

The background of the cover is a photograph of a stone wall, likely part of a graveyard or historical site. The wall is made of rough-hewn stones and has a large, simple stone cross carved into it. Behind the wall, there are tall, dark evergreen trees and some bare deciduous trees. The ground in the foreground is covered with grass and fallen leaves.

Highland

Family History Society

James Fraser from Kiltarlity's Canadian Memoir
The Court Martial of Colonel Lewis MacKenzie
A Monumental Inscription from Geddes
Cnocan Burraidh Graveyard, Drumnadrochit
An Early 18th Century Marriage Contract

Volume 43, Issue 4, August 2025



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Cover Photo: St Mary's Chapel Burial Ground, Geddes

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The new financial year for the Society commences on the 1st September 2025 and this is the annual reminder to members that their membership subscriptions are now due. The action you need to take, if any, depends on the method you use to pay your annual subscription. Each member will fall into one of the two categories 1 or 2 below.

NB. For UK members and Overseas members, there are now only two rates – that of Ordinary Membership at £12 and Institutional Membership at £18. All members now receive the Journal as a PDF.

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2. If you are used to paying by cheque (Sterling cheques only) please pay your subscription as soon as possible and preferably by the 15th October 2025. Write to *The Treasurer, Highland Family Society, Archive Centre, Bought Road, Inverness IV3 5SS*. Please include a note of your address.

The Society has a 'stand' on GENfair, the Online Family History Fair and Genealogy Bookstore. This has been very successful from our point of view as many members joined the Society for the first time using this method and it is an easy way of renewing your membership. In addition several members and non-members have purchased publications using this very secure system of payment. If you do use GENfair and are a UK tax payer please remember to tick the Gift Aid box to enable us as a Charity to claim from HMRC.

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Thank You
Treasurer, Highland FHS

Editorial

It's been a busy summer here in the Inverness area, with the usual round of Highland games and clan gatherings, most of them taking place in glorious sunshine as Britain has sweltered in its hottest summer on record; and that after a great spring. While the previous two Inverness Highland Games saw the clans' tent packed with visitors taking shelter from the rain, this year the tent provided some welcome shade, and the Highland Archives table dealt with a record number of enquirers.

Among the clans gathering this year were the MacKenzies, which explains why you will notice of a lot of Clann Coinnich material in this issue; though our secretary Stuart's submission of an item about the court martial of a MacKenzie colonel is pure coincidence. Among the non-coincidental items is the booklet on the clan's septs and related names which I have been working on for some years—and one or two chapters from which I have previously published in this Journal—and the talk I will be delivering in October on one of them; i.e. the Tuachs. Without giving too much away in advance, I will say that while the name itself is a bit of a mystery—why would a branch of a northern clan like the MacKenzies have a name coming from the Gaelic word for a “northerner” (*tuathach*)—the process of solving that mystery, and then trying to find out what happened to this once important kindred, is a telling example of how much is waiting to be discovered about any such family if you know where to look and have enough time to look properly.

All family history research is, almost by definition, on-going, since every family has an almost infinite history going back (if only we had the resources to trace it), and most continue to grow forwards; which makes it hard to know when to stop and to publish your results. In this case, almost as soon as Stuart had sent the final version of my septs booklet to the printers, I came across something new about the possible origins of the sept of Clunes (Clunies or Clunas) which is the first name to be considered in the booklet.

As is usually the case when considering any Scottish name, I started my account of Clunes with what George Black has to say about it—as Clunies, Cluness—in his “Surnames of Scotland”, which is that it comes from the place of that name in Inverness-shire. I assumed that meant the one in Kiltarlity rather than Kilmallie; but noted that, according to William Watson's “Celtic Place-names of Scotland”, the Clune (Clwne/Clwyne) in Nairnshire was originally also called Clones/Clunes. What I didn't know then, and have since discovered, is that there were lands called Clon/Clune—Meikle and Little, together called the Clonys or Clunes—in Kiltarn in Ross-shire; lands which, according to Watson's “Place-names of Ross & Cromarty”, are the place we now know as Mountgerald (and again, coincidence strikes, since Mountgerald later became a MacKenzie property).

The matter is further complicated by the fact that the lands in Ross-shire recorded in the 13th century as the Clonys/Clunes appear in the 16th century as the Clynis, with Hector Munro being served heir in 1589 to his brother Hugh Munro of Clynes in the lands of *Mekle Clyne and Lytill Clyne*. This has led to confusion about what lands were held by the “William of Clyne” who appears as a witness in Ross charters from 1350 to 1375, since he is often said to have taken his name from the lands of Clyne in Sutherland (the place-name in both cases being explained by Watson as coming from the Gaelic *claon* meaning ‘slope’). The OPS account of the Sutherland parish of Clyne associates this William with the lands of that name there—with a footnote saying it was wrong in its earlier entry for Kiltarn to associate him with that parish—and goes on to imply he was the ancestor of the “William of Clyne of that Ilk” who appears in Sutherland in 1512 as the last male of that family.

The fact that the witness to the Balnagown charters—who appears in 1375 as *William de Clyn, nobilis vir* (“noble man”)—is recorded then as holding the lands of Cadboll in the Ross-shire parish of Tarbat, strongly suggests that the lands he took his name from were those in Kiltarn. If that was the case, then it seems likely it was the lairds of these Clynes/Clunes from which came the Clwnes/Clunes family first recorded in Cromarty in 1494 whose close association with the MacKenzies causes them to have been considered a sept of that clan. However, if this long editorial excursion has anything worthwhile to say, it is that when it comes to the origins of names—whether of people or places—there is little about which we can be certain.

The unintended preponderance of MacKenzie material in this issue has led me to look for other clan content to balance against it. Fortunately it was not difficult to find, since we’ve been sent a plethora of info about “The Jacobite Grants of Urquhart and Glenmoriston” by Chris Grant. He inspired the restoration of the *Cnocan Burraidh*—the Grant burial ground in Drumnadrochit—about which David Fraser spoke to the Society in February.

We were also sent, in May, a 19th century Fraser memoir from Canada, which referred to a copy sent forty years ago for our archives. The new copy is welcome since the old one can not now be traced. I did however find an article about it that was published then in the Journal, and since the memoir itself is excessively long, I thought it better to republish the article since it summaries the memoir very well. Rather than re-keying the article, I have scanned the original; not only to save time, but also to give current members a sight of what the Journal looked like when it was edited by our founding chairman, Duncan Ross. He unfortunately had no choice but to type up every article he received; it was a chore he was used to as a journalist then working for the *Inverness Courier*, but we should always be thankful that he was prepared to do more of the same in the interests of Highland family history.

Graeme Mackenzie

NEWS

A Recent Event

On Wednesday 20 August, our new committee member, Anne Fraser, and Lorna Steele-McGinn, the Highland Archive's Community Engagement Officer, joined forces to give an excellent presentation at the Archive Centre called *1715: Highland Family Connections*. Anne focused on the role of three families during the 1715 Jacobite Rising – the Frasers of Borlum, the MacKenzies of Seaforth, and the Roses of Kilravock – and showed how all three of the clans to which they belonged had mixed loyalties (like most clans) during the four main Jacobite risings, while Lorna sketched out the causes and effects of the half-century of dynastic conflict. The Highland Archives mounted an exhibition of material relevant to the subject, which helped make for a memorable event.

New Season's Talks

The first talks of the new season will be:

Thursday 23 October:

Graeme Mackenzie on "The Tuachs: MacKenzies by another name in Ross and Lochaber".

Thursday 20 November:

Jamie Gaukroger – of the Highland Archive Service – on "Early Newspapers in the Highlands".

Our meetings begin at 2.30pm, upstairs in the Highland Archive Centre.

Our latest publications, and discounted copies of old publications, will be on sale outside the meeting room.

New Publications:

Tarbat Free Church Births & Baptisms 1843-1862 & 1873-1899

112 pages. £8 plus post & packing.

NB. The information from this book is not available on Find My Past or anywhere other than from the HFHS (or the original unpublished register).

Chisholm Burial Ground, Clachan Comar Burial Ground, and Eskdale Churchyard, Parish of Kilmorack, Inverness-shire, Monumental Inscriptions.

A4, 64 pages over 350 memorials recorded. £7 plus post & packing.

***Clan MacKenzie: Septs, Related Names, and Branches* by Graeme Mackenzie**

A5, 118 pages, with colour illustrations. £8 plus post & packing.

***Cabarfeidh's Cousins: Essays in Clan MacKenzie History & Genealogy* by Graeme Mackenzie.**

A5, 90 pages. £7 plus post & packing.

***May We Be Britons? A History of the MacKenzies* by Andrew McKenzie.**

Crown Quarto, 375 pages, colour illustrations. £18 plus post & packing
Though this book – the first complete history of Clan MacKenzie since Alexander Mackenzie's late 19th century work – is not published by HFHS, the Society has obtained copies from the author to sell on at a bargain price.

Free Church Books – Stock Clearance: All older Free Church books now with Free Post and Packing. Some have limited stock so buy now.

You can order all our books online at the HFHS stand on **GenFair**:

<https://genfair.co.uk/supplier/highland-family-history-society-comunn-sloinntearachd-na-gaidhealtachd-65/>

Call for Journal Articles

We welcome articles for publication in the Journal, about any aspect of clan and family history in the Highlands—or any place where the descendants of Highland families settled. They can be long, short, deeply academic, or slightly anecdotal; about the history of your family, or about how you came to family history and your experience of researching it. Your articles may connect you with long-lost cousins around the world, or help others of the same name find out from where in the Highlands they may have come.

Email Address for articles, enquiries etc: HighlandFHS@gmail.com.

NEW MEMBERS

2919. Mr I. D. MacDonald. 2920. S. Miller.
2921. Dr J. Ross-Kerr. 2922. Mr. Anthony Smith

DEATHS

1581. Mr. J. Macpherson.

Geddes, Nairn – A Monumental Inscription

By Stuart Farrell

It seems very apt for this article, as it is 40 years since the Highland FHS published its first MI book on the monumental inscriptions from Geddes. I found a note of this inscription whilst trawling through the Nairnshire Telegraph newspaper on another matter.

The article was published in the edition of 24 October 1883 as follows:

An Old Memorial Stone in Geddes Church-Yard.

To the Editor of the Nairnshire Telegraph.

'Sir, - In the Museum, or rather in the hall of the Literary Institute, I have put up a rubbing from a memorial stone I found in the old church-yard of Geddes; it is, in my opinion, only one half of the original, which probably had been placed in the old chapel there. It is as follows:

**GULI 3° GENI LILIAS GRANT NO
ROB JOH GRANT DE MOYNES
HUGO 4° GENI MARG M'CUILLOCH
ANDW M'CUILLOCH DE GLASTALICH
ALEXR 5° GENI OBIT 1661
HENRIC 6° GENI JOANA ROSS
THOS ROSS DE MORENGE
FILIE ET CONGIUGES
ANNA 1° GENI ALEXR DUNBAR DE
BOATH. MARIA 2° GENI M JOH
DOLLAS DE BUDZET DECAN
ROSEN JOANA 3° GENI M JACO
M'KENZIE DIV VERBI MINIR
A P U D N I G G
1670**

Budzet, we know, but I would ask where is Glastalich or Morenge, or are these places in our neighbourhood and have changed names? This authentic memorial – this family record of generations now all but “known no more for ever” – will, I think, be interesting, and it naturally reflects back other thoughts on the dim mirror of the past, and one that this holy edifice of Geddes – of which nothing now remains, and we know so little, and in which had been stored for preservation this record, cut in stone, as well as those of some of the Roses of Kilravock and Belivat, and, in all likelihood, those of other old families of the district, which lie under these neglected and nettle-grown sods – must have been, in its day and generation, a place of some local importance, but beyond its having been “The Chapel of the Virgin Mary.” Built in 1220, that it had been of great repute and resort in the 15th century, and that, through its priest, Lancelot (Lachlan) de Roos, brother to “Hugh Rose, 5th of that name, and 7th person succeeding in the familie in the lands of Kilravock and

Geddes" (it was this Hugh who built the tower at Kilravock), a Bull was got from Rome, from Pope Sixtus in 1475, containing privileges to the chapel, viz., dispensing with one hundred days penance to annual visitants, faithful and penitent confessors, on certain feast days; and who give help for the preservation of the edifices, books, lights and other ornaments necessary for divine worship – their other revenues being little, I presume – we know nothing. The destruction of the cathedral church of Moray by fire in 1390, I have no doubt, has deprived us of the early histories of many of the holy houses and churches of the Province, for there would be stored away all their archives. – Yours, &c., J. Grigor.'

Unfortunately, there was no follow-up to this letter in successive editions of the newspaper. But Ross of Morenge is likely to be the Ross family of Morangie, which lies near Tain (better known today for Glenmorangie malt whisky).

The stone relates to some of the family of John Rose (c1600 – 1662) of Broadley and his wife Anne Chisholm (c1613 – 1658).

John was a son of William Rose the 11th Laird of Kilravock and his wife Liliash Hay whose contract of marriage was signed 5 January 1571. John Rose purchased the estate of Broadley in 1613 from Patrick Rose, a former Provost of Nairn. Here are some details of the family noted on that stone.

William Rose (?-1678) Provost of Nairn, married Liliash Grant daughter of John Grant of Moyness.

Hugh Rose (?-1682) of Newton, Nairn (lands disposed to him in 1670) married Margaret McCulloch on 22 October 1667, daughter of Andrew McCulloch of Glastullich, a provost of Tain. Her brother John McCulloch (c1629-1705) was a Minister at Ardersier.

Alexander (c1620-c1661) Factor and Chamberlain to the Earl of Sutherland.

Henry (or Harrie) married Jane Ross daughter of Thomas Ross of Morangie. Thomas Ross of Morangie (1599-1658) was the son of Walter Ross who held the last office of Commendator for the Abbey of Fearn. Thomas Ross was a Notary graduated from St. Andrews University 1619, Master of Tain Grammar School in 1628, Burgess of Tain in 1639, was married twice, unknown to whom he married first, and only seems to have had a son named Walter by his first marriage, but no Jane is recorded as of his second marriage (Ross Family page 31).

Alexander Dunbar of Boath married Anna Rose, daughter of John Rose of Broadley in 1639.

The Rev. John Dallas of Budzet (Budgate) (1625-c1693) married Mary (? – 1669) second daughter of John Rose of Broadley, Minister of Ardersier, and had 8 children.

The last name is that of the Rev. James Mackenzie (c1630–1701) married in about 1670 Jean Rose daughter of John Rose of Braidley (Broadley), a cadet of Kilravock, Minister of Nigg, and is reputed to have had twenty children (Scott 1928). Hugh Miller of Cromarty fame was one of his descendants.

Missing from the top part of the stone are John, who succeeded his father and James, the second son who died a Captain in France in 1643.

SOURCES:

J. Dallas, *The History of the Family of Dallas* (Edinburgh, 1921).

F. N. Reid, *The Earls of Ross and their Descendents* (1894).

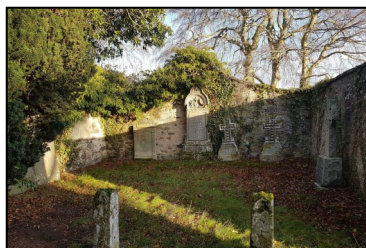
H. Rose, *A Genealogical Deduction of ... Rose of Kilravock* (Edinburgh, 1848).

H. Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Volumes 6 and 7 (1926 & 1928).

“The Maccullochs of Glastullich” in *The Scottish Antiquary or Northern Notes & Queries*, Volume 12.

“The Ross Family, Ross of Meddat” in *The Scottish Antiquary etc.*, Volume. 5.

<https://thecastle guy.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Newton-Brochure-draft-1.pdf>



Pictures of St Mary's Chapel Burial Ground in Geddes from www.findagrave.com

Editor's Note:

Quite by chance I'm currently researching MacCullochs in Easter Ross. They had their early seat at Plaids, just east of Tain, from at least 1433 (when Alexander MacCulloch witnessed a charter by the Earl of Ross) until 1552 when Robert MacCulloch sold Plaids to his uncle Alexander Innes. Many were merchants, burgesses, bailies, and provosts of Tain. Provost Andrew – said to have been a grandson of Robert of Plaids – had a son John who became the 1st laird of Kindeace, and was the father of Andrew the 1st of Glastullich, which is a little to the south of Tain. My particular interest is in the MacCullochs who were later in Davidston, in the parish of Cromarty, and those who were merchants, burgesses, and bailies in Fortrose & Rosemarkie. They were clearly related in some way to many of the MacCullochs in Resolis who have been so well documented by Jim Mackay on www.kirkmichael.info. My suspicion is that the first David MacCulloch in/of Davidston (1663x1679) was either David, the last known laird of Kindeace (1652x1667) or his son who is documented as David MacCulloch the Younger of Kindeace in 1665.

James Fraser, Kiltarlity: A Canadian Memoir

By Patricia Belier

These notes on my great-great-great-grandfather, James Fraser of Kiltarlity, are based on details gleaned from a handwritten memoir recorded by him in 1867, two years before his death and in the year of Canadian Confederation. I was given access to this material through the kindness of another descendant of James (1). The memoir rambles a bit and is maddeningly devoid of names and dates, but it does give most interesting details on James's early life and the Gaelic School Society.

James Fraser (1792-1869) was the only child of Donald Fraser MacAlaster (2) (c.1745-c.1804) and his second wife Mary (3) (c.1744-c.1816). They resided on the Belladrum Estate near Kiltarlity. In fact, Donald lived his early years under the direct care of Colonel Belladrum, running errands and doing messages for him until he married and was given a life-lease on a little farm on the estate, probably at Foxhole. Donald had first married a woman whose name I don't yet know, and they had a son John and three daughters, Janet, Katherine and Mary. Mary and John died young and Janet died unmarried at age 24. Katherine married a veteran of the Egyptian campaign against Napoleon. He was reported to have been blinded in this war but regained his sight and was sent as a catechist to his native Skye, and had a large family. Donald also had two brothers who fought at Quebec and remained in North America (c.1759).

James describes his own parents as having been brought together by the Abriachan schoolmaster Laughlin McLaughlin. James's mother Mary had been McLaughlin's housekeeper for about 20 years, going to work for him when she became a widow. She is described as being of Urquhart or Lord Grant's country, and was supposed to be the 18th child of her father, by his third wife ! As McLaughlin and Donald Fraser MacAlaster were good friends, a bit of match-making must have taken place after Donald's first wife died. Mary and Donald were probably married c. 1791. Young James was born in 1792 and was briefly sent as a student to McLaughlin's school. In the winter when he couldn't get to school and to his Bible class, his mother made a bargain with James that "she would give me a good buttercake for every chapter (of the Bible) I would translate from English into Gaelic. And in about a month I could make more than I could eat and was still gaining fast!".

PATRICIA BELIER'S ORIGINAL NOTES

(1). Mrs Anne Wylie, London, Ontario. She provided the material on the Frasers appearing in F. T. Rosser's *London Township Pioneers*, Bellville, Ontario: Mika, 1975, pp. 145-151.

(2). Does this form of the name indicate Donald was the son of an Alexander, or does it mean they are members of a particular branch of Frasers, or was the surname originally other than Fraser?

(3). On James's baptismal record, his mother is listed as "Mary Fraser". Would this be her former maiden name, or a surname of her first marriage?

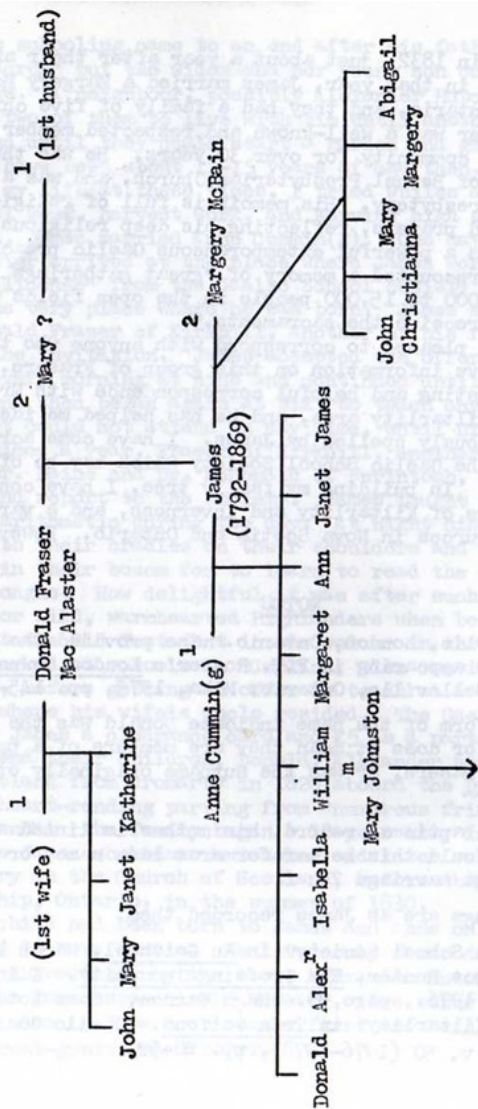
Family Tree for James Fraser

Born 18 January 1792 Kiltarlity; died 30 April 1869 London, Ontario.

Previously published in HFHS Journal No. 11, July 1984.

16

SOME FRASERS OF KILTARLITY CONNECTED WITH THE BELLADRUM ESTATE



Patricia Belier
(Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada.)

(Editor's Note: Since receiving the foregoing article, a full transcript of the memoir has reached me, co-incidentally, from another source - new member No. 318, Mr John R. Fraser, Georgetown, New Brunswick. This copy is now in the Society's library.)

James's schooling came to an end after his father's death. "Young Belladrum" put the widow and her young son out of the life-lease cottage. A neighbour, possibly Alexander Hutchison, arranged for the two of them to live with him until another house could be built, and until they could start a garden and get some animals. James would have been about 12-15 years of age then. He says "concerning my life at these times, I tried whiles at many things such as canal work, harvest work, and serving high gentry farmers."

In 1811, James married Anne Cummin(g). One day a few years later, a letter arrived at the place where James worked containing a "complete license" from the Gaelic School Society to begin a school in the very place where he was born. James suspected that the Rev. Donald Fraser of Kirkhill, another of his father's friends was behind the invitation. James accepted the offer, and began his school every morning at nine and continued until four in the afternoon; and then began again at six "to teach any parents or children that could not attend in day time, until nine at night."

Three times a year, Fraser of Kirkhill, another Fraser of Inverness, Dr. Baine and Dr. McDonald of Ferintosh, would examine the school and report to the Society. James taught English, writing and arithmetic during the day. At night his pupils included "men with their cradles on their shoulders and women with their babes in their bosom for to learn to read the Holy Bible in the Gaelic tongue. How delightful it was after such darkness among the poor wild, warmhearted Highlanders when before that you could not get the Old Testament in one volume in the Gaelic."

James worked at schools in "Caplich, Glen Convich and Port Aigeirs" (4), before getting an offer to teach at a school in Nova Scotia where his wife's uncle resided. The Gaelic School Society sent James a clearance card and £5 as a parting gift. James, Anne and their children, Donald, Alexander and Isabella, departed Scotland from Cromarty in 1820 aboard the Diligence. He described a heart-rending parting from "numerous friends and lovely Scotland". The family began a 10-year stay in Pictou, Nova Scotia, where James worked as a teacher and later as a lay preacher and missionary in the Church of Scotland, before they moved to London Township, Ontario, in the summer of 1830.

A male child had been born to James and Anne on board ship from Scotland to Nova Scotia. He lived only three days, and his death had been predicted by the seer, Alexander Hutchison, on their departure from Inverness-shire. However, five other children were born to them in Nova Scotia, the first one being William Fraser, my great-great-grandfather.

(4). All spellings are as James recorded them

Below: The entry in the Inverness OPR for James Fraser's marriage on 6 July 1811

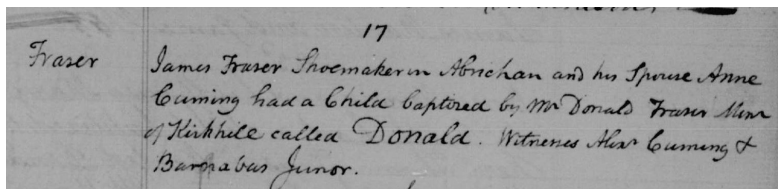
James Fraser and Ann Cumming

Anne died in 1832, just about a year after their arrival in Ontario. Later in that year, James married a Margery McBain from Elgin County, Ontario, and they had a family of five children.

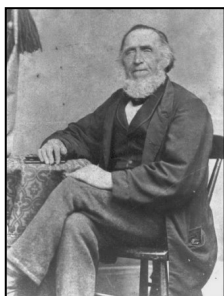
James Fraser was a well-known and respected member of the London Township community for over 30 years. He was the Clerk of the Session of Bethel Presbyterian Church, and was a catechist in the London Presbytery. His memoir is full of religious declarations and prayers, reflecting his deep religious views and his abilities as a powerful extemporaneous Gaelic preacher and precentor. He recounted a memory of "great gatherings (in Scotland) of from 5000 to 15,000 people in the open fields to hear the Gospel and receive the sacraments."

I would be pleased to correspond with anyone who thinks they recognise or have information on this group of Frasers. I have had some interesting and helpful correspondence with Mr Hugh Barron on the Kiltarlity area, and he has helped me identify some placenames curiously spelled by James. I have come across some references to the Gaelic School Society which may be of interest to readers (5). In building my family tree, I have consulted the Parish Registers of Kiltarlity and Inverness, and a variety of genealogical sources in Nova Scotia and Ontario. However, many gaps remain.

(5) "The Gaelic School Society" in *An Gaidheal*, March 1875, pp. 93-95, James Hunter, *The Crofting Community*, Edinburgh: J. Donald, 1976, page 98. Hugh Barron, "Some Notes on the Parish of Kiltarlity" in *Transactions Gaelic Society of Inverness*, v, 50 (1976-1978), pp. 40-59.



Above: Baptismal entry for James Fraser's son Donald born in Abriachan in 1813



Above: James Fraser, his grave, and his daughters

Photos from www.ancestry.co.uk/family-tree/person/tree/111564419

The Court Martial of Colonel Lewis Mackenzie

Colonel Lewis Mackenzie of the Ross and Cromarty Fencibles was sentenced to a Court Martial in May 1802. The results of the proceedings [National Archives Kew, Ref: WO71/193] are recorded as follows:

Judge Advocate General's Office

12th June 1802

Sir,

I have had the honour of laying before the King the proceedings of a general Court Martial held in Edinburgh Castle on Thursday 20th May last and continued by adjournments until the 10th June when Lewis Mackenzie Esqr Colonel of the Ross and Cromarty Regiment of Fencibles Infantry was tried upon the following charges. Viz -

1st. Having compell'd the Soldiers of the said Regiment by Threats and Confinement, to receive Slop Clothing out of his private Store paid for out of their subsistence; from which he derived the excessive profit of 14/- upon each suit or upwards, and obliging them to wear the same, they having been allowed no other Clothing in North Britain or Ireland between the 14th April 1799 and the 1st April 1800.

2nd. Having withheld from the men of the said Regiment their proper clothing for the year 1799.

3rd. Having withheld from the Men of the said Regiment, Money stopped from them in 1799, at the rate of seven shillings and 6d each man, for Knapsacks delivered to them in that year; the accounts of the Tradesmen who furnished the said Knapsacks still remaining unsatisfied; and the said Col. Mackenzie well knowing that the usual allowance would be made to him by Government for providing the Knapsacks.

Upon which several charges, the decision and sentence of the Court Martial were of the following Tenor :-

The Court having deliberated on the Evidence adduced by the Prosecutor, and that adduced by the Prisoner on his Defence and the statemen made by both Parties, are of opinion upon the first charge, that the Prisoner Colonel Lewis Mackenzie, of the Ross and Cromarty Regiment of Fencible Infantry, is not Guilty of having by Threats or Confinement the men of the said Regiment, to receive Slop Clothing out of His private store and do therefore acquit him of that part of the charge.

The Court is of opinion also that the said Colonel Lewis Mackenzie, is not guilty of having derived a Profit of fourteen shillings, or any profit from the sale of Slop Clothing and do therefore acquit him of that part of the charge.

The Court is also of opinion, that the said Regiment having been kept in Slop Clothing from the time specified in the charge arose from the circumstance of its having marched to Ireland soon after it became a Regiment and from its frequent change of Quarters. – and do therefore acquit Col. Lewis Mackenzie of having unnecessarily kept the Regiment in Slop Clothing.

Upon the second charge. The Court is of opinion that the said Colonel Lewis Mackenzie did not withhold from the Men of the said Regiment their proper Regimental Clothing for the year 1799 and do therefore most honorably acquit him of the same.

Upon the third charge, the Court is of opinion, that the said Colonel Lewis Mackenzie, without any improper intention but from having, misconceived the meaning of the Warrant of date 23rd April 1801 has not issued to the men of the said Regiment their proper half mounting for the 1801. – and therefore although they acquit him of any improper intention in withholding their half mounting from the Men for that year, they are of opinion, that it is actually due, and do therefore award the said Colonel Lweis Mackenzie to pay the same to the said men of the Regiment, and for such irregularity to be reprimanded in such manner as His Majesty shall direct.

Upon the Fourth charge the Court is of Opinion that a Charge has been made to the Men of the said Regiment, in their Accts of the Sum of 7s & 6d each for Knapsacks which has not since been credited to them.

That the Tradesmen's Bills who furnished these Knapsacks appear to have been paid by the said Colonel Lewis Mackenzie at the time the Regiment was passed, and therefore that part of the charge, viz the Tradesman's Bills who furnished the Knapsacks being unsatisfied, is unfounded.

It also appears to this Court, that at the time the charge of Seven shillings and sixpence above mentioned was made the Prisoner was uninformed upon the existing orders upon the subject, and that any allowance was to be made to him for Knapsacks, and are therefore of opinion, that the said Colonel Lewis Mackenzie is guilty of irregularity, in not having made himself acquainted with these orders, and do sentence him to refund to the Men so charged the sum of 7s/6d and do further sentence him to be reprimanded for such irregularity in such manner as His Majesty shall please to direct.

But it appears to the Court, that although they are fully sensible that the said Colonel Lewis Mackenzie has himself not derived any profit from the sale of the Slop Clothing, yet an overcharge has with his knowledge, but without any fraudulent or criminal intention on his part been made to the men of four shillings upon an average upon each suit of Slop Clothing and therefore he having through neglect of duty, permitted such an overcharge, in breach of the articles of War. They sentence him to refund to each of the Men so overcharged, the said Sum of Four shillings; and the Court being

convinced that the Prisoner has not during the whole of this Transaction which has been the subject of this Trial, been actuated by any dishonourable motives, have here to regret that no alternative is left for them, the Articles of War pointing out a particular sentence for the crime, for which the Prisoner appears from a want of proper information of the present Regulations to have been guilty and do therefore further sentence him to be dismissed from His Majesty's Service.

And I am commended to acquaint you, that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to remit the sentence of the Court Martial whereby the said Colonel Lewis Mackenzie, was adjudged to be dismissed from His Majesty's Service, as also to dispense with the reprimand awarded by the Court Martial in the expectation and upon the express condition, that he make full and speedy compensation to the several Soldiers of the Regiment, for their half mounting for the year 1801 and that he also refund the Sum of 7s/6d to evert Soldier on whom such charge for Knapsacks has been erroneously made and that he likewise make good to the several Soldiers of the Regiment who have been furnished with Slop clothing Four shillings, in respect of their being overcharged to that Amount for the same.

I did not fail at the same time to submit to His Majesty agreeably to your desire, the letter which you had received from Major General Ferrier the president of the Court Martial, a Copy whereof as it is expressive of the Sentiments of the Court Martial upon the motives and conduct of the Prosecutor, lately a Captain in the same Regiment, His Majesty has thought proper to accompany a publication of the Sentence and for that purpose I subjoin by His Majesty Command a recital thereof Viz.

Edinburgh. 10th June 1802

Sir,

I have the honour to present to you the Proceedings of a general Court Martial, of which I have the honour to be President and to express their opinion to you, that this Prosecution has not been carried on by the Prosecutor, Mr Munro with a view to do justice to the Soldier, or to His Majesty's service, but with every motive of malice and Recrimination, he never having come forward with any charge upon the subject between the 6th Septr. 1799. the day the Regiment was passed and the 7th October 1801. the day he was put under arrest by the Prisoner.

For these reasons, as well as the opinion they have formed from a General view of the whole proceedings, that Col. Mackenzie has not in any of the transactions which have formed the subject of this trial, been actuated by any dishonourable motives they humbly beg leave to recommend him to the consideration of His Majesty in mitigation of that part of the Sentence which adjudges him to be dismissed from His Majesty's Service.

The Court request that you will have the goodness to transmit this Letter to be laid before His Majesty.

I have the honor to be &c. &c.
(Signed) Islay Ferrier Major Genl. Presidt.

The Ross and Cromarty Fencibles embodied by the said Colonel Lewis Mackenzie, Younger of Scatwell, were founded in June 1799 and served in Ireland and Scotland only. The Regiment was dismissed from Service at Inverness in July 1802. Other Fencible regiments were dismissed in the same year due to the Peace of Amiens earlier in the year.

Stuart Farrell.

A memoir of the MacKenzies of Scatwell was written in early 20th century by Evelyn MacKenzie, the grand-daughter of Colonel Lewis MacKenzie's first cousin Major Lewis MacKenzie of the Scots Greys. Her father, Sir James Dixon MacKenzie, 7th Baronet of Scatwell, compiled the famous "Findon Tables" (genealogies of MacKenzie families), and she quotes extensively from family letters which show that the Colonel had a history of financial escapades that cost his father considerably. The Clan MacKenzie Society published the memoir in 2011, and we quote from page 30:

'Roderick, succeeded ... as 4th baronet in 1756 when he was barely of age. He spent half his life in the new Rosehaugh House that he built for himself in 1773. It was placed on a less beautiful site than the original Rosehaugh of "Bluidy MacKenzie", further inland and just off the main road to Fortrose; west, instead of east of Avoch. The old house on the hill was pulled down by his grandson; later still, at the end of the 19th century, the purchasers of that same grandson's estate replaced Sir Roderick's Rosehaugh by the present edifice.

Sir Roderick was in the 3rd Regiment of Foot Guards in 1764 when he married Katherine, daughter of Sir James Colquhoun of Luss. She too was a descendant of the Grants and therefore a distant cousin of Sir Roderick. With these two people our Scatwell letters begin. His letters are written in a cramped and angular hand, a token of the character that emerges from his correspondence. Hers are there too, a lovely, smooth, flourisby handwriting that looks like the engraved script of those days. There is a half finished miniature of her fair and elegant looking; the full length small oil portraits, of her and her husband, rather conventional and stiffly posed are among those now in America.

They had two sons, Lewis and James Wemyss, and two daughters, Katherine (Kitty or Kate) and Helen. That Sir Roderick was not a happy father, even in his children's youth, is only too plain to the reader of his correspondence from his adviser and relative, Alexander MacKenzie of Muirton WS, in Edinburgh. As old age advanced he grew more and more of a tyrant, and worse, according to his younger son's letters.

The elder son Lewis, born in 1765, went into the army at his own wish when his father, in 1782, bought him a 2nd Lieutenantcy in the 21st Regiment, or Sutherland Fencibles, at a cost of £450. The young man was first stationed

at Edinburgh whence news soon reached his father of his extravagance and wild behaviour. Alexander Mackenzie did all that he could to bring Lewis to his senses and to mitigate his father's wrath against him. But debts of £300 are hard to forgive even in a lad who knows he is heir to a title and a fine estate and who likes to be "Cock of the Company".

He was soon drafted off to Dublin - "that most dangerous quarter" - where there is no kind friend to advise him and to mollify his father. But four years later the reports are better and it is hoped "the early Rubs will be of use in fixing his conduct". At any rate his father did his best for him and paid £1277 to buy an exchange into a Regiment of Horse; which Lewis gleefully acknowledges to the lawyer, saying he will not write home "till I can subscribe myself a Caribineer".

He was then still in Ireland, and again his father had to buy a further exchange into what must have been a "crack" cavalry regiment of Light Dragoons, for which he paid £2198. Whether this was the extent of the damage to Sir Roderick's purse we cannot guess; but a very long time afterwards, his brother Colin, then living in London, mentions a little debt of £500 "given to assist Lewis in an hour of distress when he thought every moment of being arrested and none to go to but your humble Servant".

Colin admits that the scape-grace nephew was grateful "ever after", but he has given up all hope of recovery of that loan. By 1792 Lewis was on good terms with his mother at least, for he accompanied her and his sister Kitty to Buxton, whence he writes to a friend: "Buxton is the damdest place for cold and rain I ever was in"; and in the same letter writes a warm eulogy of his uncle Colin who "is a most Excellent Fellow, I am sure you will like him". Was this after the £500 episode?

A year or two later he married a neighbour's daughter, Grace Lockhart of Newhall. They went to live at Seabank, near Inverness The younger son, James Wemyss, was five years younger than Lewis. With no expectations he was an even greater trial to Sir Roderick.'

James spent some years in Jamaica, before returning to marry and settle down as his father's neighbour at Suddie. Evelyn MacKenzie's account is resumed at page 59:

'The implacable old "Bart", Sir Roderick (4th), must have been shattered by the news of the death of his elder son and heir, Lewis, in September 1810. My father, Sir James Dixon, records that the Minister of Avoch, the Rev. James Gibson, told him that an old man who had been herd at Rosehaugh related how, on receipt of the news, "old Sir Roderick ordered out his great yellow chariot and drove over to call on the newly married pair at Suddie House, to the great admiration of the whole countryside, for all knew that he had not been on speaking terms with either of his sons". The following June, 1811, Sir Roderick himself was dead, and James Wemyss ruled in his stead as 5th Baronet.'

Cnocan Burraidh Graveyard Drumnadrochit

By Chris Grant

Cuimhnich air nadaoine d' thainig thu-
Remember the men from whom you have come.



Grant of Shewglie

In the year 2009 I was reading “Urquhart and Glenmoriston: Olden Times in a Highland Parish” which was written by one of Glen Urquhart’s most famous sons, William Mackay. The author wrote on page 411, that Patrick Grant of Redcastle who had been the proprietor of the famous Sun newspaper in London had been buried under the beautiful family monument at Cnocan Burraidh near Blairbeg in 1855.

I read the book from start to finish and was pleased to read Mackay’s extensive writing about the Grants of Shewglie and their involvement in the 1745 rising. At that time I had just been confirmed as a Shewglie Grant by a DNA test and this proved I was descended from William, the brother of the aforementioned Patrick Grant of Redcastle.

After reading about the existence of this monument I decided to investigate further, but after numerous internet searches I found no mention of it, so determined to look for it myself. Off I went to Drumnadrochit which is about 50 miles from my home in Grantown on Spey. After my arrival I set about my task by asking numerous local people about the monument’s existence, but no one seemed to know anything about it. I began to think that it had probably succumbed to the ravages of time and perhaps had not survived. Whilst wandering about Drumnadrochit I saw an elderly man walking along the road and thought that after coming all this way I should make a final attempt and so approached the man to ask him. The gentleman said that although he was new to the village having recently moved from England he thought he knew something of what I was talking about, and asked if the monument had something to do with the Grants. Encouraged by

his answer the two of us walked together and after a few hundred yards my guide pointed out a small hillside on which we could see nothing but trees and he said that was where I should look.

I thanked him and set off in the direction he had indicated, eventually coming to a site which was totally covered with trees, thorn bushes and weeds. In the centre of this undergrowth, I could just make out some flashes of white marble and as I slowly moved through the bushes and branches, I could feel fallen stone walls and broken metal railings with my feet and shortly after making my way through this Highland jungle I came upon a fine marble monument which although clearly long neglected, still stood impressive and proud.

The monument had been erected to my 6 x Great Grandfather Colonel Alexander Grant of Redcastle whose father had been Patrick Grant of Lochletter who in turn was one of the nineteen children of Alexander Grant of Shewglie and Isabela eldest daughter of John Grant of Glenmoriston, Alexander was a staunch Jacobite of whom more will be told in the book.

Over my next few visits, with saw and axe and spade I removed much of the thick vegetation, cut down some trees, painfully removed all of the thorn bushes and gradually cleared the site, discovering many flat gravestones as I slowly progressed through the graveyard. Once this had been done, I started to wonder about these gravestones and the people buried under them. I somehow felt drawn to one particular stone which is the first a visitor comes to on entering the gates of the graveyard, lying within the four walls all of which are exactly forty feet long.

I started to pick away at some of the moss which covered this stone, in the knowledge that I probably should not be doing so, as I was aware that the moss protects the lettering from the elements, but nevertheless I continued. When all the moss was removed I gave the lettering a scrub with some water and detergent, and then could fairly easily make out the text, which to my astonishment read, "Patrick Grant Esquire of Lochletter Born 12th March 1724 Died 3rd June 1800".



I sat back almost in disbelief and said to myself, "I have to sort out this graveyard, it can no longer be neglected and left to crumble to dust. In here lie the remains of my 7 x Great Grandfather who was a Jacobite soldier, a lieutenant in the Glengarry Regiment and he deserves much better than this." I was truly astonished at finding Patrick Grant's grave as just a few weeks previously I had obtained a copy of a letter from the National Archives written by one of his brothers after the battle of Prestonpans. This letter showed that Patrick had returned to the north in a company led by young Angus of Glengarry endeavouring to recruit more men for the Jacobite's before their intended march into England. I later discovered that Patrick had also fought at the Battles of Falkirk and Culloden although he never took part in the march to Derby and back which his brother and cousins, with whom he left Glen Urquhart on 11 September 1745, had done.

Some years later, I was contacted by David Fraser who was then the Chairman of the Glen Urquhart Community Council who lives just a few hundred yards from the site. Together David and I hatched a plan to rebuild the walls and repair the broken iron railings. David is the man largely responsible for pushing this project along and he also dealt with most of the administration.



Together we compiled the history of many of the people who are buried in the graveyard and we then approached Historic Environment Scotland to request financial assistance. Initially our request was declined but David's perseverance eventually bore fruit with our project being awarded a grant of £10,000. Over the next few months we also obtained £36,000 from the Heritage Lottery Fund, £4000 from Highland council, £1000 from the 1745 Association, £1000 from the King's Shropshire light infantry, as one of their Generals is buried at Cnocan Burraidh, and £3500 from Soirbheas which is a local community organisation and, after adding my own cash contribution, this brought our budget up to £70,000, which was brilliant as it meant we could now go beyond the scope of what had been our original intention. We also received about £10,000 in kind from Historic Environment Scotland by way of professional advice towards the refurbishment of the marble monument—pictured above—which in Historic Environment Scotland's own words is deemed to be one of the finest marble monuments in the Highlands.

With our funds we dismantled all the walls, and the stonework around its base, stone by stone, and removed the tangled and broken iron railings. The walls were rebuilt and topped with new sandstone copings. New iron railings replaced broken ones and a new lead roof was installed over the monument which was refurbished by replacing broken marble and filling cracks. We spread twenty tonnes of stone chips which matched the original ones on the graveyard's floor. We also obtained permission from local farmer John Cameron for the route of a path to be built through his land for public access, and next we have the laborious job of painting all the metal railings with two coats of black metal paint. Much more was involved in renovating the site which has taken about four years from start to finish, but space prevents this article from describing all the work in greater detail.

The most notable discovery we made during the process of the renovation was unearthing the grave of my 9 x Great Grandfather who was James Grant 3rd of Shewglie. The whole graveyard seems to have been designed around James's grave which was unearthed by David Fraser whilst he was doing some weeding about two years into the project. James had been buried there at the end of June in 1689, but because of the antiquity of his gravestone it was covered in soil and stones until David scraped them away.

James Grant 3rd of Shewglie was killed on 27 June 1689 in a skirmish with a forty-strong group of Clan Cameron who had been sent to Glen Urquhart to raid for the much needed supplies required to feed the army of John Graham of Claverhouse (Bonnie Dundee) which had camped in Lochaber exactly a month before his army fought at Killiecrankie. Although James of Shewglie was himself a staunch Jacobite who had previously been with the Highland army, it was also his duty to try and reclaim the cattle stolen from his tenants by the Camerons, and this sense of duty unfortunately cost him his life at the battle of Coire Bhuidhe.



Monument to the Battle of Coire Bhuidhe

An account of the battle can be found at: www.soirbheas.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/corrie-buidh-battle-for-creative-writers.pdf

Hugh Grant of Moy, the 10th son of Alexander 4th of Shewglie, was granted permission by Sir James Grant to build this family graveyard in April 1800. The original letter states, "As you wish to erect a Mausoleum or burying place where the remains of your grandfather are deposited, I hereby agree to give you for that purpose forty feet square of ground: your Grandfather's grave forming the centre, and allow you and all his immediate descendants now in life and their children to be buried within it."

It was however only in early June of 2022 that it came to light that James Grant 3rd of Shewglie was not the first person to have been buried in Cnocan Burraidh. At that time I obtained a letter from the National Records of Scotland which had been written by Patrick Grant of Lochletter to Sir James Grant dated the 7th of July 1798. This letter was the original application, wherein Patrick of Lochletter asks Sir James Grant's permission to build the stone walls and a Mausoleum at the site. In the letter Patrick states that "this is the spot that the first of our predecessors was buried with his wife who was a daughter of Glenmoriston and all their children." This meant that Alexander Grant 1st of Shewglie (Alisdair Roy), who had been born in 1570 and died in 1628, was also buried there. He had married Lillias who was the only daughter of Patrick Grant 2nd of Glenmoriston (1511-1581). The letter stated that all their children had also been buried there. That meant that Robert Grant 2nd of Shewglie would have been buried there in 1661, which explains why James Grant 3rd of Shewglie had wished to be buried there; because this is where his father and grandfather had been buried before him. Alexander Grant 1st of Shewglie was the great grandson of John Grant 2nd of Freuchie (The Red Bard) who had been born at Castle Grant, Strathspey, in the year 1468.

The full text of the above-mentioned letter, and a list of the others interred at Cnocan Burraidh will be included in the next issue of the Journal.



Cnocan Burraidh before and after the restoration

List of Tenants on the Ness Castle Estate belonging to Simon Fraser Esq., Merchant in London, on 8 March 1797

This is included, along with other lists of men eligible to be called-up for the militia if Great Britain was invaded by Napoleon, in the papers of the Sheriff Court of Inverness [SC29/72/15]. It also notes for each tenant the number they have of "Black Cattle, Horses, Sheep, Swine, Oats Bolls, Barley Bolls, Pease Bolls, Rye Bolls, Potato Bolls, Hay Stones, Men Servants, Cottars Males" plus "Double Horse Carts or Coups" and "Single Horse Carts".

Capt. Thomas Fraser	Mains of Ness Castle
Alexander Urquhart	Scaniport
John McBean	Balnaroig jointly
James Fraser	" "
Widow McBean	" "
John Rose	Upper Coulaird
John McIntosh	Lower Coulaird
John Dunbar	Mill Town
William Chisholm, smith	Scaniport
Widow McDonald & son	Tom in teornar [?]
Charles Faulkner	Ballmianach
Donald McKenzie	Ballmianach
Francis McBean	Keanpoul
William McBean	Mains of Kinchyle jointly
Thomas Fraser	" " "
David McBean	" " "
James Rhind	" " "
Donald McBean	" " "
Angus McBean	Auchsheangranach
Alexander Colly	Dares
Thomas Wilson	Bona
John McDonald	Laggan
John Fraser	Hill jointly
John McCombie	" "
John McKenzie (Williamson)	" "
William McGillivray	" "
Alexander McGillivray	Knock Granach
Angus McBean (McPhail)	Auchsheanganach

An Early 18th Century MacDonell-MacLeod Marriage Contract

By Stuart Farrell

I found this in Charles Fraser-Mackintosh's chapter on the Parish of Glenelg in Antiquarian Notes II (1897), pages 236-239. It results from the marriage of John MacDonell, second son of Aeneas MacDonell of Scotus to Janet MacLeod, daughter of Donald MacLeod of Arnisdale, on the 2nd May 1723 at Arnisdale. Fraser-Mackintosh notes that a descendant was a barrister and author named MacDonell of Greenfield, who in the 1890's was in Montreal, Canada. I was intrigued, as was Fraser-Mackintosh, by the number of witnesses, and also the mention of livestock! It just shows how important cattle were in the Highland economy at that time.

At Arnisdale, the 2nd May, one thousand seven hundred and twentie three years. Its is minuted appointed matrimonially, agreed and ended betwixt John MacDonell, second lawfull son to Aeneas MacDonell of Scottos, on the one part, and Janet MacLeod, lawfull daughter to Donald MacLeod in Arnisdale, with his consent and assent, and he taking the burden on him for her on the other part in manner following. That is, the saids John MacDonell and Janet MacLeod, with consent foresaid, hereby promises to take each other in marriage and to solemnize the said lawfull bond of marriage instantly. And the said Donald MacLeod in Arnisdale, hereby binds and obliges him, his heirs, ex'ors, and successors, whatsoever to content and pay to the said John MacDonell, his heirs, ex'ors, and assignees in in name of tocher good, the number of threescore of cows and four piece of sufficient horse, as they are usually paid in tocher, that is to say twentie milk cows, twentie yeall cows, ten cows two years old, and ten stirks, to be payed in manner following, viz, the number of twentie-five to be payed at Whitsunday ensueing, and as many at Whitsunday, one thousand seven hundred and twentie four, and the other ten at Whitsunday one thousand and twentie five. For the whilk causes on the other part the said Aeneas MacDonell as burden taker, binds and obliges his heir, ex'ors, and successors to provide the said John MacDonell, his sum to the sum of two thousand merks Scots money, for which he is to pay interest to his behoof from the term of Whitsunday next to come, and until it be laid out upon interest in sufficient hands upon land or otherwise.

The said John MacDonell as pri'nl, and with, and for him, the said Aeneas MacDonell, as cautioner, suretie and full debtor, binds and obliges them, their heirs, ex'ors, and successors whatsoever con'llie and severally to secure in the hands of Donald MacLeod of Tallascar or any other sufficient

hands the sum of two thousand merks money foresaid in liferent to the said Janet MacLeod during all the days of her lifetime and in fee to the eldest son to be procreate of the said marriage or that shall be then in life, whilk failing to the other child or children of the said marriage. And it is hereby provided that the said Janet shall have a tearce of all the moveables that shall appertain to the said John MacDonell at the time of his decease, she then surviving, with the whole small cattell, such as sheep and goates, by and attour the just and equal half of the conquest. And the said Janet MacLeod hereby discharges the said Donald MacLeod her father of her portion natural and all other things she could ask or crave thro' his decease excepting good will allenarly.

In like manner the said John MacDonell hereby discharges his father of bairns part of gear excepting good will allenarly and all the said parties binds and oblidges then to perform the premisses hinc inde in manner above written and the party faillzying shall pay to the party observer or willing to observe the same the sum of two hundred merks Scots. And all consent to the Regran of their pritts in the Books of Council and Session or any other judicatory competent that an decret be interponed thereto so that letters of horning on ten days and other executorialls needful may pass hereupon in form as effeirs and to that effect constitutes their pro'rs.

In witness grof (written by Mr Murdoch MacLeod, minister of Glenelg, upon stamped paper) all have subt their pritts day, place, and year of God a wrin before those witness, Archibald McDonell of Barisdell, Coll McDonell his son, Norman McLeod of Drynoch, Mr Alexr. McLeod his son, Lachlin McKinnon of Mishness, Donald McDonell in Glendulachan, and the sd. Mr Murdoch McLeod writer hereof.

(Signed)	John MacDonell
	Jannet McLeod
	Donald McLeod
	Aeneas McDonell Ca'ar
	Lachlan McKinnonm, wittnes
	Archibald McDonell, wittnes
	Do. McDonell, wittnes
	Coll McDonell, wittnes
	Ang. McLeod, wittnes
	Nor. McLeod, wittnes
	Allan McDonell, wittnes
	Alexr. MacLeod, wittnes
	Alexr. McDonell, wittnes
	Murd. MacLeod, wittnes



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Tasglann

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