



MacCoinnich, A. (2008) *Sìol Torcail and their lordship in the sixteenth century*. In: *Crossing the Minch: Exploring the Links Between Skye and the Outer Hebrides*. The Islands Book Trust, Callicvol, Isle of Lewis, pp. 7-32. ISBN 9780955542039

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Deposited on: 23 September 2008

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SÌOL TORCAIL AND THEIR LORDSHIP IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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Had there been newspaper headlines during the sixteenth century, the Macleods of Lewis would have figured prominently on the front pages, and had these been red-top tabloids, the exploits of the thrice married Ruairidh MacLeòid, who fathered some four sons by his three wives and a further five sons outwith wedlock would certainly have kept them interested. Under the leadership of Ruairidh, the last undisputed chief (c.1538-95), they were perennial rebels, and rarely in good favour in parts south and east of the kingdom of Scotland. Ruairidh's late uncle Torcail (†c.1506), the former chief, had succumbed to a royally sanctioned expedition at the opening of the sixteenth century, involving a fleet which reduced Stornoway castle with cannon. Ruairidh himself was to continue this pattern of defiance to the dictats of Edinburgh and came under sustained and serious pressure towards the middle of the century and again towards the end of the sixteenth century from the Crown and their agents.¹

The Macleods of Lewis just after old Ruairidh's death suffered what Hollywood scriptwriters (think asteroid disaster movies) like to call 'an extinction level event' in terms of the Fife plantation (1598-1609) and the subsequent invasion by the Mackenzies of Kintail (1609-11). There is no room to explore this process in detail here other than to offer a brief summary of their political history in the first section of the paper, some of which offers fresh primary material, and much of which paraphrases subject matter covered comprehensively in W.C. Mackenzie's *History of the Outer Hebrides*.² The second section will consider the composition of the lordship in terms of personnel and with an eye to geography before finally taking a look at some of the wider questions arising from this. Why did this happen to the Macleods, and, why is this 'Lewis' 'clan' the subject of discussion in a paper at a conference whose theme focuses on the links between Skye and the Outer Isles? Hopefully by exploring the nature of some aspects of the Macleod lordship in the sixteenth century and its demise some valuable light can be shed on both the reasons underlying the friction between the Macleods of Lewis and their countrymen, and the same discussion can contribute to the consideration of the nature of the linkages between An t-Eilean Sgitheanach (Skye) and Eilean Leòdhais (Lewis) during the sixteenth century.

1 Modern Gaelic forms of personal names, such as *Ruairidh*, *Torcail*, *Dòmhnall Dubh*, *Coinneach* have been privileged here for the purposes of this paper rather than 'Rory/Rodrick' and 'Torquill/Torkill', 'Donald dow', 'Kenneth/Kennoch' and their variants. *Sìol Torcail* similarly has been adopted throughout in preference to 'Shiell Torkill' and its variant spellings. Various forms have been adopted for 'surnames' and placenames.

2 Chapter 5-8 in Mackenzie's book (Paisley 1903) still offers the best and most detailed treatment of this period. See also D. Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland from A.D. 1493 to A.D. 1625* (1832; 2nd edition, Glasgow 1881, reprinted by John Donald, 1974).

I

The Macleods, from their very earliest appearances on historical record sometime in the fourteenth century, were split into two main groups: Siol Tormoid (The Macleods of Harris and Dunvegan in Skye) who continued to exist as an entity, and Siol Torcail (The Macleods of Lewis), who, with the exception of cadets such as Raasay and Assynt were eradicated as a cohesive force by the opening decade of the seventeenth century.³ Why the Macleods of Lewis then, where were they and why take time to consider such a long extinct group? No one would seriously challenge the status of the Macleods of Harris/Dunvegan as a fairly important clan in this period, not perhaps in the same league as the Campbells (few if any were) in terms of importance, not perhaps as powerful as the Mackenzies were to become by 1600, but a significant group of players nonetheless, on a par, perhaps, with the MacLeans before their downfall in the late seventeenth century, or the Macdonalds of Sleat towards the end of the sixteenth century. However for two to three hundred years the Macleods of Lewis were arguably an equal if not larger and more formidable organisation than their namesakes in Harris and Dunvegan.

Siol Torcail had been one of a number of powerful clan groups within the Macdonald Lordship of the Isles between the later fourteenth century and the disintegration of this Lordship, 1475-93. The Macdonald lordship collapsed due to a mixture of internal disunity and pressure from James III & James IV, culminating in the forfeiture of the Lordship in 1493. James IV attempted to extend his control in the area and by so doing maximise his revenues, an approach continued by his successors with varying degrees of success. James essentially promoted divide and rule with a carrot and stick approach. Former vassals of the Macdonalds (including Macdonald cadets such as MacClain of Ardnamurchan) were granted new charters holding their lands as tenants in chief of the Crown rather than as vassals of the Macdonald Lords of the Isles. However, for reasons which are not always clear, families such as the Macleods of Lewis (and others, led by various septs of the Macdonalds) were extremely unhappy with the new order and continued to try and rebel to reinstate the former Macdonald Lordship for much of the sixteenth century. Although the last 'serious' pro-lordship rising is usually stated to have been that of 1545, it remained a live issue, at least in the minds of many Macdonald septs, for another century. This is one of the wider contexts in which the Macleods of Lewis, who controlled the northern end of this lordship, operated.⁴

3 'Mcleoid of Lewes together with his trybe the Shiell Torquill,' in 'The Ewill Trowbles of the Lewes' (c.1630) pp. 265-279 in J.R.N. MacPhail, ed., *Highland Papers ii* (Edinburgh, 1916) at p. 279. For the origins of the Macleods see, W. Matheson, 'The Macleods of Lewis' (320-337) in TGSI 51, 1976-78; W.D.H. Sellar, 'The Ancestry of the Macleods reconsidered' (233-58) in TGSI 60, 2000.

4 Bannerman, J., 'The Lordship of the Isles' (209-240) in J. Brown, ed. *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century* (London 1977); D. Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland*

Rebellion, 1502-1506

Although Torcail Macleod of Lewis had been granted a charter of Lewis by James IV in 1498, by 1502 he was declared a rebel. While James might not have felt the need to attend to this rebellion in person, Torcail was nevertheless a powerful, well-respected chief and his rebellion, like a rebellion by any other magnate in the kingdom, was not something James could afford to ignore. Torcail had been married to Katherine, a daughter of the Earl of Argyll (the Chancellor) sometime around 1498-c.1508 and, seemingly to a daughter of Macdonald of Islay who was a widow of Macdonald of Sleat.⁵ His nephew, the teenage Dòmhnall Dubh (Macdonald) the grandson and heir of John the last Lord of the Isles, escaped from custody in Argyll to Macleod's castle in Stornoway.⁶ Torcail supported an attempt by the Macdonalds to reinstate the Lordship of the Isles in the person of his nephew, something the king was not prepared to countenance.⁷ James ordered a fleet up to the Isles to reduce the rebellion. The Earl of Huntly led the force against Lewis with a contingent of ships, including the 'Raven' which, with cannon, helped reduce Stornoway Castle in 1506. This underlines a point made by Steve Boardman, that the stone fortresses of the isles were, due to the advances in artillery by the time of James IV's reign, no longer impregnable, and that no part of the kingdom could defy

from A.D. 1493 to A.D. 1625 (2nd ed. Glasgow, 1881); D. U. Stiùbhart, *Rioghachd nan Eilean* (Dùn Bhlathain, 2005) 118-123. Although clans such as the Macleans were frequently in rebellion, they were also quite prepared to deal with Edinburgh when required. Lachlan Maclean of Duart in a petition to the Lords of Council (May 1517), referred to his erstwhile allies, the Macdonalds as 'the wyktyt blud of the ylis, for als long as that blud rengis [reigns] the king sal nevir hayf the Ylis in pace when tha s[e]e thar tyme to brek as it is dayly knowne.' R. K. Hannay, ed., *Acts of the Lords of the Council in Public Affairs, 1501-1554* (Edinburgh, 1932) 88. Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands*, 115-122; Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 124-6. For a recent view of the Macleod lordship in a wider context see A. Halford-Macleod, 'The Macleods of Lewis... and of Assynt, Coigach and Gairloch' (193-213) in J.R. Baldwin, ed., *Peoples and Settlement in North-West Ross* (Aberdeen, 1994).

5 For a discussion of the marriages see A. Morrison & D. Mackinnon, *The Macleods- The Genealogy of a Clan* (5 vols. Edinburgh, 1968-1976) iv, p. 32-5; Boardman, *The Campbells*, 273, 283; Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 120-123. Morrison (& Mackinnon) follow Mackenzie (p.123) in stating (p. 4) that Katherine Campbell, sister of Gilleasbuig was the second wife of Torcail, (married 1498). However, Torcail was probably dead by 1511 if not earlier, and in a document dated 27 July 1508, Katherine Campbell still styled herself 'Lady Lewis,' and used her husband's seal for a document. *AT iii*, 85. This suggests that Torcail was married first to the unnamed Macdonald woman. She may have predeceased Catherine Campbell, who was thus probably his second wife. A Gaelic praise poem to him was still circulating in Campbell country and written down some years after his death. W.J. Watson, ed., *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (SGTS, Edinburgh, 1978) 100-104, 281-2.

6 Boardman has suggested that this might have been a fosterage arrangement, c. 1498, made with the consent of the Campbells before Torcail rebelled. S. Boardman, *The Campbells*, 1250-1513 (Edinburgh, 2006) 273, 283.

7 Forfeiture of 'Torcule Makloid of the Lewis' (24 December 1505). *APS ii*, 263-4; Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 110-123.

the monarch with impunity.⁸ After this Torcail seems to have disappeared (missing, presumed dead) and his conquered lordship was administered by Andrew Stewart Bishop of Caithness (James's man of business in Ross and the north) who, together with Alasdair Crotach of Dunvegan seem to have administered the Siol Torcail lands between 1506 and 1511.⁹

From Dynastic Manoeuvring to Rebellion, 1538-9

The succession then took a peculiar twist (see family tree, appendix C) in that Malcolm, Torcail's brother, took control of the inheritance of the chiefship of the Macleods of Lewis, to the exclusion of John mac Torcail his nephew, and this was endorsed by the Crown. This lasted until Malcolm's death in 1528 at which time his nephew, John mac Torcail with backing from his mother's people the Macdonalds of Sleat, was powerful enough to seize the chiefship to the exclusion of Malcolm's son and heir, Ruairidh. This coincided with wider Crown attempts to assert their authority in the Isles in this period.¹⁰ John mac Torcail, the son of a chief whose last recorded attitudes to the Crown had been defiance, was unlikely to have been viewed with particular favour by officials at the Stewart court, and it is likely (even if a little ironic given his career over the subsequent decades) that the Crown may have sanctioned the seizure of the Macleod of Lewis chiefship by Ruairidh mac Malcolm (Gille Caluim) after John's death sometime around 1538. The date of Ruairidh's accession to the chiefship coincided with a serious rebellion in the Western Isles in 1539. The Mackenzies, who had been exercising the crown's power in the region, and in the process extending their own power and influence, acted as the lightning rod for the rebels, the perennially disaffected Macdonalds, led at this time by Dòmhnall Gorm (Macdonald) of Sleat who died besieging the Mackenzie stronghold, Eilean Donan castle, 1539-40. Siol Torcail played a prominent role in this rebellion which also included Alasdair Crotach (Macleod) of Dunvegan, Cameron of Lochiel and Macneil of Barra. Although the siege was unsuccessful, the surrounding Mackenzie lands of Wester Ross were targeted and wasted as the 'rebellious' clans, Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis foremost among them, retaliated against those wielding crown authority.¹¹

8 TA iii, 340. Boardman, *The Campbells*, 268.

9 A. MacCoinnich, *Tùs gu Iarlachd: Eachdraidh Chlann Choinnich c. 1466-1637* (Tràchdas PhD, Oilthigh Obar Dheathain, 2004) 139-140. Torcail may still have been alive in 1508 as his wife was using his seal in Dunoon, resigning lands to her brother, the Earl of Argyll. *Argyll Transcripts* iii, 85.

10 Archibald 'Gillespich Roy Oig' Campbell 4th Earl of Argyll was to spearhead the Crown offensive south of Ardnamurchan (south isles) and James Stewart earl of Moray was to manage government pressure in the north isles (Hebrides north and west of Ardnamurchan). Hannay, ed., *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs*, 358. J. Cameron, *James V*, 228-248. For the 'north Isles' see W.F. Skene, ed., *Celtic Scotland, A History of Ancient Alban* (Edinburgh, 1880) iii, 428.

11 RSS ii, no 3943, p. 597-8; Gregory, *Western Highlands*, 145; Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 130-131.

Extension of Royal Control

This rebellion failed and the consequences of this failure must have been keenly felt in the isles. Although King James V's visit to and the supposed renaming of Port Rìgh (Portree) is better remembered, both Kintail and Stornoway were key stopping places in his voyage of 1540.¹² James, like his father, followed the tried and trusted route of coercion leavened with reward. James V's coercion was more proactive than his father's. Whereas James IV had used nobles to do his bidding against Torcail Macleod in 1505, James V was present in person and already had his own well-established clients in the area. The diversion James took to Kintail was no accident. James rewarded the Mackenzies of Kintail, already crown favourites (several of them were at court during the 1530s), by giving them increased powers and responsibilities in the west. John Mackenzie of Kintail was given the superiority of Glengarry's lands, and custody of Macdonald castles in Skye such as Dunscaith (Slèite) and possibly Duntulm in Tròndarnais to facilitate his role as royal baillie and enforcer.¹³ A note in the records of the royal Treasurer, who, presumably had never heard of the place, illustrates the effect the Mackenzie presence was having. When a clerk in the treasury inserted the name 'Skye,' the scribe felt the need to qualify this by noting in the marginalia that this place was in the 'north Isles,' Skye being clearly a name royal accountants had been unfamiliar with.¹⁴

Rebellion, 1545-1555

This new tax-gathering initiative did little to win hearts and minds in the North Minch. Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis was again involved in a rising in support of the unfortunate Dòmhnall Dubh in 1545 in Dòmhnall's final attempt to re-instate the Lordship of the Isles. The Macleods of Lewis were prime movers in this as in every other serious attempt to resuscitate that Lordship.¹⁵ While pardoned shortly afterwards, by the following decade Ruairidh's treasonable activities again exercised the minds of the regents in Edinburgh. After much deliberation, an expedition was despatched under the earls of Argyll and

12 May- June 1540. A.B. Taylor, I.H. Adams & G. Fortune eds., *Alexander Lindsay: A Rutter of the Scottish Seas circa 1540* (Greenwich, 1980) p. 14-15; J. Cameron, *James V*, 338; A. Nicolson, *History of Skye* (2nd ed., 1994) 36. However, the etymology of Port Rìgh was challenged by W.J. Watson, *The Celtic Placenames of Scotland* (1926: Birlinn ed., Edinburgh, 1993) p. 158, note 1.

13 A.L. Murray, ed., 'Accounts of the King's Pursemaster 1539-1540' (13-51) in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society vol. X* (Edinburgh, 1965) at 40, 44, 46. *TA vi*, 92-3, 126; MacCoinnich, *Tùs gu Iarlachd*, 35, 161-2, 189-90. *ER xvii*, 342, 459, 492.

14 'The North Isles' were the name for the Hebrides north and west of Ardnamurchan in this period. *ER xvii*, 556. Skene, *Celtic Scotland iii*, 428.

15 Summons of treason and lese-majestie (9 September 1545) named 'Rodorik McCloid,' and his colleagues, some of whom were named as Macleod of Harris, and Clanranald. *APS ii*, 453, 455, 459, 465. It was probably no accident, as Mackenzie noted, that Macleod of Lewis was given pre-eminence in these processes of treason. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 143.

Atholl to bring him to heel in 1555.¹⁶ A clue as to why Ruairidh's rebellion was being taken so seriously may lie in an earlier note of a commission from the regent James Duke of Châtelherault to the Earl of Argyll in 1551. In this Argyll was given a commission, 25 April 1551, to proceed against Lewis with all force necessary as 'Rory Macleod' of the Lews had taken a 'pupill' who he meant to use as a figurehead for a fresh pro-Macdonald / Lordship rebellion. The 'pupill' was un-named but might well have been the natural son left by the late Dòmhnall Dubh. Nothing more, in any case, was heard of this 'pupill' and by 1555 Ruairidh had made his peace with the government.¹⁷

A Dysfunctional Family?

The pattern of Ruairidh Macleod's marriages between c. 1535-1541, even if the dates and order of marriages is unclear, is significant in indicating crown and royal intent. Ruairidh seemingly married firstly Janet Mackenzie, which would fit with John Mackenzie's presence as a Crown baillie in the region sometime in the 1530s. The marriage between John's daughter Janet and Ruairidh of Lewis produced a son Torcail Conanach (c. 1530? –c. 1610). He was raised by his uncle John Mackenzie of Ord in Strathconon.¹⁸ By December 1541, however, Ruairidh's first marriage to Janet had broken down, and he remarried to Barbara Stewart (a cousin of the king), daughter of Lord Avondale. Barbara was well-connected. Her father, himself a cousin of the king, had remarried Margaret Tudor, James V's widowed mother.¹⁹ This shows that the Crown (who had an influence if not the gift of such marriages) were making an effort, post rebellion, to bring Ruairidh into the fold, albeit it did little to curb Ruairidh's rebellious tendencies, in the later 1540s and 1550s.²⁰ The couple had one son, also called Torcail, known

16 *TA x*, 268, 277-8, 286; *RPCS xiv*, 14. P.E. Ritchie, *Mary of Guise in Scotland, 1548-1560: A Political Career* (East Linton, 2002) 166.

17 Gregory, *History of the Western Islands and Highlands* (1881) 169-185; Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides* (1903) 139-147; '[...] Macleod of the Lews hes laitie takin ane pupill barne callit (blank) son to (blank) and haldis him in nurissing and maintenance of purpos and mynd to mak and set him forwert at the uttirmost of his power to be Lord of the Isles and to using that name and draw sa mony as he may git of opinioun to that effect quhairof the samen be sufferit it wilbe the occasion of gret troubles and inconvenientis to us [...]' From abstract commission, dated 25 April 1551 to Argyll signed by the governor, James Hamilton, Duke of Chatelherault. *AT v*, 5. Respite to Macleod, dated 28 September 1555. *RSS iv*, no. 3047, p. 536.

18 Torcail was still alive in 1612 when he resigned all his rights to Lewis over to Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail. Torcail had son named John who was an adult by 1580 (John was killed c. 1585), again suggesting that Torcail himself had been born in the 1530s. He was referred to as the 'umquhill' (late) Torcail in 1624. Aberdeen University Library *MS 3470/15/1/8*. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 148. NAS CC 19/1/1 fol. 22. MacCoinnich, *Tùs gu Iarlachd*, 152-6.

19 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 135. Morrison, *The Macleods- The Genealogy of a Clan*, iv, p. 32-56.

20 Ruairidh was involved in the Donald Dubh rebellion (1545-6), a continuing rebellion against the regent (1551-5), and the wasting of Orkney (1559). *RSS iii*, no. 2210, p. 356. *RSS iv*, no 3307, p. 589; The parish of Westray, Orkney, were unable to pay their taxes, 1559, as they claimed that: 'this

as Torcail Oighre (the heir). The throwing over of Torcail Conanach the eldest son as heir in favour of a second son with Stewart blood probably provided the animus which sustained the intense mutual dislike between Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis and Torcail Conanach, his firstborn son from his first Mackenzie wife.

Three Torcails

Despite Ruairidh's marriage to a Stewart, a period of prolonged rebellion ensued, not only around the time of Dòmhnall Dubh's final rebellion (1545-6) but in much of the following decade. Despite this the Queen, Mary, took an interest in Torcail 'oighre' Macleod's marriage in 1563, stating that he was not to marry without her consent as he was of royal Stewart blood.²¹ Unfortunately Torcail Oighre drowned in 1566 without having married or produced an heir. The subsequent lethal dynastic struggles between competing factions fatally weakened the Macleods of Lewis, cancelling their ability to present a united front to the outside world.²² The other party between 1566 and 1574 focused on Dòmhnall Gorm of Sleat (backed by Campbell of Argyll) who had an interest in the Sìol Torcail inheritance through his connection on his mother's side (see family tree). While the Macdonalds of Sleat retained a diminishing interest thereafter, the most important of these contenders (1574-1598) were Torcail Conanach (Ruairidh's eldest son), the Mackenzie-raised and backed pretender to the chiefship (with support from the Gordon Earl of Huntly) and the third and youngest Torcail, Torcail Dubh. Barbara Stewart (Ruairidh's second wife) was still living and calling herself 'Lady Lewis' in 1568, although she must have died shortly after that. Old Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis must have loathed Torcail Conanach, and was determined not to see him succeed to his patrimony. At some time in the 1570s, Ruairidh surprised everybody (not least the pretenders to his succession) by marrying a daughter of MacLean of Duart and begetting a further two legitimate sons, the eldest of whom, Torcail Dubh, he favoured as heir, again throwing off Torcail Conanach's right to succeed as heir of Lewis. By doing so, Ruairidh effectively thwarted both Mackenzie (with Gordon-Huntly backing) and Macdonald of Sleat (Campbell-Argyll backed) attempts to secure the future direction of the Lewis inheritance.²³

parosch is wastit be Lewis men.' J. Kirk, ed., *The Books of Assumption of the thirds of benefices: Scottish Ecclesiastical Rentals at the Reformation* (Oxford, 1995) 666-7.

21 Letter, Queen Mary to Torcail Macleod of Lewis, 1563. A facsimile and transcript of this letter in W. Fraser, ed., *The Earls of Cromartie* (Edinburgh, 1876) i, p. xxxiv; Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 149. *Argyll Transcripts*, vi, 16; 'Torqll Yre,' in *Highland Papers* ii, 50.

22 This seemed to one of the ways in which neighbours of the Macleods in the Highlands viewed the matter. A. MacCoinnich, 'Mar Phòr san t-Uisge: Ìomhaigh Sìol Torcail an Eachdraidh,' (214-231) in M. Byrne, T. O. Clancy & S. Kidd, eds., *Litreachas & Eachdraidh: Ramnsachadh na Gàidhlig 2, Glaschu 2002* (Oilthigh Ghlaschu, 2006) 222.

23 *TA xii*, 129; Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 150.

This ushered in a forty year period of intermittent hostility. Ruairidh's sons jockeyed for position, the disquiet focused on and fomented by Torcail Conanach with the fulsome backing of the Mackenzies, who were inexorably tightening their grip on the western seaboard in the final quarter of the sixteenth century. From the Mackenzie point of view not only was this treatment of their kinsman an affront to him but to them as well. The fact that continued support for Torcail Conanach's claims sat well with strategic Mackenzie aims was all to the good. In the immediate years following 1566, Ruairidh of Lewis was in turn captured by Torcail Conanach, released, and then forced to acknowledge Torcail Conanach as his heir (hence the sasine of 1572 discussed below in the next section). Ruairidh subsequently repudiated Torcail once he regained his freedom. This sasine was part of an attempt at papering over the cracks in the fractured relationship between Ruairidh and his estranged son Torcail Conanach. Unfortunately it failed, for Ruairidh never had any intention of favouring Torcail Conanach, preferring instead, it would seem, Torcail Dubh and Tormod, his legitimate sons from his third marriage.²⁴

The Wars of the 'bastards'

To further complicate matters, there is evidence that there was an increased fishing effort from the burghs of south eastern Scotland in the Minch area at this time. These merchants and fishermen from the lowlands were, increasingly, from the 1570s onwards, coming into conflict with the islanders who wanted payments of shore dues (to which they were entitled) from them, an exaction resented by the lowlanders who complained that these rates were too high.²⁵ Tensions probably escalated due to the islanders' tendency to take matters into their own hands, lacking faith in the burgh courts, and providing further cause for complaint to the lowland burgesses and fishers. The burgesses and merchants of the lowlands were by no means the only interested outside parties in the lordship of the Macleods of Lewis. A glance at the family tree (Appendix C) shows the linkages of the family with the Macdonalds of Sleat in the early part of the sixteenth century and an increasingly important and not always welcome link with the Mackenzies. The Mackenzie backed heir, Torcail Conanach, kept up the pressure, and, with Mackenzie support was able to occupy Còigeach.

24 A legal deed of 1566 claiming that Ruairidh was not the father of Torcail was almost certainly a crude smear by Donald Gorm of Sleat (Argyll's candidate) to press his own right to inherit Lewis as heir to Ruairidh Macleod and an attempt at undermining Torcail 'Conanach' Mackenzie's (Huntly's candidate) claim. The presence of Bishop Carswell, Argyll's man on the witness list suggests that this scheme of 1566 had the Earl of Argyll's fingerprints all over it. When Ruairidh complained in 1574 that Torcail had kidnapped him Ruairidh repudiated Torcail's claim citing force and violence but did not deny paternity. J.R.N. MacPhail, ed., *Highland Papers, vol. ii* (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1916) 280-2. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 152-3.

25 A. MacCoinnich, 'His Spirit was Given Only to Warre:' Conflict and Identity in the Scottish Gaidhealtachd c. 1580-c.1630' (133-161) in S. Murdoch & A. Mackillop eds., *Fighting for Identity. Scottish Military Experience, c.1550-1900* (Leiden, 2002) 143-5.

The Mackenzies themselves obtained a superiority over Assynt in 1592 (trouble between the Macleods and the Mackenzies in Assynt was to flare up periodically until the 1670s), consolidating their stranglehold on the Macleods' mainland possessions. Pressure piled on from the outside accentuated the cracks within Siol Torcail. The wider Macleod kindred, Ruairidh of Lewis's five illegitimate sons among them, were forced to take different sides in a prolonged bitter and bloody struggle. The story was told from a hostile pro-Mackenzie point of view in clan histories such as that ascribed to Iain Molach (alias John Mackenzie of Applecross, c.1660) and a history by George Mackenzie the first Earl of Cromartie who labelled internecine Siol Torcail conflict as the wars of the 'bastards.'²⁶

Forfeiture and Plantation

By 1596-8, hostility between the Mackenzie backed Torcail Conanach on the one hand and Torcail Dubh Macleod of Lewis on the other reached a state of what amounted to sporadic open warfare with vicious mutual raiding. Torcail Dubh was captured and betrayed by the Brieve (hereditary judge of Lewis) and his followers and handed over to Coinneach Òg, the chief of the Mackenzies in 1598. Coinneach Òg attempted to solve the problem by summarily beheading Torcail Dubh. However, pressure had been mounting in the south for a solution to this conflict, accompanied by a ratcheting up of anti-islander rhetoric, the chorus led by James VI and orchestrated by the burghs.²⁷ Not only were these lands in the hands of barbarians who defied the edicts of their monarch, more importantly these same barbarians placed an impediment on the trade of 'civilised' burgesses and merchants from Lowland Scotland in the Isles. From barbarism, it was a short step to being outside the protection of the law, which in turn made the step of legally stripping the land from the Macleods that much easier.²⁸ Furthermore, this unrest expedited James VI's expropriation of the Macleod of Lewis lands in 1598 (planned perhaps from around 1590) and his granting of them to a consortium of nobles and burgesses from the south and east of Scotland, known as the 'Fife adventurers.' Both the king and the planters or settlers from the south hoped to gain from Lewis in different ways, the king

26 George Mackenzie (the first Earl of Cromartie & Lord Macleod, 1630-1740), a grandson of Torcail Conanach's daughter Mairead) and his family assumed the arms of the Macleods of Lewis, was insistent on the status of these various other Macleods as 'bastards,' with 'dissolute adherents.' No less than 4 usages of this word occur in half of one page – thus emphasising his own families right to replace them. 'History of the Family of Mackenzie' by Sir George Mackenzie, First Earl of Cromartie (pp. 462-513) in W. Fraser, ed., *The Earls of Cromartie* (Edinburgh, 1876) ii, 513. cf. J.R.N. MacPhail, ed., *Highland Papers ii*, 57, 62. For a more critical view of the Mackenzies see the same volume, the 'Ewill Trowbles of the Lewes' at p. 269-70, 276-9. MacCoinnich, 'Mar Phòr san t-Uisge,' 223-4.

27 MacCoinnich, 'Mar Phòr san t-Uisge,' 217-9.

28 A.H. Williamson, 'Scots, Indians and Empire: The Scottish Politics of Civilisation 1519-1609' (46- 83) in *Past & Present: A Journal of Historical Studies*, no. 150, 1996. p. 57-65.

by extending his control and maximising his revenues, and the new settlers by more fully exploiting the riches of the surrounding seas from their new colony in Stornoway.²⁹

Opposition to Plantation

For the remaining Macleods of Lewis and many of the other clans in the north-west seaboard this was the thin end of the wedge, the colonists had a clear agenda of monopolisation of the islands resources to the exclusion of the prior inhabitants.³⁰ What was enacted in Lewis could well be replicated in Dunvegan, Sleat, Clanranald or Macneil lands. Even the habitually pro-crown Mackenzies saw their own interest undermined by the establishment of a new colony in the region. All these clans at various times either covertly or overtly joined factions of the Macleods of Lewis in successfully opposing this lowland settlement. This was despite three serious sustained attempts at 'planting' a colony (1598-1607), something that caused James VI & I a great deal of embarrassment.³¹ Although elements of Siol Torcail successfully saw off the attempt at colonisation the survivors were, after 10 years of sporadic conflict, no match for the Mackenzies who bought out the settlers' rights and mopped up lingering resistance from Siol Torcail, 1609-13, securing the lands of Siol Torcail, in the words of a contemporary their 'long wished for and expected prey.'³²

The Aftermath

Discussion of the settlement of the Highland 'Problem' usually focuses on the Statutes of Iona (1609), a discrete set of measures taken by the government to address disorder in the region on the initiative of James VI and his bishop in the Isles, Andrew Knox. This however, arguably, was the mature expression of an ongoing initiative from the centre which had its immediate genesis in the Band of 1587 and echoes, to some extent in a much more developed form, the initiatives taken by the king's grandfather and great grandfather.³³ While

29 *CSP Scotland*, x, 331-2. M. Lynch, 'James VI and the Highland Problem' (208-227) in J. Goodare & M. Lynch, eds., *The Reign of James VI* (East Linton, 2000) 217-9 223-5. J. Goodare, *The Government of Scotland, 1560-1625* (Oxford, 2004) 225-6.

30 *RPCS v*, 467-8; *RPCS, xiv*, Appendix to Introduction, pp. cxxviii-cxxix, *APS iv*, 160-164.

31 *CSP Scotland*, xiii, 1026; Goodare, *The Government of Scotland*, 228-9.

32 'Ewill Trowbles of the Lewes,' in MacPhail, ed., *Highland Papers ii*, p. 277; Lynch, 'James VI and the Highland Problem' p. 217-9, 223-5. MacCoinnich, 'Mar Phòr san t-Uisge,' 221.

33 M. MacGregor, 'The Statutes of Iona: Text and Context' (111-81) in *The Innes Review* 57, Autumn 2006. A.I. MacInnes, 'Crown, Clans and Fine: the 'Civilizing' of Scottish Gaeldom, 1587-1638,' (31-55) in *Northern Scotland* 13, 1993, at p. 32; J. Cameron, *James V*, 228-248. N. MacDougall, *James IV* (Edinburgh, 1997) 174-190. Julian Goodare, however, was dismissive of the Stewart monarchs' seriousness regarding the Highlands pre 1587, and views the band of 1587 as a new departure. J. Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1999) 254-266.

the Statutes of Iona rightly take great importance as an expression of Crown intent vis-à-vis the Highlands and Islands, there is little in them with which James V would have disagreed had such a list been seen by him some seventy years earlier. What had changed to allow James VI to succeed where others had failed? The plantation of Lewis was a self-financing project – a policy driven from the south, meant to impose ‘civility’ on ‘barbaric’ parts of the kingdom initially by a Scottish king with limited means, and latterly (1603-) by a British monarch having wider resources at his disposal. Despite this, and much to his chagrin, James VI’s new initiative, a policy of plantation, failed abjectly in the northern Hebrides. The Statutes of Iona came at a time when it was realised that this new policy of plantation was unworkable in the isles. (In some senses the attempted plantation in Lewis was an attempt to extend and enforce a Lowland burghal monopoly over an entire region that was disadvantaged by this.) The Statutes coincided with the relinquishing of the planters’ rights in Lewis over to the Mackenzies, a process endorsed by the Crown in 1609 and achieved by Mackenzies two years later. The Mackenzies who controlled the adjacent coasts on Ross-shire, and had been amassing pieces of Siol Torcaill territory piecemeal since 1588, succeeded where lowland burgesses at the end of a long supply chain from Fife had failed.³⁴ A national Scottish, and even ‘British’ after 1603, initiative had failed. The centre’s Highland ‘problem’ was ultimately only resolved with a solution that was at least partly ‘local.’

The New Order

It might be helpful too to view the Statutes of Iona as one part of James VI’s settlement of the Highlands and Islands, rather than as an end in itself. Why would chiefs who had regularly cocked a snook at Edinburgh, now meekly accept such terms as offered by James? One reason was an increased English naval presence, which combined with Campbell hegemony south of Ardnamurchan meant that James had more leverage than his predecessors. This was a British rather than a Scottish monarch. North of Ardnamurchan and in the North Minch, Jacobean policy and intentions were not implemented by the Statutes but by the regional dominance of the Mackenzies. They assumed control (either directly or by proxy) of all of the former Siol Torcaill territory in the North Minch basin (save Eddrachilles). In addition to this the Mackenzies became virtual viceroys in the North Minch region.³⁵

34 Cailean Cam (d.1594), chief of the Mackenzies had obtained the superiority of Assynt in 1588. MacCoinnich, *Tùs gu Iarlachd ii*, PT. 2.4, P.T 2.7, tdd. 417, 447, 450, 455. The burgh of Aberdeen gave help to “puir men that com fra the Lewis, for thair support..’ and towards the ‘...support of sex cost syd men that wer pilleit be the Hileand men, in thair cumming fra the Lewis...’ in early 1599 in: J.Stuart, ed., *Extracts from the Council Register of the burgh of Aberdeen Vol. 2, 1570-1625* (Aberdeen Spalding Club, 1848) 71, 204. Thanks to Dr Dauvit Horsbroch for this last reference.

35 MacCoinnich, ‘His Spirit was Given only to Warre,’ 148-9; MacCoinnich, *Tùs gu Iarlachd Caib.4.34*, tdd. 228-230.

A case in point was Tròndarnais (Trotternish), in north Skye. This had been a disputed territory for much of the sixteenth century with control over it hotly contested by Siol Torcail, the Macleods of Harris (Siol Tormoid) and the Macdonalds of Sleat. The fighting between Siol Tormoid and Sliochd Uisdein (the Macdonalds of Sleat) over these lands reached its nadir in and around 1601.³⁶ This dispute was only finally resolved under the overlordship of the Mackenzies, whose strength in the area, backed when necessary, presumably, with English naval support, made both Siol Tormoid and Macdonald pretensions untenable. Coinneach Òg Mackenzie of Kintail having taken control of the former Siol Torcail lands, including Bhatarnais (Vaternish) before 1607, sold Bhatarnais to Ruairidh Mòr MacLeòid of Dunvegan who in return gave up his claim on Tròndarnais to Mackenzie.³⁷ Mackenzie then granted Tròndarnais to Macdonald of Sleat as his vassal (tenant) for these lands. Ruairidh Mòr MacLeòid of Harris died and was buried in Chanonry, attending the seat of the Mackenzies, who numbered MacNeil of Barra and Clanranald as their 'vassals' together with Sleat for some if not all of their possessions. (The Mackenzies also shielded the MacLeans of Duart from debt in this period.) Siol Torcail were all but eradicated, the exceptions being the Macleods of Assynt and Coigeach, vassals of the Mackenzies since the 1590s, and Sliochd MhicGhillechalum or the Macleods of Raasay, vassals to the Mackenzies from 1608. The role of the Mackenzies in crown policy is further underlined by the assent of Andrew Knox, bishop of the Isles, to the transfer of the superiority of Raasay from the bishopric over to Coinneach Òg Mackenzie of Kintail on New Year's Day 1608.³⁸

36 A. Nicholson, *History of Skye* (2nd ed., Ard Bhearnasdail, 1994) 23, 28-9, 32-4, 47, 49, 63-70. MacGregor, 'The Statutes of Iona: Text and Context,' 133-6.

37 *RPCS xiv*, 539; R.C. Macleod, ed., *The Book Of Dunvegan, Being documents from the muniments room of the Macleods...*, Vol. 1, 1340-1700 (Aberdeen, 1938) p. 78-81.

38 MacCoinnich, *Tùs gu Iarlachd*, Caib 4.34, tdd. 228-334; 422-4. The Mackenzies assumed overlordship of Raasay in 1608, and became feudal superiors of the MacGilleChallums of Raasay thereafter. Mackenzie stipulated that galley service was due to him from MacGillechalum whenever he required it together with a rental payment. This and a note of a charter to MacDonald of Sleat by Kenneth (Coinneach Òg) Mackenzie, Lord Kintail (†1611) of the lands of Trotternish, renewed by Colin Mackenzie, Lord Kintail in 1622. (copy, 1873, of original documents) *NAS GD 128/23/ (Bundle) 2*; "Inventory of the Wittis and evidētis delyverit be Alex[ande]r Mc Gillichallum of Rasay To ane Nobill Lord Coline earle of Seafort upone the 27th day of April 1629 years.' Charter by Bishop Knox confirmed 27 April 1609. *RMS vii*, no. 298, p. 110-112; cf. *NAS RS 37/1 fol. 19*; *NAS RS 37/5 fol. 32v*. *NAS GD 305/1/166/7*

II

While one could think of things purely in terms of the dynastic and political, I would like to briefly consider the wider human and geographic aspects of the Lordship in this section. The geographical implications of this are more apparent when one considers a map. This shows us that the Macleods of Lewis could control the entire North Minch basin from their bases on the mainland, Raasay, Bhatarnais, and Lewis. The importance of seagoing links is clear, and frequent transport back and forth was an essential feature of this lordship. This had obvious dangers, and indeed one of the many turning points in the family history of the period was the unfortunate death of Torcail Oighre in 1566 (discussed above), when in cross-channel transit between various parts of the Siol Torcail Lordship, he and 60 of his followers were caught in a storm off the coast of Trotternish and all were lost.³⁹

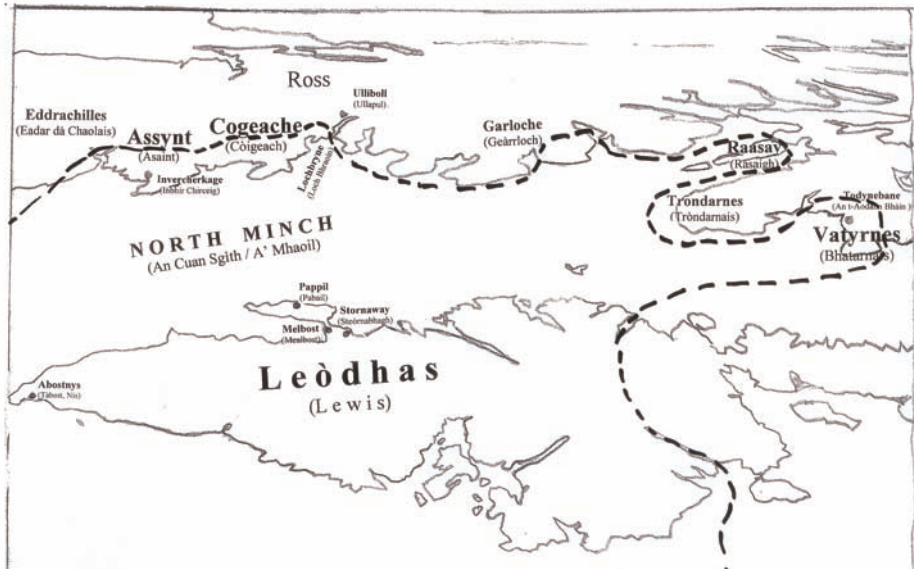
An Tìr & na Daoine

Siol Torcail were proprietors of land not only in Lewis, but in Asaint, Còigeach and Bhatarnais. They also effectively held Raasay 'by the sword' from the Bishop of the Isles, i.e. the bishop could not evict them (or probably collect rent), it was thought in 1549, even though he was titular landlord.⁴⁰ There were also elements of Siol Torcail in Eddrachilles, and they continued to occupy part of Gairloch without title (until around 1611) despite the overlordship and pressure here from the Mackenzies from 1494 onwards.⁴¹ The nature of the make up of Siol

39 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 149. This was paralleled around 100 years later when Macleod of Raasay, attended his superior, Mackenzie of Seafort (whose line supplanted the Macleods of Lewis) in Lewis and was also lost at sea. 'Marbhrann do Iain MacGilleChaluim Ratharsaidh' (c.1671) J. Carmichael Watson, *Gaelic Songs of Mary Macleod* (SGTS, Edinburgh, 1934) 26-8; 114-5. A contemporary account of this is offered in W. Mackay ed., *Chronicles of the Frasers. The Wardlaw Manuscript Entitled 'Polichrinicon Seu Policratica Temporum, Or, The True Genealogy of the Fraser, 916-1674, by Master James Fraser* (Edinburgh, 1905) 498-9. Thanks to Dr Michel Byrne for this last reference.

40 ('Malcolm' seems to have been the Scots/English form used for the personal name 'Gillechallum.') A Malcolm MacGillechalum obtained a grant to Raasay, formerly technically the property of the Bishop of the Isles, from James VI in 1596. The Mackenzies assumed overlordship of Raasay in 1608, and became feudal superiors of the MacGilleChallums of Raasay thereafter. Mackenzie stipulated that galley service was due to him from MacGillechalum whenever he required it together with a rental payment. *NAS GD 128/23/ (Bundle) 2*; 'Inventory of the Writtis and evidendis delyverit be Alex[ande]r Mc Gillichallum of Rasay To ane Nobill Lord Coline earle of Seafort upone the 27th day of April 1629 yeirs.' (This a copy of the original document made in 1873.) My thanks to Dr Alasdair Ross, for this reference.

41 'The McLeods lairds of Lews were possessed of a large Estate viz., The Sixteen davochs of the Lews now possessed by my Lord Seafort, The Four Davochs of Watterniss, now possessed by the laird of McLeod the four Davochs of Rasay now possessed by Macleod of Raasay, the four davoch of Coigach possessed by the Earl of Cromarty the four davoch of Gairloch now possessed by Mackenzie of Garloch the four davoch of Assint now possessed by Mackenzie of Assint and the four davoch of Eddarachilles by the Lord Reay being in all fourty davoch of land.' In, 'The



Torcail in terms of the personnel in their lordship is best demonstrated by the witness list to a hitherto overlooked sasine (transfer of land) following a grant of land to Torcail Conanach Macleod, as son and heir of his father in 1572.

The ceremony was carried out at the four parts of the Macleod lordship on successive days, at Ullapool for Còigeach, at Inverkirkaig for Assynt, at Bayble (Pabail) for Lewis, and at Todynebane (An t-Aodann Bhàin/Edinbane) for Vaternish, 5-21 April 1572. This witness list reads as follows:

‘Donaldo mcGillecallum Wore in Raisey; Donaldo mcAne Duemoyr in Garloche; Johanne mcConnill mcAne mcMurche in Lochbryne; Donald mcThomas Due in Lochbrehim; Ewyr mcConnyll mcKennych moyr in LochBreyne; Donaldo mcThomas dhu in Loch Breyne; Allano filio A[n] gusi bref in Abost Nyss in Lewis; John Gor filio Willelmi mcGillepadrik mcBref in Lewis; Angusio mcW[illia]m mcGillePadrik mcBref in Le[wis]; Gillepadrik mcAne mcIllepadrik in Melbost in Lewis; Roderic mcAne wcConyll wcThomas in Lewis; Johanno filio Angus Denowne; Johanno dow Frass[er]; Johanno roy [mcRore] mcLachlayne McOler; Murdo mcRorie mcLachlayne; Donaldo mcAne mcFarchyr mcAneglas; Johanno Glas mcAne mcKanyche eyre, familio Torquili Makkloid; Wyllelmo mcJethe(?) row(?) in Lochbryne; Alex[andr]o mcDonald wcAnedue

Genealogy of the family of Assint’ (1739) NLS MS 19308 fol. 4. For a discussion of ‘davochs,’ a unit of land, see A. Ross, ‘The Dabhach in Moray: a new look at an old tub’. pp. 57-74, In A. Woolf, ed., *Landscape and Environment in Dark Age Scotland. St John’s House Papers, 11* (St Andrews University, 2006).

ibidem; Thormat Coyr mcAne [mcHee?] in Pappall in Lewis; Gillecallum mcNeyl wcFarcher ibidem; Allano mc Gillechallum mc [Thormac McAnedue?] ibidem; Thormat mcAne due ibidem; Johanno McThormat [mcAnedue ibidem]; Allexandro mcConyll Galliche in [Caithness(?)]; Angusi [mcMurche] mcConyll in Lewis; [Kenneth McAne McGechyn, servitor Torquili Makkloid?]⁴² (See appendix B)

This is effectively a list of the leading men in the Macleod lordship in 1572, some of whom are unattested (as far as I know) in any other surviving document. Some of these are readily identifiable, such as the men of Gairloch and Raasay.⁴³ However Donald, the son of Gille Chaluum mòr (alias Malcolm) the first of Raasay has hitherto been unknown to genealogists and we are offered an intriguing glimpse of some others such as the mens' names here from Loch Broom and some of the patronymics of the Lewis witnesses at Pabail.⁴⁴ Two of the groups of witnesses, however, are known (if imprecisely) to tradition and to history – Clann mhic Amhlaigh (Macaulays) of Uig in Lewis, and Sliochd a' Bhreithimh, the brieves or hereditary judges (later known as Morrisons) traditionally associated with Ness in Lewis, but probably operating more widely within the Macleod lordship. However this, 'Allano filio A[n]gusi bref in Abost Nyss in Lewis,' clearly offers documentary evidence corroborating oral tradition which associated the brieves or hereditary judges with Tàbost, Nis (Habost, Ness).⁴⁵

42 I footnoted this in an earlier article but have revisited this document since then. MacCoinnich, 'Mar Phòr san t-Uisge' (2002) 214. This document, *NAS RH 6/2247*, is in Latin, but the names in the witness list alternate between Latin and Scotticised forms of Gaelic names. For an attempt at interpreting these names in their Gaelic context see appendix B. I have amended the reading following consultation of the document. I have left the names I was unable to read from the document in square brackets and followed the reading provided by the calendar in the *NAS. Calendar of Charters and other original documents preserved in H.M. General Register House., Vol. X, No. 2247*. N.B. 'C' and 'T' are notoriously difficult to differentiate in manuscript hands of this period. I have decided, with reservations on a reading of 'Thormot' rather than 'Chormac' as the former (Tormod / Norman) is well attested in Lewis and the latter name is very rare. The 'h' in Tormod is possibly there by analogy with the form 'Thomas.' I am grateful to Professor Thomas Clancy for this suggestion.

43 'Donaldo mcAne Duemoyr in Garloche' = Dòmhnall mac Iain Duibh mòr an Gearloch ? For a traditional tale of a crime committed by a 'mac Iain Duibh' from Gairloch see J.H. Dixon, *Gairloch and a Guide to Loch Maree* (Edinburgh, 1886: Reprinted 1974) 44.

44 Morrison, *The Macleods - The Genealogy of a Clan*, iv, p. 32-5. The name 'Twer' (Ìomhair mac Dhòmhnaihl mhic Choinnich mhòir) despite the patronymic suggests that this person was connected in some way to the 'Macivers' of Loch Broom (Inverlael), relatively well attested in charters of the time. cf. 'Innes McEwer' (1614, 1635) *RPCS* x, 256, 259; T. Thomson ed., *Inquisitionum ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornatam quae in Publicis Archiuis Scotiae adhuc servantur abbreviato* (3 Vols., Edinburgh, 1811-16) ii, 83. Both a John Maciver, 'officaur of Lochbrume,' and the 'Donald mcAne Dow' named in the sasine above appear in a surviving Mackenzie account from 1569. 'And wt thrie scoir xiii li[bres] v s iiii d rasavit fra Jhon McEvir in name of Donald m^cAne Dow the ix day of Februar in p[ar]t of paiement of the thua p[ar]t of the p[ar]sonage & vicarage of Loc[h] Brume crope I^m sextie nyne.' MacCoinnich, *Tùs gu Iarlachd*, ii, 381, 384.

45 This document was unknown to William Matheson, who reconstructed the Genealogy of the

Macaulays of Lewis

Those named here as 'Mac Oler' are probably better recognised as MacAmhlaigh or Macaulay traditionally identified as belonging to Uig. Tales collected by Captain Thomas in the nineteenth century identified an Iain Ruadh Macaulay, the grandfather of Donald Cam MacAmhlaigh, who it was thought (then) flourished in the fifteenth century.⁴⁶ Dòmhnall Cam, however, is actually on record in 1610, and if Iain Ruadh really was his grandfather as tradition had it, a date in the mid sixteenth rather than the fifteenth century might seem reasonable. If the name listed in the sasine as 'mc Oler' is MacAmhlaigh then this is possibly the 'John Roy Macaulay' of these tales, with a slightly different genealogy to that given by Thomas from tradition.⁴⁷ Thomas struggled to connect these persons to earlier history or traditions of 'Macaulays' within Lewis, he did notice that there were traditions linking the Macaulays with Wester Ross, and Loch Broom probably in the fifteenth century or earlier.⁴⁸ While tradition may well have forgotten any direct link, the context of a wider Macleod, trans-Minch lordship provides a clear set of circumstances linking branches of this kin on both sides of the Minch.

The Lordship

While historical sources can give us the occasional glimpse of some of the personnel, they can also give us some, limited, information about the landscape they inhabited between 1500 and 1610. A brief list can give a flavour of this: the castle at Stornoway, Macleod's orchard at Eilean Chalum Cille (Lochs), the 3000 salmon taken in Barvas in 1585, the annual harvest of 'colkis' ('guga' or juvenile gannet) on Sula Sgeir by Niseachs (Nessmen, north Lewis), the 'wild' sheep of the Flannans which Macleod's tenants 'hunted,' and Ruairidh

'Morrison's' in 1977. W. Matheson, 'The Morrison's of Ness' in *TGSI* 50, 1976-8, 60-80; W. Matheson, ed, *The Blind Harper/An Clàrsair Dall* (Edinburgh, 1970) 186-9. See also my brief piece 'Dùn Èistean and the Morrison's: The Historical Background' in *Criomagán* (Comann Eachdraidh Nis) àir. 38, Dùbhlachd 2006, t.d. 8-10.

46 Probably John Roy (son of Roderick and grandson of Lachlan) Macaulay and his brother, Murdo, in this document in 1573 rather than John Roy and his brother Malcolm sometime in the 1450s as given by tradition. F.W.L. Thomas, 'Traditions of the Macaulays of Lewis' *PSAS* 14 (1879-80) 387-98.

47 'Donald Cam McCoull and Mulcallum McCoull,' 1610. *RPCS ix*, 16, 19; 'mctowell John og mctowell all bretheren sick mc towell, Donald mctowll and thair haill childrene, tenentis...' Notice of intention to evict the tenants of Uig, Lewis, 1605. The 't' is probably a mistranscription of the 'c,' thus this surname should read 'McCowl' (i.e. MacAmhlaigh / Macaulay). This, R.C. Macleod, ed., *The Book Of Dunvegan, Being documents from the muniments room of the Macleods, Vol. 1, 1340-1700* (Aberdeen, 1938) p 116.

48 Thomas, 'Traditions of the Macaulays,' 370, 384, 388. 'History of the Family of Mackenzie' by Sir George Mackenzie, First Earl of Cromartie (462-513) in W. Fraser, ed., *The Earls of Cromartie* (Edinburgh, 1876) ii, 466-8. 'Geanalogie of the Surname of Mackenzie' in MacPhail ed., *Highland Papers ii*, 15-17.

Macleod's retreat at Pabaidh in Loch Roag, Lewis, which he retired to when he was 'feirit' (frightened). Information such as this, although still sparse in detail, provides some indication of the centres of activity.⁴⁹ The archaeological record may in the future augment such information with fresh evidence on which the written record is silent.⁵⁰ Another indicator of the size, and potential power of Siol Torcaill is provided by estimates of the manpower available to them around this time compiled by English intelligence, nervous about 'Redshank' activity in the Irish wars of the 1590s. Lewis, it was thought, could provide 700 fighting men for Macleod (not counting those obliged to remain at home and look after the crops and livestock), Bernera in Lewis 60 men, Vaternish would raise 200 men for Macleod of Lewis, and a further 80 men from Raasay. This comes to a total of 1040 men and, as the compiler of the list concentrated on islands, the territories of Eadar dà Chaolais, Asaint, Còigeach and Geàrrloch were not included. If those areas were added, the manpower available to Macleod may well have come to over 1300.⁵¹ While these figures might not seem particularly large to us, it is worth remembering that the estimated population of Scotland was far smaller than it is today – probably around 20% of current rates.⁵²

49 For these and for further information see: the volumes of the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (especially 1598-1615); an anonymous description of the Lewis from about 1570-90 printed in Skene's *Celtic Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1880) vol. iii, p. 428-30; J.R.N. MacPhail, ed., *Highland Papers* (Edinburgh, 1916) ii, 265-288. R.W. Munro, ed., Donald Monro's 'Description of the Occidental i.e. Western Islands of Scotland who travelled through many of them Anno 1549' (included, pp. 287-346) in M. Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland circa 1695* (Birlinn edition, Edinburgh, 1999) 320-323, 333-9. 183-5. A. Mitchell, ed., *Geographical Collections Relating to Scotland made by Walter Macfarlane* (Edinburgh, 1907) ii, 183-5.

50 Investigations are currently being conducted by archaeologists Rachel Barrowman and Chris Barrowman (GUARD) of the University of Glasgow at Dùn Èistean, traditionally the stronghold of Sliochd a' Bhreitheamh (Clann MhicGilleMhoire) in Ness in north Lewis. See their website, <http://www.duneistean.org/index.php> (accessed, 23 August 2007).

51 W.F. Skene, ed., *Celtic Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1880) iii, 438-433; The lands of the neighbouring Macdonalds of Sleat (Slèite, 700; Tròndairnis, 600; and Uibhist a Tuath, 300), by way of comparison would raise 1600 men. Macleod of Harris (Dunvegan) could, not counting his mainland possession of Gleann Eilg, raise a total of 680 men (Na Hearadh, 140; Pabaigh, 40; Diùirinis, Bracadail and Minginis 500). For reports of the Macleods of Lewis and other islanders in Ireland in July-August 1595 see CSP Scot xi, 253-5, 629, 637-8, 677, 684-5, 687-8. J. O' Donovan ed., *Annala Rìoghachta Éireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters* (Dublin, 1851) vi, p. 1974-1975.

52 Captain Dymes estimated the population of Lewis in total to be around 4000 in 1630. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides* (1903 edition) Appendix F, p. 592-3. (The 2001 census numbered 19,918 people on Lewis and Harris. GRO, Scotland.) The population of Scotland as a whole is estimated at one million in 1690. T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830* (Glasgow, 1969) 111. R.A. Houston & I.D. Whyte, eds., *Scottish Society, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1989) 3. The General Register Office, Scotland state that the population of Scotland in June 2006 was 5,116, 900. <<http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/>> (accessed 28 August 2007).

III

Having briefly considered the dynastic and political history and then wider aspects of the human and geographic shape of the lordship of the Macleods of Lewis in the first two parts of this paper, I would like in the final part, to consider some of the wider issues germane to the points raised in the first two sections.

The North Minch Fishery

An early seventeenth century account – albeit for the purpose of raising capital for a fishery company – described the Minch as one of the richest fisheries in Europe. Even allowing for a little exaggeration this description was probably not too far off the mark.⁵³ This cross-Minch landholding meant that Siol Torcail effectively controlled the shores of the entire North Minch basin and the resources in and around this area. A glance at a map of the north Minch basin (above) also makes sense of the Fife Adventurers' desire to secure a harbour at Stornoway (1598-1609). For the settlers, the opportunity to properly exploit the fisheries with a secure base, and thus not be prey to the exactions of highland landlords, must have been a liberating prospect. Despite the fact that landlords such as the Macleods and others were within their legal rights to exact ground dues from fishermen who came ashore to preserve their catch and fix their equipment, it was a form of taxation which the merchant-fishermen hated paying, frequently complaining that they were being overcharged, and when they refused to pay the Macleods seemingly were not slow to 'bill and straik' lowland merchants and fishermen.⁵⁴

Steve Boardman's research has uncovered the importance of the fisheries as an economic underpinning of Campbell lordship in Argyll in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Despite their political connections at the highest levels even the Campbells experienced difficulty in developing their trade due to burghal opposition and intransigence.⁵⁵ Research on the Mackenzies who took

53 NAS GD 46/20/Box 5; NAS GD46/18/139; NAS GD46/18/147. A. MacCoinnich, 'Native, Stranger and the Fishing of the Isles, 1611-1637,' in A.I. Macinnes, L. Francois & S. Murdoch eds., *Pirates, Capitalists and Imperialists from North Sea and Baltic States, c.1400-1945* (NEHRN Proceedings, vol. 2, forthcoming).

54 '...being greatlie offendit wt the many injures and oppressiones that wer done to ther freindis and to fischermen on the cost syd that yeirlie repairit unto the fisching of the Lewes, be the men of the Lewes in spoiling tham & taking ther barks & straking and billing [assaulting] some of them, they complain to his Majestie of these wrongis...' Account of chaplain to Fife Adventurers, *NLS Wod. Qu. Vol. XX.*, fol. 352-357v; MacCoinnich, *Tùs gu Iarlachd*, PT. 2.7, td. 446. MacCoinnich, 'His Spirit Was Given to Warre,' 144-6.

55 Steve Boardman suggested that dissatisfaction over fishery policy may have induced Colin, Earl of Argyll to rebel in 1488. S. Boardman, 'Pillars of the Community: Campbell Lordship and Architectural Patronage in the Fifteenth Century' (123-159) in R. Oram & G. Stell eds., *Lordship*

over the Siol Torcaill inheritance in the seventeenth century reveals a similar picture. They too tried to develop their fishery and were, to an extent, stymied, by burghal opposition (with the added complication of English interference) despite their political connections.⁵⁶ If even the Campbells in the fifteenth and the Mackenzies in the seventeenth centuries had their entrepreneurial designs thwarted despite their powerful political connections, then kindred such as the Macleods of Lewis or perhaps the Macdonalds had no chance of bucking the burghal monopoly. A recent article by Martin Rorke underlines the importance of the fishing industry in the West Highlands and Islands as a driver for Crown interest and burges activity there.⁵⁷

Archdeacon Donald Monro's itinerary (1549) in the Isles is instructive in what it does mention in relation to the sea. Almost every other entry for each island has an observation of the relative merits of fish and fishing and comments on the harbours and anchorages of many of these locations. While Monro may have been preoccupied with clerical income, one may also wonder whether this fishing wealth was potential or actually being prosecuted. If, however, rather than having a great imagination, Monro was actually recording this activity as it was in fact being prosecuted (even allowing for some exaggeration) and not appearing in the records of southern and eastern Scotland, thus not bringing any revenue to the burghs and Crown, this would also do much to explain the upsurge of crown and lowland burgh interest in the region in the latter half of the sixteenth century. This, while speculative, raises the possibility that people in the north and west Highlands were simply bypassing the jealously guarded burgh monopolies and trading with foreigners such as the Dutch who had a strong presence in the area from the 1540s and possibly earlier.⁵⁸

Indolent Gaels?

To assume that there was no trade merely because the burghs were unable to get their hands on it and record this may well be misleading. Concomitant assumptions that Highlanders or Gaels were (and are) either not capable of

and Architecture in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland (Edinburgh, 2005) at 146-148. S. Boardman, *The Campbells, 1250-1513* (Edinburgh, 2006) 295-300, 304-5.

56 MacCoinnich, *Tùs gu Iarlachd*, 276, 298-349. A. MacCoinnich, 'Native, Stranger and the Fishing of the Isles, 1611-1637', in A.I. Macinnes, L. Francois & S. Murdoch eds., *Pirates, Capitalists and Imperialists from North Sea and Baltic States, c.1400-1945* (NEHRN Proceedings, vol. 2: 2006, forthcoming).

57 M. Rorke, 'The Scottish Herring Trade, 1470-1600' (149-165) in the *Scottish Historical Review* 84, 2005, p. 160-165.

58 R.W. Munro, ed., Donald Monro's 'Description of the Occidental i.e. Western Islands of Scotland who travelled through many of them Anno 1549' (included, pp. 287-346) in M. Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland circa 1695* (Birlinn edition, Edinburgh, 1999); Boardman, *The Campbells, 1250-1513*, p. 296-7. MacKenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, p. 586. R.K. Hannay, & D. Hay, eds., *The Letters of James V* (Edinburgh, 1954) 408-9.

industry or disengaged with commerce, and that being barbarous and rebellious or backward was the expected state of affairs, should be challenged.⁵⁹ Despite the best intentions of historians these notions are deep-rooted and pervasive, due to the extent to which this 'official' southern-generated viewpoint dominates the source material for the period. Even the staunchly pro-island W.C. Mackenzie's *History of the Outer Hebrides*, is guilty of this to some extent due to reliance on such source material. A future research agenda should try to cast off the straitjacket imposed by 'external' sources and try to interpret, as far as is possible, the forgotten 'local' perspective as a valid alternative viewpoint. Why were the Macleods and Macdonalds rebelling for much of the sixteenth century? Rather than accepting rebellion as a 'natural' condition for people from the Highlands and Islands, more should be done to develop a local perspective – a perspective which perhaps modern historians – like the king, Crown, burghs and the Fife adventurers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, have sometimes disregarded to their own loss.

59 For a discussion of these paradigms see, A. MacCoinnich, "Cleiffis of Irne': Clann Choinnich agus Gniomhachas Iarainn, c. 1569-1630,' (137-154) in W. McLeod, J.E. Fraser & A. Gunderloch, eds., *Cànan & Cultar / Language & Culture: Ramasachadh na Gàidhlig 3* (Edinburgh, 2006) 137-8, 149. Macinnes has challenged these paradigms albeit from a different perspective, pushing the origins of a move from 'traditionalism' towards 'commercialism' back into the late seventeenth century. A.I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (East Linton, 1996) 18-19, 142-153, 172.

Conclusion

The lands of Siol Torcail in Lewis were inextricably linked to the fate of the kindred's possessions and tenants in Skye, Raasay and the mainland, throughout the sixteenth century and beyond. The plantation centred in Lewis affected and drew a powerful reaction from the whole region. While Siol Torcail successfully resisted the Fife Adventurers they were then unable to offer resistance to the Mackenzies. The Mackenzies were ultimately the crown's chosen method of suppressing not only the Macleods of Lewis but of imposing control on neighbouring kindreds in the whole North Minch region (1609-37), such as the Macleods of Dunvegan and the Macdonalds of Sleat. While the Crown, and their partners the burghs and merchants, chose to dress up their attempt at colonisation in Lewis (1598-1609) in the language of 'civility' and 'progress' (and they may also have believed this), it would seem reasonable to suggest that a desire to maximise their own profits from the fishing grounds might have been an equally pressing motive. In terms of Siol Torcail, documentary historians relied on evidence, the weight of which overwhelmingly has been left to us from the enemies of the Macleods – and have mirrored the bias of the sources, considering the Macleods of Lewis (Macdonalds too) as somehow being naturally 'rebellious,' and by implication 'uncivilised.' Future research should try to do more to understand the underlying causes of these rebellions from the forgotten 'local' perspective, in as much as this is possible.⁶⁰

60 I am grateful to my colleagues, Dr Michel Byrne and Professor Thomas O. Clancy for taking time from their busy schedules to read drafts of this paper and for making suggestions, while making clear that they are not responsible for any shortcomings in this paper.

Abbreviations

- APS *Acts of Parliaments of Scotland, 1424-1707*, T. Thomson & C. Innes, eds. (12 vols., Edinburgh, 1814-1875)
- AT *Argyll Transcripts*, made by the 10th Duke of Argyll. Photostat copies of extracts in the Department of Scottish History, University of Glasgow
- BL British Library, London
- CSP Scot *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, 1547-1603*, J. Bain et al eds. (13 vols., Edinburgh, 1898-1969)
- ER *The Exchequer rolls of Scotland 1264-1600: Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum 1264-1600*, G. Burnett, G. P. McNeill eds. (Edinburgh, 23 vols, 1878-1908)
- NAS National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh
- NLS National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
- PSAS Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
- RMS *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum: Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, 1306-1668*, Thomson, J.M., ed. (Edinburgh, 11 Vols, 1882-1914: Clark Constable Reprint, 1984)
- RPCS *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland (1545-1625)* D. Masson, J. H. Burton eds. (first series, vols. 1-14, Edinburgh, 1877-1898)
- RSS *Registrum Secreti Sigilli regum Scotorum: Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland 1488-1580*, M. Livingstone et al eds. (Edinburgh, 7 vols, 1948-1966)
- TA *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland 1473-1580: Compta Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum 1473-1580*, T. Dickson, J. B. Paul, & C.T. Macinnes (13 vols., Edinburgh, 1877-1978)
- TGSI Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness

Appendix A – Timeline: Siol Torcail in the Sixteenth Century

1493	Forfeiture of Lordship of the Isles
1494	Eachann Ruadh MacCoinnich [Hector Mackenzie] gets title to Gairloch
1498	Torcail Macleod given the bailliary of Tròndarnais (& Duntulm) by James IV
1502	Torcail declared an outlaw and rebel – royal demand of 9 years back mails of Tròndarnais and custody of the person of Dòmhnall Dubh. Torcail's lands (named) of Lewis, Assynt, Coigeach and Vaterness forfeit to the king.
1506	Royal expedition against rebels of Lewis including a ship named 'the Raven' (& Crown forces possibly supported by Alasdair Crotach of Harris); Spaniards captured in Lewis.
1509	Malcolm (mac Roderick) Macleod (alias 'Gillecallum' of Rasay ?) given remission for late rebellion
1511	Malcolm (Gillecalum) Macleod, Torcail's brother, granted Lewis by James IV
1530	John (mac Torcail) Macleod, chief of Lewis summoned to Edinburgh
1533	Ruairidh (mac Malcolm) Macleod attempting to gain entry to forfeited lands of Lewis?
1536	Mr Roderick Farquharson Hectorissone presented to the churches of Barvas (Leòdhas), Kilmuir (E. Sgitheanach) and Kilchoman (Ile)
1538	Ruaraidh MacLeòid, son to the late Malcolm, finally succesful in getting control of barony of Lewis
1539-40	Rebellion, followed by Royal Expedition. Ruaraidh married Barbara Stewart, 1541
1545-6	Dòmhnall Dubh Rebellion; and, 1546-50, further sentences of forfeiture and declaration of Macleod as rebel
1549	Dean Monro's Description, Pabaigh, Eilean Chaluum Cille, Rasaigh etc.
1550	Remission to Ruairidh for rebellion, murder and non-attendance of the Queen's armies.
1555	Charges of treason raised against Ruairidh
1566	Death of Torcail Oighre precipitates succession crisis. Instrument related to Hugh the Brieve's deathbed "confession." Torcail Conanach disinherited. Torcail with Mackenzie help kidnaps Ruairidh.

Appendix A – Timeline: Siol Torcail in the Sixteenth Century

1571/2	Torcail Conanach recognised as heir by Ruairidh in peace deal. (Sasine) However, Ruairidh reneges, subsequently marries sister of Duart, has other legitimate sons
1576-8	Ruairidh taking Caution with the Privy Council not to interfere with fishing.
1584	Old Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis repudiates Torcail Conanach and his son John
1585	Torcail Conanach supported by the Mackenzies and the Earl of Huntly
1588-90	Reports of plan by king to forfeit Macleods and install Bothwell in Lewis. (English spies fear Spanish money will be used for this end).
1591/2	Colin (Cailean Cam) Mackenzie of Kintail secures a Crown grant of Assynt.
1593	Torcail Conanach confined to Còigeach and ‘oppressed’ by his ‘usurping’ half brother.
1595?	Death of Ruairidh; Reports of Macleods of Lewis, Harris, and Macdonalds of Sleat participating in Irish wars
1597	Torcail dubh Macleod of Lewis, raiding and wasting Còigeach and Loch Broom, held by Torcail Conanach. Capture and Execution of Torcail Dubh MacLeoid, by brieve and Mackenzie,.
1598	Expropriation of Macleods; “...that na part nor portioun of the Hielandis nor Iles, according to the Act imprentit , beiring thairin his Majesties declaratioun, salbe al be at ony tyme heirefter disponit, in few, tak or utherwayes, bot to Lawland men...”
1605	Fresh attempt at Settlement by Fife Adventurers
1609	Adventures sell up / quit - Mackenzie granted the Isle of Lewis
1611	John Mackenzie of Gairloch given commission to use fire and sword against Gairloch Macleods

Appendix B - Attempted Reconstruction of the Names in the Witness List of the Macleod Sasine, 1572, using modern Gaelic

Dòmhnall mac Gille Chaluim Mhòir ann an Rasaigh,	(Raasay)
Dòmhnall mac Iain Dhuibh Mhòir ann an Geàrrloch.....	(Gairloch)
Iain mac Dhòmhnail mhic Iain mhic Mhurchaidh ann an Loch Bhraoin.....	(Loch Broom)
Dòmhnall mac Thòmais Dhuibh ann an Loch Bhraoin.....	(Loch Broom)
Ìomhar mac Dhòmhnail mhic Choinnich mhòir ann an Loch Bhraoin	
Dòmhnall mac Thòmais dhuibh ann an Loch Bhraoin	(Loch Broom)
Ailean mac Aonghais a’ bhreitheamh ann an Tàbost Nis ann an Leòdhas	(Habost, Ness, Lewis)
Iain Geàrr, mac do dh’Uilleam mhic Gille Pàdraig, mac a’ bhreitheamh ann an.....	(Ness ? Lewis)
Gillepàdraig mac Iain Maol-Pàdraig ann am Mealbost Leòdhais.....	(Melbost Lewis)
Ruairidh mac Iain mhic Dhòmhnail MhicLeòid ann an Leòdhas.....	(Lewis)
Iain mac Aonghais Denoun ⁶¹	(Lewis)
Iain Dubh Friseal.....	(Lewis)
Iain Ruadh mac Ruairidh mhic Laclainn MhicAmhlaigh.....	(Uig ?, Lewis)
Murchadh mac Ruairidh mhic Lachlainn	(Uig ? Lewis)
Dòmhnall mac Iain mhic Fhearchair mhic Iain Ghlais.....	(Lewis)
Iain glas mhic Iain mhic Coinnich Oighre (?) searbhantan Thorcail	MhicLeòid(Lewis ?)
Uilleam macEachainn Ruaidh ann an Loch Bhraoin	(Loch Broom)
Alasdair macDhòmhnail mhic Iain Dhuibh ann an sin.....	(Loch Broom)
Tormat Coyr ⁶² (?) mhic Iain mhic Aoidh (?) ann am Pabail ann an Leòdhas	(Bayble, Lewis)
Gillechallum mac Nèill mhic Fhearchair ann an sin	(Bayble, Lewis)
Ailean mac Gillechallum mhic Thormoid mhic Iain duibh anns an aon àite Tormod mhic Iain duibh ann an sin.....	(Bayble, Lewis)
Iain mac Thormoid mhic Iain duibh anns an aon àite (?).....	
Alasdair mhic Dhòmhnail Gallaich ⁶³ ann an _____	(Lewis?)
Aonghas mac Mhurchaidh mhic Dhòmhnail ann an Leòdhas	(Lewis)
Coinneach mac Iain mhic Eachainn, fear-frithealaidh Thorcail MhicLeòid ⁶⁴	

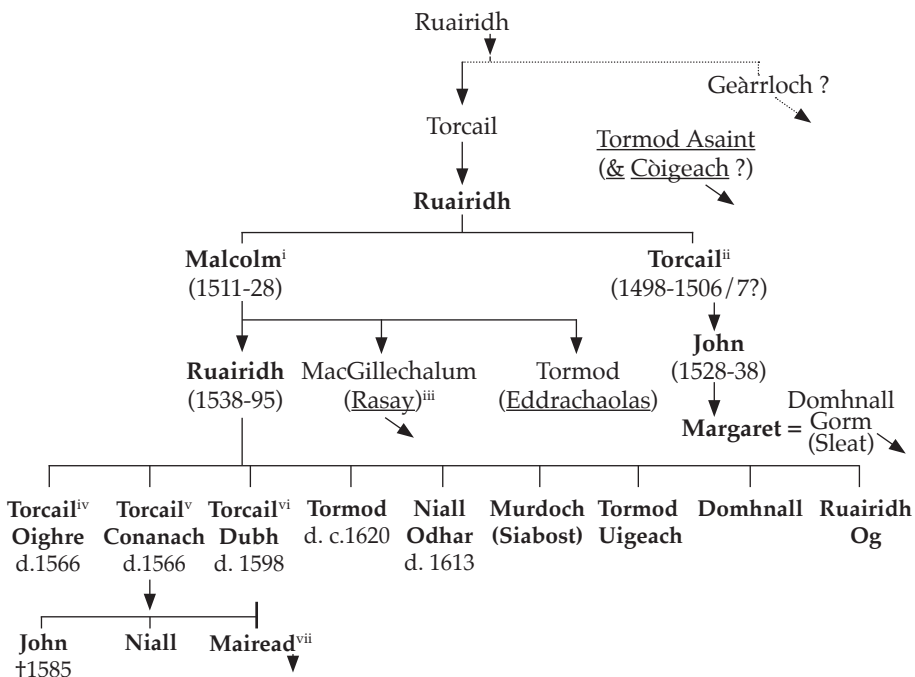
61 Denoun a common name in Easter Ross at this time. R.J. Adam, ed., *Calendar of Fearn* (Edinburgh, 1991) 79-82.

62 This ‘T’ in ‘Tormat’ could actually represent ‘C,’ giving an alternative reading of ‘Cormac’ (Tormod / Norman) However the presence of an ‘h’ after the first initial letter is problematic. ‘Coyr’ remains a puzzle.

63 One possibility is that Gallach was a nickname meaning a native of Caithness.

64 Translated here as ‘fear-frithealaidh’ or attender, however, more likely as bodyguard ? perhaps even foster brother. cf. ‘household men’ accompanying Torcail dubh Macleod when he raided Easter Ross in 1599. RPCS vi, 84; P. Parkes, ‘Celtic Fosterage: Adoptive Kinship and Clientage in Northwest Europe.’ (359-395) in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 48/2 (2006) 377-8, note 37.

Appendix C:
Family tree: Macleod relationships



i Malcolm married Christina, daughter of Urquhart of Cromartie

ii Katherine Campbell daughter of Argyll, married Torcail Macleod, c. 1498. Torcail married secondly the widow of Donald of Sleat. This woman was a daughter of John Cathanach of Islay. By his second wife, Torcail had a son who succeeded him. John McTorcail and Domhnall Gruamach of Sleat were thus half brothers through their mother. Domhnall Gruamach's son, Dòmhnall Gorm, married John's daughter, Margaret.

iii MacGillechalum of Raasay, "Malcolm Macleod's son" (c.1513). W.C. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides* (Paisley, 1903) 125; also known as 'Calum Garbh.' A. Nicolson, *History of Skye* (2nd ed., Ard Bhearnasdil, 1995) 291. W. Matheson, 'The Macleods of Lewis,' TGS 51, 331.

iv Torcail Oighre's mother was Barbara Stewart, sister to Lord Methven (Ruairidh's second - ? - wife)

v Torcail Conanach's mother was the sister of Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, Janet - Ruairidh's first wife. Torcail Conanach married Margaret, a daughter of MacDonald of Glengarry.

vi Torcail Dubh (executed 1597/8) and Tormod (died in exile, c. 1620) were from Ruairidh's third wife, in the 1570s. to a daughter of Maclean of Duart.

vii Niall Odhar, Murchadh (Siabost), Tormod Uigeach, Dòmhnall and Ruairidh Òg all illegitimate sons of Ruairidh, the last chief.

viii 'Mairead Ni Leoid' married Ruairidh Mackenzie, tutor of Kintail, who took the title 'of Coigeach' in right of his wife and took possession of Coigeach in right of his own ability (and Mackenzie power) to do so. His descendants were the Mackenzie earls of Cromartie. Mairead's brother Niall died young of a fever, leaving Mairead as sole surviving heir to the Macleod of Lewis inheritance.

For further details on this family see A. Morrison, & D. Mackinnon, *The Macleods- The Genealogy of a Clan* (Five Parts, Edinburgh, Clan Macleod Societies, 1968-1976).