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DISSERTATION

ONTHE

First Migrations, and Final Settlement

OF THE

SCOTS in NORTH-BRITAIN;

With occasional Observations on the

POEMS

O F

FINGAL and TEMORA.

DUBLIN:

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DISSERTATION, &c.

In the preceding Differtations, we have shewn, that a Colony of Iberian Celts have settled in Ireland, several Ages before the Reception of Christianity. Having arrived from a Country, wherein Commerce and Arts made some Progress, they carried the Use of Letters into this remote Island; and we have seen that, in favorable Periods of Time, they have cultivated those Elements of Knowledge much to their own Advantage.

It took a confiderable Time, before the infant State multiplied fufficiently, to make new Establishments in the neighbouring Parts of Britain. It took a long Time also, to confirm their Power over the British Colonies they found in Ireland before them.

It

It was only when they grew populous and fecure at Home, that they could spare any confiderable Numbers for a foreign Establishment: and even in that Case, many Circumstances must concur, to prevail with fuch Numbers, to quit their native Habitations, and exchange a fertile for a barren Country. When these Circumstances did concur; Emigration was practicable, and in fome Cases desirable. The Remains of antient History, still preserved, cast considerable Light on this Part of Antiquity. The Countries of Britain next to Ireland, were split into independent petty Governments .-- Affifted by the Influence, and fupported by the Power, of the Irish Monarchs, the Cruthneans, or Picts, became the superior Nation in North Britain; and the Cruthnean Princes established in those Parts a Sort of Monarchy over all, or most of the native Clans. Too great a Share of aristocratical Power mixed with the regal Constitutions of those Times; and Kings generally became the Victims of Faction, because their superior Rank was envied, and the Hazard of pulling them down was not great. The discontented Factions which lay next to Ireland, entered into Confederacies (a) with the Irish Monarchs; and thro' those Alli-

HISTORY of IRELAND. 3

ances, the ancient Scots have obtained, at fome Times by Friendship, and at others, by Force, some Establishments in Cantyre, Gallaway, and the contiguous Isles .--- But these Settlements were for a long Time very inconsiderable .-- The Cruthneans growing foon jealous of their new Guests, Hostilities commenced between them .-- Overpowered by Superiority of Numbers, the Scotists Colonies found a secure Retreat in the parent Country. Recruited there, they recoiled upon the Enemy, and, by affifting the weaker against the stronger Factions among them, they regained, and at some Time extended, their own Power .-- Thus it was: And it was only about the Middle of the (b) third Century, and under the Auspices of their wife Monarch, Cormac O'Cuinn, that they made a firmer Establishment in North-Britain, than any they had there before.

That Establishment was made in Favour of Eochad, otherwise Cairbre Riada, a very enterprizing Prince of the Degads of Munfier, that Monarch's own first Cousin, and the Son of Conary the Second, who dyed King of Ireland in the Year 220.—This first nominal Establishment of Scots, in North-

A 3 Britain,

Britain, took the Name Dal-Riada from the Prince (c) Eochad-Riada, who was the Founder of it.--His immediate Posterity succeeded to his Authority over that, as well as over the other Dal-Riada, which he established in the present County of Antrim.

The British Dal-Riada was exercised by frequent Hostilities from the Cruthneans, and, in one Period, with so good Success, that they forced almost the whole Colony to take Flight into Ireland, under their Leader Eochad Munrevar.

Eochad Munrevar found a fecure Retreat for his fugitive Followers, in the Irish Dal-Riada. But, neither he, nor his Son Erk, (who, according to (d) Primate Usher, dyed A. D. 474) could obtain their Re-establishment in Britain, from Laogary, the reigning Monarch of Ireland. It was only when the Hy-Niall Race became all-powerful in Ireland, on the Commencement of the fixth Century, that Erk's Family was re-estabished in the neighbouring Isle. In the Reign of Lugad, the Son of Laogary, a considerable Army

⁽c) Vid. Dissert. Historic. de Vita & Patria S, Romnald. p. 369.
(d) User. Primo d. Cap. 15. p. 609. 610.

Army was raised, and sent into Britain, under the Command of Loarn, the eldest of Erk's Sons.--Argyle, and the western Parts of modern Scotland, were then conquered from the Piets or Cruthneans,

Then, and not before, a new Monarchy of Scots was erected in Britain, continuing for some Time under the Protection of, and in a State of Vassalage to, Ireland; (e) the Picts, however, still holding the best and more fertile Parts of the Country subject to their own Laws and Government.

Thus, the Year 503 forms a memorable Epoch in the History of North-Britain.--Fergus, the Son of Erk, became the common Patriarch of the royal Line of Scotland.---The Picts could never regain the Country they loft: nay, their own Monachy declined in the course of Time, and was dissolved, finally, by the Conquest of Pictland, in the ninth Century, under Kineth, the Son of Alpin, who was Father-in-law to Aodh Finliath, the King of Ireland, and, in Fact, the first King of the Country now extending from Edinburgh to Caithness.

A 4 When

⁽e) Scoti montanis in locis. Picti in agris ferti-

When the Scots, about the Year 850, became Masters of Scone, and the greater Part of the Lowlands, their Kings removed the Seat of Government into the South. They allied with their Saxon Neighbours, and soon after adopted, not only the Customs, but even the Language, of that People.—In the eleventh Century, the British Scots became still more powerful than they have been in any former Period, and they continued so until the Reign of Alexander the third, whose unfortunate End closed the royal Dal-Riada Succession in the male Line; and opened such a Scene of Misery to that Nation, as can hardly be paralleled in the History of any other.

In the Contention between the Bruces and Baliols, the King of England was most unwisely called in as an Arbiter. The Consequences are well known. For some Time he forced the Kingdom of Scotland into a State of cruel Vasfalage.

- It was in his Torrent of Success against the Scots, that Edward I. King of England, carried off and destroyed the antient Records of the Nation. He thought, or was made to believe, that national Ignorance of all former Rights, would soon reconcile the People

HISTORY of IRELAND. 9 to national Servitude. But this brutal Poli-

cy did not fucceed.

The Archives of Scotland were not thoroughly destroyed. Some Remains of antient History were still preserved. Such Fragments, however, not corresponding with the Policy of Men in Power, they were secreted from the public Eye, and a (f) new Scheme was invented, to justify the Pretensions of the Scots to an Independency on England, and that under the Sanction of a Monarchy of Scots in Britain, several Ages antecedent to the Christian Æra.

The new System continued some Time in its rude Draught; John de Fordun, a Scotish Priest, was employed ro give it a Form, and such a Degree of Consistency, as was sufficient for an ignorant Age. Before, however, he commenced his Task, we are told that he travelled into Ireland, to consult the antient Chronicles, as so many (g) Oracles, relative to what could be learned of the antient History of the Scotish Nation. If Fordun took such a Journey, it is certain that

⁽f) Vid. Innes's Critical Essay on the antient Inhabitants of Scotland. Lond. Edit. 1729. from p. 600 to 636.
(g) In Oraculis Hiberniæ. vid. Innes's Essay. vol 2.

that he rejected the Informations he received, as they were conformable to the Accounts still preserved in his own Country, and far from being favourable to the Plan of an History, antedated many Ages before the true Time.

Fordun's History was well received in North-Britain. It flattered the Vanity of a brave People, not yet broke to the Yoke which galled them, or to the Indignities, which galled them still more. The English founded their Pretenfions to an early Antiquity, still higher than the Scots themselves; and the Appeals of both Nations to the Popes of those Times, make no small Part of a Farce of Folly, which would be innocent enough in itself, were it not involved with a Tragedy, which had well nigh let out most of the noble Blood in the Nation, and reduced the Survivors to a State of Thraldom. When the Law of Nations is dictated by the Spirit, and civil Right is governed by the Insolence, of victorious Free-booters, we are not to wonder much, if to rational Means of civil Revenge, their Adversaries should have Recourse to Expedients, which, at this Distance of Time, appear very inadequate to any Purposes of civil Liberty. Our Wonder will cease, when we confider that, in more enlightened Times,

we frequently find public Policy influenced more by some favourite Prejudice, which chance obtained, or Caprice started, than by the inerrable Reason of Things. Thus it is with every local Folly, which takes Pof-fession of Nations, as well as of Individuals; and what the Wife of all ages, have feldom ventured farther with, than to extract from it all the Good it can bear; as violent Attempts to root it up, are impracticable in most Times, inexpedient in some, and dangerous in any. This was partly the Case in the Times we are describing. Popes were appealed to in a mere civil Controversy, not indeed that their Right to decide in such Matters, was even then acknowledged, but because their Sentence carried great Weight with the People .--- On the Destruction of the Scotish Archives by Edward I. it was deemed good Policy to repair the Loss, by a new Series of History, more flattering than the authentic and old. It answered the End of preventing Rome from deciding in Favour of England, and it effectually answered the Purpose of retaining the Scots to the Idea they always entertained of a high Antiquity. It drew from the national Pride all that the national Interest required from. it at that Time, or indeed could obtain from it in any; the Abhorrence of a foreign Yoke, and an equal Disdain of receiving it from a Nation they deemed their

their Inferiors in every Instance, except that of Wealth and Power. (h) Such was the Principle on which John Fordun's Book was published.

This innocent, but useful Fraud remained for fome Time unimpeached .-- On the Refurrection of Letters, the Authenticity of the Facts was called in Question. - Hector Boece and John Major, two Scotish Writers, of some Abilities, wrote in Support of the new System; And soon after, George Buchanan, one of the first Genius's in Europe, took up the Subject; and, however unfairly he warped it, to answer the Purposes of a Faction, he still, from the Vigour of his Expression, and Force of his Colouring, gave it Reputation in remote Countries.---With such a Leader at their Head, inferior Writers of the Scotish Nation fell into a Sort of historical Phrenzy .-- (i) They perfuaded themselves, and endeavoured to persuade others, that the Irish Scots, so celebrated thro' all Europe, in the fixth, seventh, and eighth Centuries, were Natives of the Highlands of North-Britain; and that those very Highlands, were the Hibernia, Scotia, and Ierne of the antient Latin Writers!

The

⁽b) Sce Innes's Essay. Vol. II. passim.
(i) User. Primord. cap. 16. p. 575, et passim.

The learned Cambden, Primate Usher, Dr. Loyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, and Dr. Stillingfleet, appeared foremost among the English Antiquaries, in detecting this wild Hypothesis. They gave the Public the fullest Conviction of its Forgery; but had no Success in convincing their Adversaries. These Men would not be convinced .--- No Fact can afford a stronger Proof of the Obstinacy of the polemic Spirit; and certainly none should give us a greater Mistrust of it, than to find it so invincible, in a mere Point of Party-Honour, (for no Party-Interest was now concerned) fo ill supported, and so ill understood, as this before us certainly was.

Writers of every Form, and Sir George Mac Kenzie in the highest, set themselves in Opposition to Usher and Stilling fleet.---Fordun's Scheme was a Palladium, which must be replaced, or the State could not stand: For, to such a ridiculous Extreme did the KING'S ADVOCATE for Scotland carry this Point, as to pronounce it a Species of (k) High-treason, to controvert the Antiquity given by his Countrymen to the royal Line of Scots in Britain. That Advocate published two Volumes in Defence

of their Utopian Schemes, and put number-lefs Authors, antient and modern, on the Rack, to depose in Favour of Facts unknown to Antiquity.—The finishing this literary War fell naturally on the Antiquarians of Irèland, as they could support, from their domestic Chronicles, what the Writers of England adduced from the best foreign Authorities. They soon blew up all the Forts that the modern Writers of North-Britain have been erecting since the Days of Fordun: And the new System has been so compleatly demolished, that no Expedient was left, but to erect another on its Ruins; with what Success we shall soon fee.

Fordun's Scheme, methodized, amended, and vindicated, for feveral hundred Years, was finally abandoned; and (1) Mr. Mac Pherfon, who fets out with a fecond Hypothefis, does not hefitate to denounce his historical Predecessors, even Buchanan himfelf, as a Set of Impostors, who had neither Records nor Tradition, to countenance their romantic Details of the Times before Fergus, the Son of Erk, who died King of the Albanian Dal-Riada in the fixth Century.

To

To throw a little Light on what has been obscured by these Writers, a few Observations upon the antient State of North-Britain will not be improper.—That Country was originally peopled by a Nation of the (m) Scandinavian Scythians. The Book of Lecan and other Chronicles mention their fetting up a Monarchy there under Gud and Cathluan, their two first Kings: There is, no Doubt, much Fable mixed with the Originals of Nations; but in those of several Countries some Truths are discoverable. As on a Mountain overshadowed with Clouds, some Spots are here and there enlightened; so, in the Instance before us, tho' the Migration of those Hyperborean Scythians, (first into Ireland, and then into North-Britain) may not be true, or may be obscured by false Details; yet the Account of their being led by their Heroes Gud and Cathluan, feems to point out clearly their true Original: In the first Name, we see their Extraction from the Gets, afterwards called Goths; and in the Word Cathluan, which the Romans have transmuted a little to their own softer Accents, we find the true Radicals of Caledonia and Caledonians.

These Goths, or Caledonians, having, like the Agathyrsi, who swarmed from the same Hive,

⁽m) Stilling. Origin. Britann. p. 246, 7, &c.

Hive, the Custom of painting their Bodies, were, on that Account, called *Cruithnidh*, by the antient *Scots*; and, on the same Score, the *Romans*, in After-times, gave them the Name of *Picts*, to distinguish them from the *Scots*, who, in the third, Century, began to have fixed Settlements in *North-Britain*.

In what particular Time the Caledonians first planted North-Britain, we know not, nor would the Knowledge now be important. It happened in a remote Age, when they split into several little petty Governments; when every Head of a Tribe became the Monarch of it. In Process of Time, and in the natural Course of Things, some Prince, endowed with Ability, and savored by Fortune, mastered the rest, and laid the Foundation of that Monarchy, by seventy Kings, which continued down to the Conquest of the Highlands and Hebrides, by the Dalriada Race, in the fixth Century.

For feveral Ages before that Conquest, the Irish kept a constant Communication with the Caledonians. The Roman Invasions of South Britain made them enter into still closer Alliances, for the Preservation of their Liberties. The Fragments of old Scotish History which remain, after these Facts,

HISTORY of SCOTLAND. 17 Facts, and the Roman Writers confirm them.

During the Space of 170 Years, from the Entrance of Agricola, the Roman Commander, to the War between the Irish and Caledonians, in the third Century, the two Nations continued in close Confederacy against the Romans and southern Britons. But the Irish in all that Time made no fixed Settlements in North-Britain. They returned to their native Country, after sinishing their foreign Expeditions, sometimes covered with Difgrace, at others laden with Spoils. In either Case, Ireland was the Resource of their Strength, as well as Security.

It was only in the third Century, that Cormac O'Guinn, King of Ireland, broke off all Connexion with the Northern-Britons. To revenge the Protection given by the PiEts to his Rebel-Subjects, he invaded their Country, and extended his Power over a Part of it. Fionn Mac Cumbail, his Son-in-law, and Chief of the Bafgnean Clan, was then Commander of his Armies. Carbre-Riada, Prince of Munster, and the Monarch's own Cousin-german, distinguished himself signally in this War, and, in Reward, obtained not only a Territory in Ulster, conquered from the Rudrician Race, but that in North-Bri-

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tain, conquered from the Picts. Each of these conquered Countries got the Name of Dalriada, from Carbre-Riada, the first Pos-fessor.

This small Settlement in North-Britain, threw the PiEts into just Terror of the Power and Vicinity of the Nation, who established it; and they wisely entered into Measures for their own Security, by united Efforts to expel the New-comers. In that View, they succeeded, after many Conslicts: Towards the End of the fourth Century, they subdued the growing Scotish Colony, and forced the Chiefs of it to secure themselves, by a precipitate Flight into the Mother-Country.

The Efforts of the Scots to re-establish, and of the Piëts to desend themselves, thorough the whole Century which succeeded, are but little detailed in our old Chronicles. We have only enough left, to inform us, that the former did not succeed, until the domestic Contentions at Home giving Way (after the Battle of Ocha) to the superior Power of the Hy-Nialls, a formidable Army was raised in Favor of the Dalriada Family, and put under the Conduct of Loarn, the Head of it. With this Army, a Descent was made in North-Britain, Kentire, Knapdale, Ardgyle, Lorne, and Braidalbine, and the

contiguous western Isles were conquered.—The Monarchy of Scots, in this extended Dal-Riada, began at this Time; not before. Our more accurate Chronologers date it from the Year 503, and the learned Usher concurs with them in that Epoch.—Even this Monarchy, as was but natural, continued in a State of Vassalage to that of Ireland, until Aidan King of the Albanian Scots, obtained an independent Sovereignty, through the Ordinances made in the great Convention of the Irish States, held at Drumkeat, in the Year 590.

Such, in brief, are the most authentic Accounts we have of the first Settlements of the Picts and Scots in North-Britain: And when it was proved, beyond all Controverfy, that this Monarchy of Scots, in Britain, had no (n) earlier a Date, than this affigned by the old Irish Chronicles, and that the antient Scots, fo celebrated in the middle Chriftian Ages, were Natives of IRELAND, not of the Highlands; the Detection of the Forgery was a Wound which rankled in the Breafts of Numbers; as it not only stripped the Authors of all historical Reputation, but their Country of the Honour intended it, by the B 2 Adoption

(n) See Innes's Critical Essay. Vol. 2, p. 665. 667. et reliq.

Adoption of Children, who gained fo much Credit to the true Mother.

Such is the Spirit of our human System: It kindles into strong Resentment on the Detection of a favorite Prejudice, or favorite Error; and few Things can characterize the Impotence of the human Mind better, than the Pain it sometimes suffers from right Information: To this Impotence, we are to afcribe the recent Efforts of the Writers of North-Britain, to make Reprizals, and to impress an Idea, that the Pretensions of Ireland to the early Use of History, are as illgrounded as their own .-- To this comforting Period have they finally reduced the Controverfy, like the fage Divine, who ended a furious Contest with the incredulous "Good Sir, if you do not acknow-" lege the Authority of the New Testament, " I absolutely renounce to the Authority of " the Old!"

Mr. Innes, a learned Ecclefiaftic of the Scotch College in Paris, was the first who opened this Scheme to his Countrymen. His two Volumes on Scotish Antiquities, contain some Facts curious and useful: But the Bulk of the Whole is employed to show, that the Pretensions of Ireland, to the early Use of Letters and History, are no better grounded than those

those of Scotland: Like the Attempts of Pere Hardouin, to shew that several Works ascribed to the antient Classicks, are the Productions of ulterior Ages; his Arguments are plausable, not solid; consisting of mere Negatives; which, on summing up their whole Evidence, do not amount to one positive Proof of his main Argument.—They only open a Vein of historical Scepticism, which indeed may have its Use, by engaging Writers in a more critical Examination of our antient Scotish Writings, than hath been hitherto entered upon.

It was from that Writer, that the Translator of Fingal has borrowed any tolerable Objection, to the historical Accounts still preseved in the Gaelic or Scotic Language; though he had not the Candor to make the smallest Acknowledgement to his Benefactor. It is only when he dismisses this Guide, and gives us Matter of his own, that he becomes contemptably ridiculous: But the Abbe Inneshad a Character to support, and would go no farther than to offer his own Conjectures and Negatives; otherwise confessing himself in the Case of (0)" one travelling alone, with out meeting any Person who could give him any certain Directions in his Journey."

B 3 SECT.

SECTION II.

OBSERVATIONS on Mr. Mac Pherson's Differtations and Notes on the Poems, intitled, FINGAL and TEMORA.

R. Mac Pherson was not as unfortunate as Mr. Innes, in travelling alone.—He most considently informs us, that he took oral Tradition alone, for his Guide; when all historical Scripture failed him. By this inerrable Compass, he fails back into remote Ages, and discovers there a new Monarchy of Scots in Britain, to make us Amends for the Ruin of the old; which Buchanan took so much Pains to immortalize and adorn.

A little low Aflutia runs through the whole Game which this Writer would play upon

HISTORY of SCOTLAND. 23 upon us:--(p) " He cannot fay how early the "Monarchy of the Gaedbil, or Scots, began " in Britain; but that it flourished in the " first Century, under Thrathal, (which, by " the Way, is not a Scotish Name) he is " certain. The Monarchy of the Scots in " Ireland had still," he affumes, "a later " Beginning; but without Lustre or Con-" fequence, fave only what it received from "the Parent-Country, (the 'Highlands) which hardly could preserve this its own " infant Colony from being strangled in its " Irish Cradle." The same Spirit which possessed his Countrymen, Dempster, Chambars and Lesley, to claim the Scots, celebrated through Europe, in the 6th, 7th, and 8th Centuries, as Natives of the Highlands; hath feized on Mr. Mac Pherson, to transfer thither the Nativity of our Scotish Heroes, in the Heathen Times: He well knew, however, that the Errors of the former Writers could not be supported; and, therefore, like the false Mother, he would now divide the Child, and support his Pretensions, from the Informations of (q) Offian, or Offician, whom he

(p) See the Differtation and Notes on Temora, by

Mr. Mac Pherson.

⁽q) In his first Publication of Poems from the Erfe, he calls this Bard Ofcian, and in the later Transslations, Offian: This shews his little Knowledge of the Gaelic, or Scotish Language. Oisin is the true Reading, and so written in all our antient Manuscripts.

he represents (very wisely, for his Scheme) as an illiterate Bard, who lived in an illiterate Age!

John Fordun's Scheme of Monarchy was plaufible, in an ignorant Age. The Scheme before us would be absolutely ridiculous, in any. It required fome Knowledge in the antient State of Ireland and Scotland, to annihilate the former; the latter, leaning folely on blind Tradition, in its Dotage, can not stand .-- Before we dig its Grave, it may not be improper to inform the Reader, previously, that the Father of the aforesaid venerable Oslian (famous in History, for military Skill and Jurisprudence and famous in Romance, for marvelous Exploits,) was known, and is still known, in Ireland and (r) Scotland, by the Name of Fionn Mac Cumbail. The Histories of the Learned, the Traditions of the Vulgar, gave him no other Name. -At present, our Mistake is rectified .- By poetical Baptism, this Prince is, in the Poems before us, called Fingal; and by biftorical Creation, he is dubbed (s) King of Scotland !--- Stripped of his native Country, stripped of his very Name, he is made ample Amends in a Diadem!-Nor doth it import,

⁽r) See Mr. Martin's Travels into Scotland, in his Description of the Isle of Sky. p. 152.
(s) See Differtat, to Fingal, Dub, Edit, p. 20.

port, that no fuch Name as Fingal, can be found in the regal Lists of Ireland or Scotland, or that all antient and modern History is filent of fuch a Monarch .-- Offian's Authority is fufficient for recognizing his Majefty's Title; --- and it would be historical High-treason to controvert it with his Majesty's own dear Son. With such Authority, Mr. Mac Pherson may bear down upon us very triumphantly.---He may contend for it, that Offian's Power over the History, should extend to the Geography, of this Island:---That Moylena (famous for its two Battles; one in the fecond, the other in the tenth Century) ought to remain in Ulster, where Offian placed it, not in the King's County, where it lyes at prefent; and that Nothing but geographical Tyranny could remove (t) Teamor, (his Temora) the Seat of the antient Irish Kings, from the same Northern Province, into Meath, where it obstinately remains still; notwithstanding the Writ of Recaption, which Mr. Mac Pherson took out against it, in 1764; that he might replace it on the old Foundations: He may, I say, contend for the Rectitude of all this; and, indeed, with as much Justice, as for a Monarchy of Scots

⁽t) See Mr Mac Pherson's Advertisement prefixed to the Poem of Temora.

26 DISSERTATION on the Scots, in Britain, full five hundred Years before the true Time!

In Truth, there would be no End of pointing out the topographical Ignorance of Offian, in omitting, as well as misplacing, fome of those most noted Places of Ireland; which must naturally come within the Plan of his Poems: His Invention, however, is very prolific; and is particularly fo, where Poetry wants it least, or is disgraced by it. In that Case, it is amazing, that Mr. Mac Pherson did not set OSSIAN right; as he had Materials for it; as the Originals were in his own Hands; and as he might fafely give Offian fome topographical Accuracy, in the Translation. By difarming Criticism from that Quarter, he would have weakened its Power over others, where its Sentence would be doubtful and arbitrary; instead of being decifive and fatal, as we shall foon find it .---Thus, instead of Eambain, or Eamania, the celebrated Seat of the Kings of Ulster, which Offian never once mentions, we have the Castle of (u) Tura, many Ages before a fingle Castle was built in the Kingdom: And, instead of Craove-roe, the Academy near Eamania for teaching the Use of Arms, he gives us Muri's Hall; a Name as little known

HISTORY of SCOTLAND. 27 to all antient Writers, as Tura itself.—From numberless Instances of such Forgeries, Omissions, and Misplacings, the Reader will be

enabled to form a proper Judgment of Ossian, as well as of Ossian's Translator.

That the Poems of Fingal and Temora have no Foundation in the History of the antient Scots, is an Idea that we are very far from establishing. They are evidently founded on the Romances, and vulgar Stories of the (w) Tan-Bo-Cualgney War, and those of the Fiana Ereann .-- The Poet, whoever he was, picked up many of the Names of Men and Places to be found in those Tales, and Invention made up the rest. In digesting these Poems into the present Forms, Chronology was overlooked, and the Actors of different Ages are all made Coevals. Offian, an antient Bard of the third Century, is pitched upon, as a proper Author, to gain Admiration for fuch Compositions; and the more (it should seem) as he was himself an illiterate Bard, and that his Works ran unmixed through the clear Stream of oral Tradition.

⁽w) The Tan-Bo-Cuolgney War, wherein Cuchullin, Terdia, Conall Cearnach, Fergus Mac Roy, &c. fignalized themfelves, was carried on fome few Years before the Commencement of the Christian Ara. Fionn Mac Cumhaill and the Fiana Ereann flourished in the third Century. M. Mac Pherson or Ossian makes them Cotemporaries. Vid. Ogyg. p. 128.

dition, through fo fhort a Period as eleven hundred Years!---This, then, is the Foundation, and this the Secret, of the Poems before us; but, furely, too much of the Secret is revealed, and a little more Art would be necessary, to gain them a Colour of Antiquity.

To bring Heroes together, who lived in distant Periods of Time; and to omit many of the celebrated Names of the Age, wherein the Scene is laid, may, perhaps, be granted to the License of Poetry; particularly to a Modern, who ventures on a Blast from the Epic Trump .-- But to supply the Omission of fuch Names, by others, unknown to Antiquity, and mere Exotics too, without (x) vernacular Cadence, is too much; and still more fo, when Manners and Customs are introduced, characteristic of ulterior Times only .-- Oifin, the Son of Fionn Mac Cumbail, could not take fuch License; since poetic Inspiration never pretended to extend fo far. He could not case up his own Father in burnished Corselet, or Steel Panoply, nor ftud his Chariot with costly Gems, many Ages before Coats of

(y) See Fingal, Dub. Edit. p. 13

⁽x) Such as Semo, Puno, Favi, and numberless other Names. Matha is indeed found in many old Ms. but being the Name of one of the four Evangelists, it was not introduced until after the Reception of Christianity.

of Mail, or inlaid Ornaments, were known in his native Country.—This, I say, he could not have done; but it was very easy to Ossian, the Son of Fingal: Ossian, the poetic Grandfather of Mr. James Mac Pherson, the poetic Grandson, could do it; and therefore did do it.

In Truth, the Absurdity of inserting into these Poems of Fingal and Temora, Customs, unknown in Ireland, or North-Britain, until long after the Decease of the supposed Author, brings a Proof not to be invalidated, that the Exhibiter of these modern Customs, is a mere modern Poet. The Omission of the religious Machinery is not indeed a Proof equally strong; but one decifive enough, as to the Poet's Ignorance of the druidic Theology. Mr. Mac Pherson easily forefaw, that this Omission would create Mistrust, and, unfortunately, enhances our Suspicion, by a most filly Effort to account for it. (2) "Before Offian's Time, (he tells us) the druidic Religion was fet afide."---But he goes on :---" The Power of the Druids, to elect a Vergobretus, was at an End."---" Upon their utter Overthrow, the Office of a Vergobretus became hereditary, and the established Religion was abolished." This

⁽²⁾ See the Differtat. to Fingal p. 5. 6. et feq.

This is the Substance of his long-winded Detail of the Ruin of the Druids .-- All our Remains of antient History are against him: and what Authority does he oppose to their Testimony?---His own; his own only!--Who, ever, before the Appearance of this new bistorical Revelation, heard of a Vergobretus (so called) among the Caledonians? or, indeed, among any other Celtic People, the Ædui, in Gaul, alone excepted? (a) It is Cafar who gives us the Name, and de-fcribes the Office; and that in a Corner only of the extensive Country he conquered. Had Cæsar never wrote, we should never hear of the Name. Let it be admitted, however, that, as Vergobretus fignifies a Judge, and that we need not dispute about a Word, when the Thing, that is, the Office of a despotic Magistrate, is intended: Yet, who informed Mr. Mac Pherson of a civil War between the Druids and a supreme Officer, the temporary Despot of their own Choice? Who, I say, informed him of the Doctrine of bereditary Right's being established in Caledonia, fo many Ages before the Idea of fuch a Right was conceived in these Islands, or indeed, any other Northern Country? Could fuch a Revolution, for which we have his bare Word only

⁽a) Vergobretum vocant Ædui, qui creatur annuus, et vitæ necifque in suos habet potestatem. Casar. Bell. Gallic lib. 1

only, produce, as he pretends, an utter Abolition of the established Religion of those Times?—It is superlatively absurd to suppose it. It is ridiculous to affert it.—All antient History contradicts it.

Reformation, indeed, might be useful in those Days, as in our own; and antient Anecdotes inform us, that, in the Reign of Cormac O'Cuinn, such a Reform was unsuccessfully attempted here in Ireland. Popular Superstition was too strong for that Monarch's Power, or Philosophy, to be shaken by either: Yet, with all the Success, that the Rage of Reformation, or Spirit of Tyranny, could require; can we suppose, that any spiritual Revolution, in those heathen Days, could, thus, as it were, instantly, produce a total Suppression of the ritual Ceremonial, and doctrinal Parts of the antient Worship? Hypothethical Folly alone, could suppose and effect it.

Mr. Mac Pherson is, undoubtedly, a Man of good natural Abilities, cultivated by Reading and Reflexion: And yet, I know not from what Fatality, he appears as destitute of Commone-sense, as of Decency, in most of his Assumptions (for they are no better) on the Subject before us. He wants Decency, in the illiberal Abuse of all antient and mo-

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dern Writers, who endeavoured to throw Lights upon the antient State of Ireland, and North-Britain; and he wants Common-sense, in Points, which his cooler Judgment would doubtless correct; had not the Rage of national Invective taken absolute Possession of his whole Faculties. In fuch a Mood he must be, when he advances, that " in the Period, "when Property is established among Men, and that they enter into Associations for " mutual Defence; THEN is their State the Region of complete Barbarism and Igno-rance."—The Words are to be found in p. 18 and 19 of his Differtation on TEMO-RA; (Dublin Edition) and a Man of his Knowledge could not betray fuch Ignorance of the State of civil Society; but upon the Principle we have laid down.

In the long Controverfy about Fordun's historical Hypothesis, the Writers of North-Britain pretended to Authority, antient and modern:—Mr. Mac Pherson pretends to neither; and, were we to choose an Adversary, with no better View than the Ease of Resutation, he, doubtless, would be our Man. But we proceed on a better Motive, from the Hope that much of our antient Scotish History may yet be exhibited in a useful Light; and from the Fear that the prevalent Prejudices against it may be strengthened,

(b) See the Differtat, on Fingal. p. 8.

of fuch Reports, from common Sense, or

common

common Shame; for common Knowledge is out of the Question.—Culdee (in the Gaelic, or Scotic, Ceile-De) fignifies one sequestered, or espoused to God. This is so well known to every Man of common Skill in our Language, that it is not to be contended for. We are only to remark; that Mr. Mac Pherson's (c) Culdich is not to be supported, otherwise than as an uncouth Barbarism in Language; as ill explained, as it is ill applied. In learning of the literal Sense of Culdee (properly Cele-De,) he might be well informed by some of his learned Countrymen in the Highlands. Buchanan knew the Meaning of the Word well, by calling them Dei Cultores, as Mr. O'Flaherty calls them Colidei.

They were, in Fact, a Society, or College, of Religious; sequestered after, not before, the Scots were converted to Christianity. They sequestered themselves in conventual Communities, not in the Groves or Caves of the antient Druids.

SECT.

⁽c) Differtat. on Fingal. p. 9.

SECT. III.

Mr. Mac Pherson's hereditary Monarchy of Scots examined.

HEN the Imagination is once fermented in the Depths of an Hypothesis, a Fever, and, in its Progress, a Phrenzy, of the Mind enfues. This Diftemper feldom admits of any Remedy; and in this State it was that Mr. Mac Pherson conceived, that the old hereditary Monarchy he reared on the New Foundations of Offian, would certainly stand, could he but perfuade his Readers, that the historical Writings, still preferved in the old Scotish Language, are no better than a crude and indigested Heap of Fables; what, no Doubt, the Interest of his Hypothesis required they should be. Argument comes little to his Assistance in this Part of his Task; but Disingenuity,

36 DISSERTATIOI, on the

ingenuity, Railing, and national Abuse, supply its Place. He condems our old Authors, without any Tryal, and generously hires himself out to be their Executioner; as if, like certain *Indian Enthusiasts*, he conceived that the Murder of his best Friends intitled him to the Inheritance of their good Qualities. But, granting, in Pity to his Distemper, what can never be granted to any other Writer, that his Conjectures (from Mr. *Innes*) concerning our antient Chronicles are just; yet still his Hypothesis would gain Nothing by it.—The Proofs are coming forward.

They should not indeed come forward so readily, had he not intangled himself, or had Ossian not intangled him, in a genealogical and chronological Snare; which a Writer, of any common Vigilance in the Art of Forgery, might easily avoid. Let us first catch Hold of him in Fingal's (d) War with Caracalla, Son to the Emperor Severus: a War, wherein, after remarking on the Unfairness of the Roman Historians, in concealing the Ruin of their Army, and omitting the Exploits of the Caledonian Hero who ruined it; we are to observe, in the next Place, that this War fell out in the Year 211: Fingal, this Conqueror of the best Roman Army that

⁽d) See Differt. on Fingal. p. 10.

Britain ever beheld, was then a beardless Youth, according to our Northern Historian, and confequently, we may, without Mistake, place his Birth about the Year 191, or 192; and hence to the End of the Temorean War, and Death of Oscar, Mr. Mac Pherson computes (e) precisely 56 Years, allowing nineteen Years a-piece to each Generation from *Fingal* to *Oscar* inclusive.—The Hypothefis is barely admissible, and therefore allowable, to fuch an Adversary as we have to deal with .- Shall we take the fame License with the three other retrograde Defcents from Fingal to Trenmor, who reigned, according to Mr. Mac Pherson, in the first Century? No: But we must take still a much more inadmiffible Liberty; -Instead, therefore, of the aforesaid Precipitation of Births, by fo few intermediate Years as 19 Years to each; let us, in Favour of our Adversary, treble that Number of Years, in our retrograde Genealogy, and this will place the Birth of Trenmor about the Time that Mr. Mac Pherson's Scheme requires. This, then, being fettled to his Satisfaction, we request the Reader to mark the glaring Absurdity of this Computation; ---each of the Princes in one Series of Defcents, requiring the Patriarchal Interval, fuch as that between Abraham and Moses, C 3

⁽e) See Temora. 225. 226.

from one Generation to another; and in the immediate fubsequent Line, each Prince becoming the Father of another, before he was well of Age to mount the tall Steed, and resign his wooden Hobby Horse!

How contrary such a Scheme is to Experience, and to the technical Canon established upon it, by Sir Isaac Newton, and the best Chronologers, need not be shewn: But Mr. Mac Pherson has established a chronological Canon of his own, resembling the Rack of Procrustes, shortening or Stretching the generations of Men, as it best answered the Purposes, and sitted the Standard, of Official's genealogical Torture?

Mr. Mac Pherson is so condescending as to grant a Monarchy of Scots in Ireland, so early as the first Century: "A Colony (says he) of Caledonian Highlanders (g) established themselves in Ulster, some Time before the Incarnation; where they lay in great Peril of Extirpation from the Firbolgs, had not Trathal, the King, or Vergobret, of Scotland, sent his Brother Conor to their Aid-Through that Aid," (he tells us) "the Caledonian Power became so superior in Ireland, that, in a Convention of the States, "Conar

⁽g) See the Differtat. on Temora. p. 14. et seq.

" Conar was elected King of the whole If" land. Hence the Scotish Monarchy of
" Ireland had its Commencement, and was

" established on the Principle of hereditary

" Right, till the Succession was interrupted in the fifth Generation by an Insurrection

" in the fifth Generation by an Insurrection of the Firbolgs.--In this Civil Scuffle,

" Cormac, the Son of Artho, a Minor-Mo-

" narch, under Guardianship, was mur-

" dered, &c,"

Let us now analize this hopeful Account, --- According to our accurate Author, this young King Cormac was the fifth Generation from Trenmor, King of Caledonia in the first Century:---Let us allow 33 Years (not 19) to each Generation, and the Birth of this Son of Artho (as he is called) will fall in the Year 165; and in Course of Nature it could not be much more or less. Again: Take in the five Reigns, from Conar (who, he fays, reigned towards the Close of the first Century) to the Death of the Minor Cormac, at 25 Years, one Reign with the other; and the numerical Total, added to the last 30 Years of the first Century, will place that young Monarch's Death in the Year 155; and the main Difference between that and 165, will place his Death in the Year 160. This technical Rule will not be excepted to, by any one versed in the Canons

nons of technical Chronology, except in the Instance of being too favourable to Mr. Mac Pherson. Now Fingal, who, it is said, quitted his Exploits in Locklin, to attack and defeat Caracalla in the Year 211, and who is exhibited to us as then in his early Youth, must be born about the Year 190, and consequently could not come to Temora about the Year 160, to revenge the Death of his Cousin Cormac; unless we suppose it could be done 30 Years or thereabouts bebefore Fingal himself was born.

But this ill-fated Account drags still more Absurdity along with it: For, in Fact, Fingal, who is represented as the third Generation from Trenmor, should by the Course of Nature be dead, before Cormac, the fifth Generation from the same Trenmor, was murdered—Nay more: Had the beardless Youth Fingal deseated Caracalla in 211; how could he be the Grandfather of Oscar, who was (ex Hypothesi) killed in Temora, fifty Years before that Time?

Here we difinifs this genealogical and chronological Analyfis, although not for Want of Matter; and Mr. Mac Pherson must be now convinced that a great deal is left unsaid, which would throw more Sunshine on his or Offian's Forgery. Indeed,

as they have contrived the Matter, it is a Womb teeming with Inconfiftencies and Abfurdities; which, like the Children of Sin, in the Paradise Lost, prey upon the Bowels of their common Mother.—And all this is truly the more wonderful, as a little more systematical Penetration, reconcileable with itself and with the common Course of Nature, would so far preclude the Triumph of an Adversary, and silence the most peevish Criticism.

His Account of Swaran, King of Lochlyn's Invasion of Ireland, in the third Century, is of a Piece with his other Affertions: when it is a Fact indisputable, that the Scandinavians, who obtained the Name of Locklyns, made no Incursions into Britain and Ireland, until the eighth Century, not long after the Time (as a judicious (a) Writer observes) that their Intercourses with the Saxons made them expert Navigators. He, however, who could affert proleptically, that hereditary Right was established lineally among the antient Scotish Monarchs, and that minor Kings conducted their Administration by Guardians, could as readily furnish Swaran in the third Century with float-

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⁽a) See a Pamphlet, entitled, "FINGAL a Knight-Errant," Lond. Edit. 1765.

ing Castles, spreading their Wings of Canvas, and threatening Destruction to remote Nations.

But we had enough of Anticipation of national Manners, genealogical Incongruities, and geographical Ignorance. They should ever pass unnoticed in a mere modern Romance, had it not been believed by fome (for some have believed Mr. Mac Pherson, on his bare Word) " that the Account is little " (b) interlarded with Fable, and that the "Compositions of Ossian are not less valu-able, for the Light they throw on the an-tient State of Scotland and Ireland, than "they are for their poetical Merit." This is the Point driven at, to gain a Monarchy of Scots in Britain 500 Years before the true Time; a Point not to be carried, unless Credulity itself was lulled into a State of Dotage, and brought to conceive that the Language of the antient Scots, still preserved in our eld Writings, ought to be fet aside in Favor of Offian's Erfe, a Dialect kept from Cor-ruption by the Salt of oral Tradition only, and luckily preferved from the Infidelity of Books, or Errors of Transcribers, who, in the Course of a thousand Years, might commit fuch Mistakes as would fet the Learned hard

hard to rectify. Upon this Principle, he rejects our literary Productions; and, to shew upon what Grounds; he doth not scruple to advance, that the antient Gaelic, or Scotic, " (c) was preserved, from Age to Age, " among an illiterate People, who were " funk in extreme Ignorance and Barbarism, " ever fince the Saxons took Possession of the Lowlands." Thus it is, that he divides his Contempt for his Readers, between bare-faced Imposition, on the one Hand, and national Slander, on the other: But the Readers of South-Britain will hardly take his bare Word for it, that any Language can be preferved in its classical Integrity through many Ages, among an *unlettered* People; and the Gentry of the *Highlands* know best what is due to him, for representing their Ancestors as the most ignorant Barbarians, in Contradiction to Adamnan and Bede, Writers of the feventh and eighth Centuries, who represent them as a civilized lettered Nation.

We must not bear too hard on this Gentleman; and we must confess, that the Interest of his Scheme required that he should falsify all antient History, to cover some of his Paradoxes. He knew well that the mo-

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⁽c) See the Dissert. to Temora, p. 29.

dern Erse of Ossian would prove his Works to be mere modern Poems; and in that Diftress it was necessary for him to advance, that the Gaelic, preserved in the antient Writings, is the real Jargon, and that the Erse of an illiterate Bard and illiterate Nation, is the genuine Classic Dialect: The Interest of his Scheme, I say, required that he should advance all this; and had he done it, without Railing, or national Abuse, his Prudence might stand unimpeached, whatever became of his Honesty; but bad Manners, mounted on the Back of Fraud, is too much; and he must charge himself with the Chastifement due to the double Provocation.

Let us now listen a little to the Arguments he brings in Proof of the Purity of Ossain's Language (d).---" The Manners of the People, the unadulterated Recitations of their Bards, and their Exemption from all foreign Mixtures, preserved the original Integrity of this Language through so long a Succession of Ages."--Ridiculous and false is the Affertion!--Did not the British Scots mix with the Picts in the ninth Century? Were not the Hebrides, by (e) Buchanan's

⁽d) See the Differt. to Fingal.

⁽e) Rer. Scotie. lib. 1. p. 22.

chanan's own Confession, an hundred and fixty Years in the Possession of the Danes? Were not fuch Mixtures sufficient to corrupt the Language of a People he wifely pronounces the most ignorant Barbarians? Could any Art, but that of (f) Letters alone, preferve the antient Compositions of such, or indeed of any Nation?---But as this is not an improper Place for it, we will mention in few Words what the Truth of History warrants, relatively to the Gaelic spoken in the Highlands. Before Malcolm Can-more's Reign, that Language was well preserved in North-Britain. It was in his Days the Court-Language; when it ceased to be so, soon after that Prince's Times; and that it was no longer cultivated in Schools and Colleges, it naturally degenerated into a corrupt Dialect. The little which Mr. Mac Pherson has produced, from Ossian, is (very unfortunately for his Paradox) mere Jargon, and below the Samples from the fame Country, prefixed by Mr. Lluid to his Archæologia Britannica. It is precifely of the same Stamp with the wretched Lines he produces as Irish Compositions, without Irish Language to fave Appearances; both are incontrovertibly out of the same Mint, without any Resemblance

⁽f) Illæ linguæ quotidie moriuntur, quotidie nascuntur, que pendent ex libidine imperitæ multitudinis. Muset,

blance to the antient Verses of the fixth and feventh Centuries, produced in the Annals of the Four Masters, or any other classical Writings of the posterior Ages. In Fact, fince the Days of the Bruces and Baliols, the Inhabitants of the Highlands do not pretend that they kept any Schools, or Academies, for the Preservation of their Language: The Irish kept many, and the few Manuscripts, discovered lately in Scotland, are confessed by (g) Sir George Mac Kenzie to be Irish, not Erfe Compositions. In the Mother Country alone, has this Language been preserved in its claffical Purity. The Settlements on our Sea Coasts, in the ninth Century, by the Danes and other Normans, did not effect the minutest Change in our Language. The interior Parts of the Kingdom were fafe from the Settlements, though not from the Incursions, of these Rovers; and before their Entrance, the Irish (as is confessed on all Hands) were the freest Nation in Europe from any foreign Mixtures. Even after the English Invasion, under Henry II. the new Comers (beyond the English Pale) adopted the Language of the Natives, and forgot their own. Through the Means of Schools and Seminaries, it has been preserved in Thuomond.

⁽g) See his Advertisement to the Desence of the Royal Line of Scots.

Thuomond, in Conaught, Tirconall, and Tirone, down to the Days of Queen Elizabeth, and is at this Day preserved in our old Books. It is by fuch Means alone that antient Languages can be preserved; and that Man must be ridiculous indeed, who contends, that they can be preserved by any other. Let him borrow what Plumes he will from the Wing of oral Tradition, or from the Arrogance of a wild Imagination, yet still

— Movet cornicula rifum Furtivis nudata coloribus. ---

In good Truth, when one confiders how Mr. Mac Pherson and Ossian have compounded Matters between themselves, it is extremely hard to maintain any Degree of Seriousness, or forbear entering into the Humour of their Plan of a high Monarchy of Scots, in Britain, fo early as the first Century. .

Do, Offian; make you a Collection of our old vulgar Tales about the Tain-Bo-

^{&#}x27; Cuailgne, and Fiana Ereann. Give old ' Fionn Mac Cumbaill the new Name of

FINGAL, and make Cuchollin, who died in

the Beginning of the first Century, coeval with him, who died in the third. Interpo-

^{&#}x27; late as many Facts of your own, as will give us a more magnificent Monarchy in

^{&#}x27; Scotland,

Scotland, than that of John Fordun, which has been annihilated by some late Histo-

rians and Critics .-- I will be your Tran-

flator and Differtator .-- I alone will ensure

vour Wares, and make a good Market,

before we are detected!

'The Task will be difficult, Mr. Mac · Pherson.

· Not at all, Offian. Deal you in Generals, as much as possible: Should your Commentator mistake, in descending to Particulars, he alone will bear the Blame. If · Carachuil be not Caracalla, or Caros Ca-

rausus, the Fault will be mine, not your's.

'True: But should we not be very cautious as to Manners, and adopt none, but fuch as fuit the Times wherein we lay the

. Scene?

No Doubt, Ossian, were you a mere. modern Bard; but as you are, or must be, an antient, the Public will take you at your Word. You may therefore spread the

Circle of poetic License very wide, and introduce the Manners and Customs of posterior Times, I mean, as much of

either, as will trim your epic Machinery, ' and give your Works all the epic Orna-

ments,

ments, that we shall deem expedient for our fecret Design. Nay more, Ossan!
you may, in this View, embark your old Heroes in Ships of magnificent Structure, instead of the Curachs used in the Days of your supposed Father; you may case up these Sons of Renown in shining Coats of Mail; and you may safely commit geographical Violence, by transplanting Moylena and Temora from their native Country, as easily as you have done Fingal himself. No Man, at this great Distance of Time, will controvert your loscomotive Power.

'Ay, Mr. Mac Pherson; but should we not be careful not outrage genealogical.' Nature? And how would it look, if I were not somewhat consistent with that 'Nature, in the Account of my own supposed Ancestors?

Be not too scrupulous; Ossan: If you give too few Generations between your two principal Æras, I will make your Account consistent still, by contracting and stretching the intermediate Times of these Generations, as Milton did his Devils in Pandemonium, and this will pass on a credulous Public; at least until you and I have our private Ends out of it.

' Right

'Right, Mr. Mac Pherson: But what fhall we do with the old Irish Chronicles and Language, which stand in the Way?

Leave that to me, Offian: I will prove the former to be no better than a Fardel of crude and indigested Tales, and the lat-' ter a corrupt Jargon. Nay more: I will demonstrate, (for Demonstration comes onot from Demon, the Devil, as some have ' maintained) I will, I fay, demonstrate, that all Antiquity has been grossly mistaken, in peopling our Highlands from Ire-' land, or indeed in peopling the British Islands with different Nations of Celts, who ' spoke different Languages. For, Ossian, it is for the Interest of your Scheme and mine, that they should speak but one, common to all. I will prove that oral Tradi-' tion alone is sufficient in my Hands, for set-' ing afide all foreign and domestic Accounts relating to our own Kingdom of Morven. "With this Tradition, I say, we will lay * Lochlyn waste, and people Ireland with our Highland Colonies. Still more, Offian, I will demonstrate, that your Erfe is the pure Scotic, or Gaelic, spoken in the third Century!

' And what more, Mr. Mac Pherson?

'What more, Offian! Why, I will pre-vail with our learned Hypercritic, Dr. Blair (b), to fummon a Cloud of Wit-' nesses from the Highlands and Hebrides,

to depose upon their poetical Conscience, that ' you and I are as honest Fellows, as ever ' played a first and second Fiddle, in a po-

etical Concert!

Ludicrous as this Representation may appear, and ridiculous as it is, in Fact; yet there is Nothing fallacious or exaggerated in it; as it exhibits the Farce, and displays the Intention of Mr. Mac Pherson's Scheme, in its full Extent. We now return to the Confideration of his other Paradoxes.

He afferts, on his own Authority, (for his System required it) that the antient Caledonians were of the same Stock with the Gaedhils, or antient Scots. Where is the Proof? He has it ready most etymologically; for Words of any Resemblance are sufficient for his Purpose. It lies (fays he) in two fingle Monosyllables (i), Caël and Dun, D 2

(i) See the Dissertation on Temora, p. 9.

⁽b) See the Appendix to Dr. Blair's Differtation on Offian's Poems.

or Don; and hence the Celts of the Hills were called Caledonians. But, most unfortunately for this Etymology, the Scots never called themselves Caël, (which fignifies a narrow Streight) but Gaedbill; and fo their Neighbours, the antient Britons, named them, with very little Variation; nor doth the Word Don (generally a prepositive Particle) fignify an Hill, though Dun, in the Gaelic, generally fignified any fortified Hill, and not feldom a Fortress on low Cround: Instances are innumerable. Lame, however, as this Etymology of Caël and Don must appear, it is one of the most plausible in all his Differtations and Notes; most of his other Conjectures being fo remote from the true Radicals, that they answer no End, but that of rendering their Author ridiculous: In Truth, with fuch License as he has taken, no Man can be at a Loss for a Meaning to any antient Compound. It is the long-exploded Nonsense of Etymologists revived; and as he has the Merit of re-instating it, let him take the Reward, fuch as his Countryman Buchanan affigned to all Dreamers like him (k). " Isto enim modo quidlibet ex " quolibet licebit effingere."

But

But what utterly ruins his Etymology of Caledonians from Caël Don, is, that those he ignorantly calls Caël, were not fettled in NorthBritain, until several Ages after Tacitus had mentioned the Caledonians as Inhabitants of that Country. Mr. Innes (1), his Countryman, has shewn clearly, that the Caledonians were the Nation, known in After-ages by the Name of Picts; and (m) Buchanan afferts, upon the best Grounds, that planissimè Picti fuerunt. To shew, however, how much these Writers have mistaken the Matter, Mr. Mac Pherson (une contre tous) advances, on his own bare Word, that the Piets and Scots were originally the same People, and spoke one commonLanguage; and this consciously, in Contradiction to (n) Bede, a living Witness when the Picts and Scots were two powerful Nations, as different in their Language as in their Original. Shall we reject fuch an Evidence, with all Antiquity on his Side, in Favor of Mr. Mac Pherson's Night-mare Assumptions, and ricketty Etymologies?

This novel Word Caël has thrown him into a magical Circle; and it were to be D₃ wished

⁽¹⁾ Essay on the antient Inhabitants of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 45, 48, et reliq.

⁽m) Rer. Scotic. lib. 1. p. 54.

⁽n) Histor. Eccles. Gent. Ang. Cap. 1.

wished that some second-sighted Exercist had conjured him out of it. Before this is done, we have only to remind the fober Reader, of one Charm in the Word, which exceeds any that this Writer hath hitherto been poffeffed of. (0) " From the double Meaning " (fays he) of the Word Caël, which fignifies Strangers, as well as Gauls, some have imagined that the Ancestors of " the Caledonians were of a different Race " from the rest of the Britons, and that " they received their Name on that Account." Who, but one possessed, could write at this wild Rate? Let the Reader, however, be fatisfied, that the antient Scots never called themselves Cael, but Gaedhil, and that they distinguished all Strangers by the Name of Gaill, or Gauls; all our antient and modern Writers, Buchanan himself, will prove this. None, but Mr. Mac Pherson, ever dreamed that the Scots were abfurd enough to call all Strangers by their own Name!

Nothing, certainly, can be more difgusting than this Task of exposing Writers, who bid Defiance to all Authority and Argument, to support a crazy System. If they had not, like him we have to deal with, acquired some Reputation, and that thoroughly from the Ignorance of the Public on the Subject,

Subject, it should by no Means be attempted: Even in that Case, we are Losers by our Labor. If we do not unmask them, it will be faid we cannot. When we do, we are deemed impertinent for expecting Attention to Things so easily refuted (p); though without the Refutation, the Forgery might pass for genuine Facts. It is some Satisfaction, however, that this Disadvantage, on our Side, will not be fo great on that of the Reader. Through the Examination of some Particulars, he will be convinced how much Mr. M.: Pherson has imposed upon him. To examine inferior Particulars, when that End is obtained, would be to injure him: We are therefore hastening to the Conclusion.

Of the Original of the Caël (meaning the antient Scots) he gives such an Account as we are to take on his bare etymological Word. In the early Ages, "they were (says he) a "rambling, that is, a vagabond Nation, and hence received the Name of Scots." Who, but a genuine Descendant of the old Picts, could give so malevolent, and yet so untrue,

D 4 a Re-

⁽p) C'est avec grand plaisir, que je quitte la plume: on auroit continué à garder le silence, si, de ce qu'on le gardoit, plusieurs personnes n'avoient conclu qu'on y étoit réduit. Désense de L'Esprit des Loix, p. 196.

a Representation of a Nation; who, far from being Rovers, have been longer fixed to their feveral Countries, than any other European People? Mr. Maitland (q), a Lowlander, and less virulent than the Pist, is more favorable, and derives the Name of Scot, from the Scoths, or Boats, with which it was customary with them to invade Britain. The Reader, however, may prefer the more general Account delivered down by the Gaedbils themselves, that they retained the Name of Kinea-Scuit or Scuits, from their Celto-Scythian Ancestors.

With equal etymological Knowledge, Mr. Mac Pherson deduces the Name of (r) Cruithmidh (Piëts) from cultivating the Soil, and being Corn-Eaters; because it so happens, that, in the Gaelic, the Word Cruithneacht signifies Wheat. Mr. Maitland, on the other Hand, deduces this Name from Peacht, Fighters, and with equal Justice. It is, in Truth, the etymological Phrenzy, on both Sides; and the Reader will, no Doubt, prefer the Account given by the old Scotish Writers, because it is natural and obvious: They inform us, that they got the Name of

⁽q) History of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 110, (r) Differt, to Temora, p. 11.

(f) Cruitbnidb, i. e. Painters, from the Cuftom of painting their Bodies; and this Account is confirmed by the Roman Authors, who called them Picti, or Picts, on that very Account.

With Writers of this Stamp it is, quocunquo modo rem; and, for Want of better, fuch poor Shifts have been made Use of, to support an Hypothesis tottering on all Sides. To establish a Monarchy of Scots in Caledonia, in the first Age of the Christian Æra, it was necessary to assume, that the (t) Scots and Piets were originally but one Nation, who spoke one common Language; and this. Assumption he would fain convert into a Demonstration, by informing us, that the Names of Men and Places in Pictland are of Gaelic Original. He is widely mistaken. Those antient Names are of Celtic Original, as most of the antient Names of Towns, Rivers and Districts in Europe, are, to this Day; what (u) Monf. Bullet has fully proved in his learned Memoirs of the Celtic Language. Will this prove that the feveral Celtic Nations spoke one common Language? Was it possible to do it, through the Course of so many

⁽f) Ogyg. Part III. p. 188. and Mr. Innes's Critical Essay, Vol. I. p. 58, 63, &c.
(t) Dissert, on Temora, p. 12, et reliq.
(u) Mem. de la Langue Celtique, Vol. I.

many Ages, Migrations and Conquests? Indeed they must, and they did, for the greater Part, make Use of the same Words, not the same Construction. Their several Syntaxes varied fo, as to render one Celtic Nation's Dialect unintelligible to another; and all varied more or less from the simple original Celtic, as the modern English and High Dutch differ from the maternal Teutonic; as the modern Italian and Spanish from the original Latin. Do not Proofs croud upon this Argument? Have not three different Celtic Tongues prevailed in Gaul, even in (w) Cafar's Time? But what Need of dead Proofs, when we have living Evidences of the Truth here advanced? The Gomæraeg. spoken at this Day in North Wales, and the Gaelic spoken in Ireland, are as different in their fyntactic Constructions, as any two fuch Tongues can well be. There is little Kindred, but that of Words, between them; and are we not informed by Bede, (as above observed) a living Witness of what he advances, that the Pietish Tongue differed from both? Is not Bede a better Informer of what happened in the Sunshine, under his own Eye, than a crazy Writer of our own Days, who gropes in the Dark, a thousand Years after bim?

How

⁽w) Bell. Gallic. lib. r.

59.

How stupidly doth this Writer endeavour to gain Credit to Forgery, by fuggesting that different Countries contend about the Birth of Offian, as feven Cities have formerly contended for that of old Homer .-- "While " fome," fays he," "doubt of the Authenti-" city of Offian's Compositions, others as " strenuously appropriate them to the Irish." How well-grounded the Doubts of some have been, we have already feen; and what the Ignorant have conjectured, it matters not; while the Fact is glaring, that Offian's Compositions are as authentic, and as locally appropriated, as any fuch ever were, or ever can be. The modern Sentiments, Manners, Customs and Allusions they contain, affix them to modern Times; and the Ignorance of Chronology, Geography, and antient History, shews that Ossian, the Son of FINGAL. was in no Degree fit to personate Oisin, the Son of FIONN, in the Description of Things to which that Prince was coeval. The Son of Fingal, therefore, lived near our own Times, and it is best known to Mr. Mac Pherson, whether he is not, in the Whole, or in Part, alive to this Day. Be it as it may; be he living, dying, or dead; intire, maimed, or interpolated; his Erfe Language betrays him, and gives us the Land of his Nativity with as much Precision, as the Shadow

on Abab's Dial did the Time of the Day; and Pity it is that the Parity does not hold out in the other Particular; as the Sun of History would, in that Case, go ten Degrees back on Mr. Mac Pherson's chronological Time-Plate, to gain poor Ossian a long poetical Day, and establish a Monarchy of Scots in Britain, sive hundred Years before it really commenced!

The Poems of Fingal and Temora lye under the Difadvantage (from the Specimens produced) of being delivered in a modern corrupt Dialect. Notwithstanding this Disadvantage, we confess, and confess with Pleafure, that they are the Compositions of a fine lively Genius, and that they exhibit a considerable Share of poetical Merit in Mr. Mac Pherson's Translation. They recommend themselves, by an apparent antique Dress, and an oriental Scriptural Turn in the Expression; without any Mixture of the fanatical Cant of the Times. The Novelty of the Plan, and feemingly artlefs Construction of the Whole, are very engaging. An affecting Grace in the Sentiment, and an Imagery nobly fublime, unite in feveral Parts. But then, these Beauties are disgraced by a Marvellous, injudicious, even to Puerility; a frequent Reiteration of the same Ideas, and a poor Machinery. In the Notion, how-

ever, that fuch Poems of the Epic Species are Works of a remote Antiquity, their Inequalities and Blemishes are easily overlooked, in Favor of their Beauties and wild Ornaments; when, had another Notion prevailed of their being mere modern Compositions, a reverse Judgment would, doubtless, be made; partly from the ungenerous Unwillingness to find much Merit in a modern Genius, and partly from the ungenerous Pleasure taken in detecting his Deformities. The Author of the Poems was well aware of fuch a Judgment, and, very wifely, put a supposed antient Bard in his own Place; and in Fact, had he paid any Regard to Purity of Language, and to the Manners, Cuftoms and History of the Age in which his Scene is laid, the Fraud would be an innocent one, and, perhaps, pass for a long Time, for what it was intended it should pass.

It is Time to come to a Ceffation with Mr. Mac Pherson, at least for the Reader's Sake, of whose Indulgence we stand greatly in Need, for so long an Attention to a few only of his capital Impositions and Paradoxes. We may claim some Right to this Indulgence, as we have left untouched many more; some, for which he has been sufficiently chastised by others; and some, which come within the Resutation of the common Vulgar,

Vulgar, who speak the Gaelic Language in both Isles. But, as to most of his Reasonings on the Authenticity of oral Tradition, through so many Ages as elapsed from the third to the fifteenth Century; we had the Discretion not to meddle much with them. They happily share the Fate of Cadmus's Earth-born Hoft, and no fooner start out of the Mud, than they encounter and kill one another. Had he been a little more sparing of national Invective, and less petulant in his Fastidiousness of all antient and modern Writers who treated on Scotist Affairs before him, he would be intitled to the Treatment due to pardonable Ignorance, and superstitious Partiality to a novel System. A quite different Treatment is due to illiberal Abuse, and aggreffing Infolence; I might add, conscious Untruths also, (that meanest Guilt of a Man of Honour) if Decency did not forbid our making so vile a Charge to a Gentleman, who had a liberal Education, and has Talents to adorn it.

We would, however, gladly be rid of all Suspicion, by an Information from himfelf, whether he was unconscious of a glaring Untruth, when he afferts, that (x) we of Ireland call the Erse emphatically a Chaëlic, and our own Language Caelie Erinnach? It

⁽x) See the Differt, on Temora, Dub. Edit. p. 29.

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is a Distinction that never yet was made, either in written Records, or among the Vulgar. Whether, again, he is unconscious of a great Untruth, when he tells us that Caëlic Erinnach signifies the Caledonian Irish? Has he not told us, in a Note to the Poem, entitled, The Death of Cuchollin, that it was no Anachronism to make that Hero coeval with Fingal, and that he gave us the Reasons, in the Dissertation prefixed to the Epic Poem of Fingal? Was he not conscious of an Untruth, in this Instance, since he did not favour us with a single Line, in that Dissertation, to clear up the Anachronism?

This Writer vauntingly tells us, that all Objections to his System (so he calls it) can give him no Concern, as he can easily set them aside. Why was he not as good as his Word? Why did he not, in this Course of two Years, set aside the Animadversions of the learned Author, who so abundantly detected his Forgeries, as well as Ignorance, in the Journal des Sçavans of Paris? What now will his Patrons say? Will they not complain that he imposed on their Credulity, and construe his Silence into a premeditated Scheme, to seduce them out of their Coin, and pay them in Counters.

As the Writer of the present Remarks on the Books of Fingal and Temora, hath written some Differations on the antient History of this Kingdom, with which that of Scotland had been for many Ages connected, he found himself under this Necessity of shewing, that whatever Objections might lye against what he has collected, yet, that none offered by Mr. Mac Pherson can affect him. Far from writing with an Intention to deceive, the Author of the Differtations is always open to Correction, and will be thankful for it. Much is still to be investigated on this Subject, and by abler Hands; not indeed from the low Principle which gratifies filly Curiofity, or a fillier Vanity; but from a Defire to discover as much as can be discovered, of a People, who had Arts of Civilization of their own, and Manners, which, however barbarous to us, yet inferred, and produced also, a Cultivation of the human Mind.

It now occurs, and, though out of its proper Place, it may be proper to remind the Reader, that near a third Part of Mr. Mac Pherson's prolix Differtation on Temora is taken up in quoting, and ridiculing also, fome putrid Lines which he ascribes to Irish Bards.——Silly Man! The Ridicule recoils

Goils doubly on his own Head. Since he was engaged in a System of Forgery, why did he not throw some Sort of Veil over it, to pain an Adversary, and hoodwink Criticism? Should he not give us those Lines in the Irish Language, instead of the vulgar Erse? Is not this hiding the Bird's Head, while the Tail hangs out? But we have done. Thus far have we pushed him, with Justice. To push him further might be deemed Severity. Let us rather soften our Charge, and, after making every possible Allowance for the Goodness of the Intention, let us confess, that no Gentleman, or Sharper, ever knew less of the Trade of an able Impostor, than the most memorable Mr. James Mac Pherson.

March 24, 1766.

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Errata in the Differtations on the History of Ireland.

Page 21. Line 25, for of, read for.

42. 1. 18, for Phenecians, read Phænicians.

43, l. 11, for Ferbolgs, r. Firbolgs. 76, l. 9, after brought, insert up.

108, Note (p.) for Typographer, r.

Topographer.

116, 1. 1, of the Note, for odditus, r. aditus.

126, l. 14, dele twenty. 177, l. 8, for its, r. his.

177, l. 8, for its, r. ms.
217, l. 14, for Aumirey, r. Anmirey.
246, l. 4, after and, infert his.
12. for Lock-hannin, read 12, for Lock-hannin, read Loch-hannin.

278. For Sect. XIX, r. Sect. XX.

287, in the Note, for aurence, read Laurence.

Errata in the Differtations on the History of Scotland.

Page 6, Note (d) for Primo d, r. Primord.

8, Line 8, for Soots, r. Scots.

10, l. 12, for founded, r. founded.

38, 1. 24, for Conor, r. Conar.

Some few other literal Errors have escaped Notice; but they are fuch as cannot fet a Reader astray in the Meaning of the Words.

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