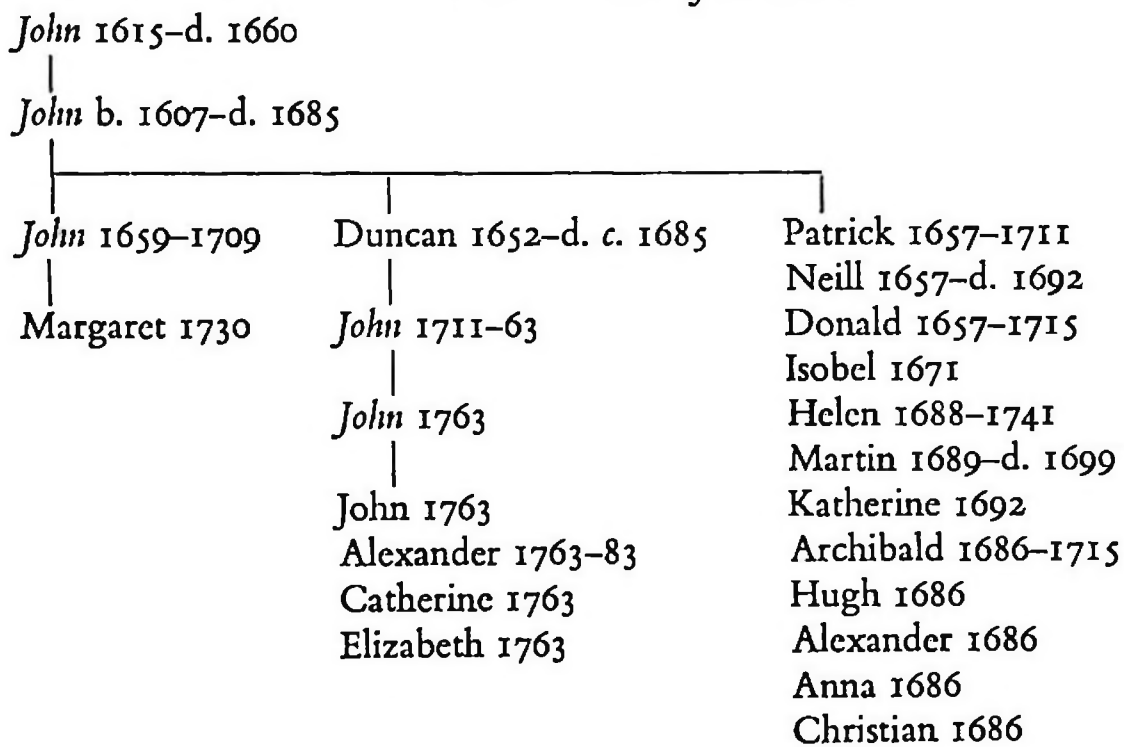
2 Alexander was the second lawful son and on the same day provision was made for him and for his sisters, Catherine and Elizabeth, out of the lands of Kilchoan. Duncan MacLachlan of Kilbride was again bailie at the sasine (PRS Argyll, 2 ser.:9. 367, 369). Alexander matriculated at Glasgow University in 1774 and graduated Doctor of Medicine in 1783 (Addison 1898:391).

3 Catherine (*ibid.*).

4 Elizabeth (*ibid.*).

Genealogical Tables

When the date of birth or death is known, it is indicated in the appropriate manner, otherwise the dates recorded are those of the earliest and latest datable references to a given person. The names of successive heads of family are italicised.

MacLachlans of Kilbride*MacLachlans of Kilchoan*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to Professor Gordon Donaldson and Mr Ronald Black, who kindly read this paper in a first draft, for help and advice. My thanks are also due to the staffs of the Scottish Record Office and the National Library of Scotland for their unfailing courtesy and helpfulness.

NOTES

- 1 I am indebted to Mr Ronald Black for making available material relating to the Kilbride Collection in the Ingliston Archives. I have used the reference system that he devised for documents of Gaelic interest in the archives.
- 2 MacKenzie rendered the name of the library as 'Leabhar-làn Luchd-lagha Ghlascho' which is not very informative but I am assured that the procurators' library was the only possible candidate in 1844.
- 3 The Kilbride Collection was presumably recovered from the procurators' library by Hugh Kerr or his executors sometime after 1844. It may have been deposited there in the first place on loan or for reasons of safety.
- 4 MSS xxxii and xxxv are missing but the contents of the first were described in detail and transcribed by Ewen MacLachlan in 1812-13 (N.L.S. 72. 3. 4-5; Ingliston Archs., A. vi. 1) and Professor Donald MacKinnon described the contents of the second (MacKinnon 1912:221-5).
- 5 There are further eighteenth- and nineteenth-century references of a more or less general character to the MacLachlans of Kilbride and their collection of manuscripts. Donald MacNicol, whose review of Dr Samuel Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* came out in 1779, and therefore contains the earliest published notice of the MacLachlans of Kilbride, tells us that they possessed 'a variety of Gaelic manuscripts and fragments, which have been transmitted from father to son, for many generations' (MacNicol 1779:342). John MacKenzie, writing in Gaelic in 1844, maintains that 'all the MacLachlans of Kilbride were skilled in history and poetry and it was reported that in their day they were the best Gaelic scholars in Scotland. They left fifty books written on calf and sheepskin in the old Gaelic script in which the *seanchaidhean* of Scotland and Ireland were accustomed to write' (MacChoinnich 1844:244). Finally, Lord Archibald Campbell, purporting to retail tradition recorded in Gaelic from Dugald MacDougall of Soroba, Kilbride, Mid Lorn, says that, besides being land-owners and cattle dealers, the MacLachlans of Kilbride were 'men of literary and musical tastes, being accomplished historians and bards, and proficient players on several musical instruments'. Some of them, he goes on, 'were connected with the Church in pre-Reformation and post-Reformation times' (Campbell 1885:181).
- 6 Bishop Robert Keith was originally responsible for this error (Keith 1824:306). He read *Maclauchlan* for *McCachane* in a precept of legitimation granted to Bishop Ferchar in 1544 (RSS:3. no. 755). *MacEachainn* was a subsidiary surname used by the MacLeans of Kingairloch at this time (Steer and Bannerman 1977:130-1).
- 7 Yate or Gait was an alternative name for the lands of Kilbride Beg (RMS:116. 113).
- 8 But it should be noted that Duncan, son of Alan MacDougall of Torsay, held a wadsett of four of the 6 merklands of Kilbride, Seil, from 1655 to 1666 (Breadalbane Muns., 2/44).
- 9 So too perhaps, in view of their later close connection with the parish of Kilbride, Mid Lorn, we should not overlook the fact that Gilbert, son of Torletus MacLachlan, was vicar of Kilbride for a number of years before becoming chancellor of Argyll in 1424 (Dunlop 1956:79, 89, 116). These forenames are not, however, recorded elsewhere among the MacLachlans of Kilbride, but sir Patrick, vicar of Kilbride, witnessed a sasine in favour of Walter Stewart, lord of Lorn, in 1470 (AT, 21 Mar.).

- 10 Sir Archibald Leche, chancellor of Argyll in 1511, maybe a MacLachlan, and therefore the earliest of that forename on record (Campbell 1922:183; Fraser 1874:2. 190).
- 11 It was also claimed by Mr Donald MacNicol (MacKechnie 1973:1. 331, no. 15b) that John composed *Marbhrann do Mhac Mhic Ailein*, an elegy to Alan MacDonald of Clan Ranald, a leading Jacobite, who, severely wounded at Sheriffmuir (1715), died shortly thereafter at Drummond Castle (but see *ibid.* and MacKenzie 1904:69-70).
- 12 William, who matriculated at Glasgow University in 1663 and graduated in 1666 (*Glas. Mun.* 1854:3. 36, 114), was granted the 2 merklands of Fernoch and Mill of Drum by Archibald MacLachlan of Craiginterve in 1673 (H. Campbell Notes, Auchindarroch Writs, 2. no. 15).
- 13 He was a son of Martin MacLachlan, a merchant in Islay, and by 1672 he was a graduate in Arts (Reg. Deeds, Dur.:48. 591). His father was probably the son of another Martin who was minister in Islay by 1630 (Reg. Deeds, 1 ser.:453. 7) and who may have succeeded Mr Patrick MacLachlan of Kilbride there. Like Patrick, he was the only minister on the island, at least from 1653 (MacTavish 1943-4:2. 35, 238). As 'minister of the word of God in the Ill of Ila', he entered into a bond with Patrick's son, John MacLachlan of Kilbride, in 1657 (Reg. Deeds, Dal.:11. 842-3). He was still minister in Islay in 1661 (MacTavish 1943-4:2. 235). Finally, Archibald MacLachlan, merchant in Kilarrow, Islay, was party to a bond for the relief of John MacLachlan of Kilbride and others in 1768 (Reg. Deeds, Dur.:230. 464).
- 14 It can be shown that many professional families in mediæval Scotland had their roots in Ireland and it may be significant that MS XXXV of the Kilbride Collection was written c. 1654 by Edmond MacLaghlain, who was an Irishman (MacKechnie 1973:1. 175). But it has so far not been possible to point to any other likely Irish connection.
- 15 This is MS XXXII, but the fact that Ewen MacLachlan, who transcribed it, called it *Leabhar Chille Bríde* (N.L.S. 72. 3. 251-4), suggests that Major John MacLachlan had signed it also.
- 16 I am indebted to Mr William Matheson for this reference.
- 17 In 1806 Sir John Sinclair, in pursuance of the Highland Society's remit of furthering the study of Gaelic literature and music, enquired of Foulis's son whether his father, who died in 1791, had left any Gaelic manuscripts among his papers, but the son replied that he had found 'none that could be of any use' (N.L.S. 73. 2. 11, nos. 58, 63). General Oughton's papers were also examined at the behest of Sir John Sinclair but there is no record of MacLachlan manuscripts being found among them (N.L.S. 73. 2. 11, no. 25; 73. 2. 12, no. 51; 73. 3. 1, no. 25).
- 18 I am indebted to Monsignor David McRoberts for allowing me to refer to a forthcoming publication in which he will argue that the covers of MSS XIV and XXVII, probably made sometime in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, come from a service book which may have been written in the monastery of Iona at the beginning of the thirteenth century.
- 19 In view of the continued interest of the MacLachlans of Kilbride in medicine, implicit in their acquisition in the eighteenth century of Beaton medical manuscripts, it is perhaps surprising that they did not acquire those which must once have been the working tools of their kinsmen, the MacLachlans of Craiginterve. However, it is possible that, although the latter had given up the medical profession early in the seventeenth century, an offshoot may have continued to practise medicine in the classical tradition and fallen heir to their manuscripts. It is worth noting therefore that Edward Lhuyd's list of owners of Gaelic manuscripts in Scotland in 1699 includes 'Alan MacLachlyn, a chirurgeon, in Cnapdale' (Campbell and Thomson 1963:9).
- 20 There is a tradition that the MacLachlans obtained Kilbride, Mid Lorn, through a marriage connection with the MacDougalls of Dunollie (Campbell 1885:181).
- 21 See also Campbell 1885:186. But if it was during the Seven Years War (1756-63) as tradition maintains (Gillies 1909:36), John MacLachlan had not yet attained the rank of major, nor had he acquired the lands of Kilchoan.

- 22 The other was probably Mr John MacLachlan, son of Donald in Stroneskar, just across the Kilmartin parish boundary from Craiginterve. He gave a receipt on behalf of Mr John MacLachlan of Kilchoan in 1723 (H. Campbell Notes, Craignish, 5. no. 30).
- 23 Traditionally the year of his death was 1789 (Gillies 1909:19), which, since his father died *c.* 1685, would make him at least 104 years old.

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