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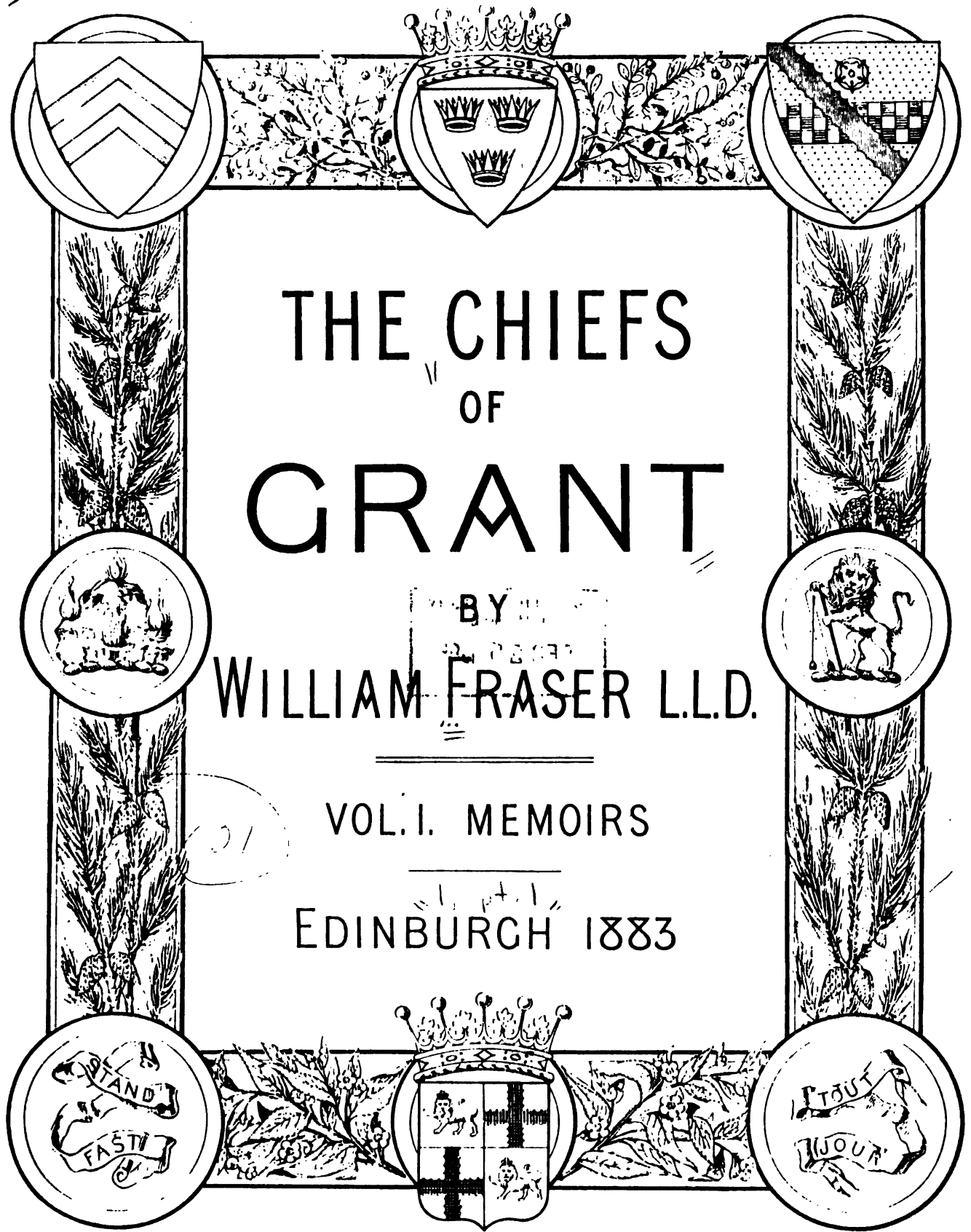
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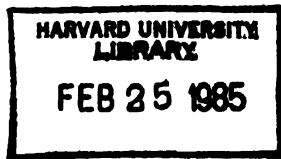
THE CHIEFS
OF
GRANT

BY
WILLIAM FRASER L.L.D.

VOL. I. MEMOIRS

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INTRODUCTION

THE Family of Grant of Grant have been for ages the recognised chiefs of their numerous and powerful clan,—a clan which have been long distinguished for devoted loyalty and attachment to their lawful sovereigns. Strathspey is the country of the Grants. So much were they identified with the great Strath and its magnificent river, that King Charles the Second desired to confer a peerage on the distinguished chief of the Grants, James Grant of Freuchie, under the title of EARL OF STRATHSPEY and LORD GRANT OF FREUCHIE. While the patent of the peerage was in preparation, the sudden death of the chief defeated the intention of the King, but the honour was not lost to the family; it was only deferred. After the lapse of nearly two centuries, in the course of which the power and influence of the family had been greatly increased by their acquisition of the dignities and estates of the Earls of Seafield, Her Majesty Queen Victoria conferred the title of BARON STRATHSPEY OF STRATHSPEY, as a peerage of the United Kingdom, upon the late lamented chief of the Grants, the lineal male descendant of the intended Earl of Strathspey. No more appropriate title could have been bestowed. It was hailed with delight by the whole members of the Grant Clan as an honour done to their chief and themselves, and on that auspicious occasion the hearts of the men of Strathspey were stirred as only Highland hearts can be.

He it was who first resolved to carry out the design of preserving an enduring record of his family and their muniments. He was pleased to commit to me the task of editing the work, in which during its progress he took much interest, and it will always be matter of regret that it was not completed in his lifetime. This regret is somewhat lessened by the recollection that two of the volumes,—those embracing the Charters and

Correspondence,—were so far completed as to allow of their being submitted to him for inspection several months before his death. All his intercourse with me regarding the work was most pleasant and agreeable, and his large collections of muniments were from the first intrusted to me with the most generous confidence.

According to the strictly chronological order of the history of the Grant Family, from their earliest time to the present, the memoir of the late chief falls to be given towards the close of this volume. But as he was the originator of this work, even at the risk of anticipating what may there be said, it is deemed suitable to pay a tribute to his memory here. Amidst the many panegyrics which his lamented death called forth, we prefer to quote one which could not be swayed by the influence of private friendship. The deep devotion of the people of Strathspey to their late chief, who was regarded more as their father and friend than simply as their landlord, was very strikingly shown at that time. With the deepening sense of a real and heavy bereavement, genuine sorrow and dismay took possession of every heart, and at the closing scene grief alone responded to grief. A stranger, recently settled in the country, has collected very impartially and recorded very happily what he said was the voice of the whole Gaelic-speaking people in the country, in the following remarks:—

The burial which took place at Duthil on Saturday was very different from those at which profusion of undertaker's pomp forms the chief attraction. Lord Seafield's death, before attaining the threescore years and ten, produced a feeling of mourning, as if for a dear friend, among all parties and classes throughout the counties of the North with which he was more immediately connected by property and residence. We have received—and we doubt not our contemporaries have also received—many communications seeking to give expression to the deep and general sense of loss and bereavement. Elsewhere, too, the tributes of commemoration due to one whose life has been beneficial to his country and honourable to himself have been freely bestowed by the organs of public opinion. Not only the northern counties, where he lived, worked, and was best known, but broad Scotland feels with sorrow that a great chief and noble Scotsman has departed from our midst. On Saturday the spontaneous sorrow of overflowing hearts, which neither birth nor station can purchase by all the wealth of the world, surrounded his ancestral place of sepulture in his native Strathspey. From widely separated districts, notwithstanding the extremely inclement weather, hundreds upon hundreds of men who represented burghs, clachans, lonely hill-sides, and distant glens, gathered there to pay to a chief whom they honoured, and a man whom they loved, the last tribute of earthly reverence.

What was the secret of Lord Seafield's great popularity? We believe it was simple, honest, unostentatious fulfilment of the duties of his high station. He exercised his trust, not so much as a man who could do whatever seemed good in his own eyes, but as a steward responsible for all his actions. He was not a seeker for popularity, and he probably never knew during his earthly career how much beloved he was, and what a princely and more than princely influence he had secured in his corner of the world. He was an unambitious man, of retiring disposition, who never sought ephemeral laudations by the means which the wealthy can command. Although he had strong convictions, he did not mingle in the conflicts of political life. As heir of the Ogilvies, and hereditary chief of the Grants, birth opened to him the chance of a public career. That was not his line; but he gained, unsought, a fame as bright as the highest political success could have secured, by the noble use he made of the opportunities which the accident of birth had conferred upon him. He resided on his estates almost all the year round. He knew most of his people and their conditions, and they all knew him and understood his character. He planted, drained, fenced, and farmed as well as the most skilful of his tenants. Among the breeders of Highland cattle, his name became a household word. In all relations of life he was good and true. He was loyal to the principles of his House and the history of his Clan. He was an elder of the National Church—a Presbyterian of Presbyterians—which counted for much in a country where there is too often for the general well-being and union of classes a religious separation that divides ranks and sympathies. He was a just landlord. His people possessed their minds and holdings in peace and security. The landlord right was tempered by the fine old tie of chiefship and clannishness; and under no circumstances did Lord Seafield himself desire to worry those under him by tyrannical harshness, or whims of temper and purpose.

Just and kindly-human, but far from lax and careless relations with tenants and dependants; faithful discharge of the duties of a high position; the patriarchal feeling which became the chief of an ancient clan; Scottish community of faith and sentiments with his fellow-Scotsmen—such were the causes which gave the departed peer a deeper hold in the heart of his country than in his modesty perhaps he even imagined, but which his death fully revealed. He enjoyed home-life in the country; he disliked London, and for him the distractions of human life, or the pursuits of vain pleasures, had no allurements. He enjoyed rural avocations, and formed associations with the people whose well being was bound up with his own. The wild charms of his Highland glens spoke to him in language that went to his heart. He had not the tongue-gifts of his ancestor the Bard, but he inherited his mind and susceptibilities. So it happened that in the slow course of thirty busy years he grew into a great prince in his own country, and that he never knew of it. The people who say that our land laws are all wrong, and wish to make a clean sweep of them, attack particularly large estates. It is, however, only on such estates that there is full scope for the virtues which Lord Seafield illustrated, and it is pleasing to believe these are still to be found among many of the old families which connect the nineteenth century with the distant past.¹

¹ "Northern Chronicle," Wednesday, March 2, 1881.

Such in the eyes of his clan and countrymen generally was the late Earl of Seafield.

Ludovick Grant of Grant, the son and successor of James Grant, whom King Charles the Second had designed to make Earl of Strathspey, occupied, as chief of the clan, an influential position in the north of Scotland during his tenure of the Grant estates, extending over the long period of more than half a century. It is recorded that Ludovick took exception to certain measures proposed while James Duke of York was Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland, and in the Legislative Assembly on one occasion desired that his protest might be recorded, on which the Duke of York remarked that the wishes of his Highland Majesty would be attended to. Laird Ludovick was afterwards popularly known as the "Highland King," and the designation was extended to his successors.

The famous Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, married Margaret Grant, the youngest daughter of the "Highland King." In this way Lovat became the brother-in-law of Sir James Grant of Grant, the son of Ludovick, and the uncle of Sir Ludovick Grant, the son of Sir James. Lovat was in constant correspondence with these relatives, and without anticipating his numerous and characteristic letters, printed in the second volume of this work, we need only notice here his frequent allusions to the regal majesty of the Highland chief. He styles Sir James Grant "the Highland King."¹ On the occasion of the marriage of Sir James's son, Ludovick Grant, and Lady Margaret Ogilvie, eldest daughter of James, fifth Earl of Findlater and Seafield, Lovat was profuse in his congratulations. Amidst many other things he says in a letter to the bridegroom:—"May the offspring of your body and hers be great, numerous, and flourishing, and may they reign in Strathspey, and in your other territories, as long as there is a stone subsisting in Castle Grant, or a drop of water in the river of Spey."² In letters of a later date, when the offspring of the union had increased, his Lordship alludes to "the good Lady Margaret, and the young Pallatine of Strathspey and the Infanta,"³ the designation Pallatine of Strathspey being occasionally diversified with that of Prince of Strath-

¹ Vol. ii. of this work, p. 299.

² *Ibid.* p. 336.

³ *Ibid.* p. 369.

spey ; in fact, the allusion to the children of Sir Ludovick Grant as princes and infantas of Strathspey became habitual with Lord Lovat.¹

Too much importance will not be attached to the letters of Simon Lord Lovat by those who are acquainted with his peculiar style. It was his wont to indulge in expressions of admiration, and even adulation, towards such of his friends as he particularly fancied. But, making allowance for his partiality to special friends or near relations, his letters strengthen the evidence of the prominence and power of the chiefs of Grant in the Highlands, and especially in the wide district of Strathspey, which had long been peopled so exclusively by the clan, that no landowner held possessions there who did not bear the name of Grant. When, about the middle of last century, Baron Grant of Elchies proposed to sell his estate in Strathspey, Sir Ludovick Grant was anxious to secure it, either for himself or one of the clan. In a letter to his law-agent he wrote that he wished to preserve all the lands lying between the two Craigellachies in the name of Grant. These two rocky eminences are conspicuous objects in Strathspey. The upper or western Craigellachie forms the dividing boundary between Badenoch and Strathspey, and was the rendezvous for the Grant clan in time of war. The lower Craigellachie stands at the confluence of the Fiddich with the Spey, and forms the point of contact of the four parishes of Aberlour, Knockando, Rothies, and Boharm. The upper Craigellachie is generally supposed to have furnished the crest of the Grant family, which is a mountain in flames. When the chief wished the clan to assemble, fires were kindled on both Craigellachies, hence the name, "Rock of alarm." The war-cry of the clan was *Stand Fast, Craigellachie*, and their armorial motto is the same. So much were the Grants identified with these crags, that Lord Lovat frequently commenced his letters to his brother-in-law, the Laird of Grant, "My dear Craigellachie," and Sir James Grant himself, in writing to his brother-in-law, Colonel Grant of Ballindalloch, occasionally adopted "Craigellachie" as his signature.² In "A Cry from Craigellachie," the accomplished author, Principal Shairp of St. Andrews, describes his feelings on his first journey by the Highland Railway which sweeps past Craigellachie :

¹ Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 377, 391, 392, 395, 397, 399, 407.

² Letters in Ballindalloch Charter-chest.

EARLY ACQUISITIONS OF THE GRANTS.

Grisly storm-resounding Badenoch,
 With grey boulders scattered o'er,
 And cairns of forgotten battles,
 Is a wilderness no more.

Ha! we start the ancient silence,
 Thundering down the long incline,
 On Strathspey and Rothiemurchus
 Forests of primeval pine.

Boar of Badenoch! Sow of Athole!
 Hill by hill behind we cast
 Rock and craig and moorland reeling,
 Scarce Craigellachie stands fast.

Although the Grant family have been so long connected with Strathspey, it was not the original country of the Grants. Their first known territorial designation was Lords of Stratherrick, from a district in the county of Inverness, now part of the Lovat estates. At an early period they acquired the lands of Inverallan in Strathspey, and about the middle and end of the fifteenth century added to their possessions Freuchie and Glencarnie.¹ The title of Grants of Freuchie, with the occasional local designation of Lairds of Grant, continued in the family for ten generations, from 1450 to 1694, when Ludovick Grant, the "Highland King," having obtained a Crown charter erecting his lands into the regality of Grant, dropped the territorial designation of Freuchie, and adopted that of Grant of Grant, by which his descendants continued to be known until they succeeded to the title and dignity of Earl of Seafield.

The personal history of the successive chiefs of the Family of Grant, contained in their memoirs, will be rendered more intelligible, as well as more interesting, by a short account of the lands and baronies which the Grants from time to time acquired in Stratherrick and Strathspey, the latter of these districts, as we have said, having been long popularly known as the COUNTRY OF THE GRANTS.

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 22, 41, 43.

THE BARONY OF STRATHERRICK, IN INVERNESS.

THE ORIGINAL COUNTRY OF THE GRANTS.

The earliest known territorial designation which was hereditary in the family of Grant was that of Lord of Stratherrick. At a somewhat earlier date than the first appearance of the Grants as Lords of Stratherrick, Robert le Grant, who, if not a brother, was at least a contemporary of Sir Laurence le Grant, obtained from John Prat¹ a charter of the lands of Clonmanache,² concerning which there had been some dispute between the grantor's father and Robert le Grant. The writ bears that the land shall be held of the grantor and his heirs for a silver merk instead of the usual services, and the gift may have been the result of a compromise.³ The charter is undated, but was probably made about the year 1258, when Robert le Grant, Sir Laurence, and two of the witnesses, Sir John Byset and Sir William, son of Augustine, all appear in an agreement with the Bishop of Moray in that year.⁴ Clonmanache, or Coulmony, is thus the first territory of which we have certain and authentic information as the possession of a member of the Grant family. But from it Robert le Grant appears to have assumed no territorial designation, and no succession has been traced from him.

Stratherrick, on the other hand, supplied to the Grant family their earliest territorial designation, and one which, for a short time at least, was hereditary. Patrick le Grant, the grandson of Sir Laurence, Sheriff of Inverness, was the first of the family whose name is associated with the district of Stratherrick, and in a charter granted by him about the year 1357 he is designed "dominus de Stratharthoc," or Lord of Stratherrick.⁵ Whether Sir Laurence le Grant or his son, the father of Patrick, held these lands can only be matter of conjecture, although.

¹ He was probably the knight whose sister Margory married Gilbert of Glenkerny, younger. [Vol. iii. of this work, p. 6.]

² Supposed to be Coulmony, now part of the estate of Lethen, in the county of Nairn.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 5.

⁴ Registrum Moraviense, pp. 133-135.

⁵ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 10.

from the high position of the former as Sheriff of Inverness, it is very probable that he did. The son of Patrick, whose Christian name has not been positively ascertained, may also, like his father, have taken the style of Lord of Stratherrick, and the grand-daughter of Patrick, Elizabeth le Grant, who inherited the lands, was known and designed as Lady of Stratherrick.¹

Stratherrick, also called Strathfarigag, from the river which drains the more northerly portion of the valley, is a wide elevated district in the parish of Boleskine and Abertarf, and county of Inverness. It stretches along the south-eastern shore of Loch Ness, parallel with, but separated from it by a narrow ridge of hilly country which screens the valley from the loch. The Strath is watered towards the south by another stream called the Fechlin, which, issuing from Loch Killin, unites in Stratherrick with some other considerable waters, and then changes its name to the River Foyers. It is upon this river that the far-famed and often described Fall of Foyers is situated, just where the water turns to pierce the rocky ridge and seek rest in the bosom of Loch Ness.

The lands and barony of Stratherrick, so far as can be traced, have been inherited by three families successively, the Bysets, the Grants, and their present possessors the Frasers. The Bysets are known to have held the territory from about the year 1242;² a century later it was in the possession of the Grants, and appears to have passed from them before 1420 to the family of Fraser of Lovat. At this time these lands pertained to the earldom of Moray, and continued to do so probably until about the year 1539, when with other baronies and lands they were incorporated by King James the Fifth into the barony of Lovat, in favour of Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovat.³ The paucity of information regarding the history of Stratherrick during the period of its possession by the Bysets and the Grants, and its acquisition by the Frasers, is fully accounted for by the fact that the documents which could have instructed its history, perished in the flames of war. On 20th September 1430, King James the First confirmed to

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 16.

² Rymer's *Federa*, vol. i. p. 617.

³ Charter of Erection of Barony of Lovat, dated 26th March 1539. *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, Lib. xxvi. No. 211.

Hugh Fraser of Lovat and his heirs, certain lands mentioned in a retour in which he is served heir to his deceased brother, Alexander Fraser of Lovat. The lands were the third part of the barony of the Aird, and the barony of Abertarf, with its pertinents, viz., Stratherrick, the third part of the lands of Glenelg and other lands in the barony of Abertarf and regality of Moray, all held of the Earl of Moray for ward and relief, and at this time in the hands of the Crown on account of the recent death of James Earl of Moray. The charter concludes with the following clause:— And because it hath been fully and sufficiently established by the said Hugh Fraser that his charters, made upon the said lands, were burned, consumed, and destroyed during the wars of the Islesmen while in rebellion against the King, therefore the King ratifies to the said Hugh and his heirs the said lands with their pertinents, in the same form in which the said Hugh or his predecessors held them from the Earl of Moray, saving our service, etc.¹

Although here and in other charters described as a pertinent of the barony of Abertarf, there is evidence that Stratherrick was itself a barony. It is so styled in the charter of erection of the barony of Lovat already referred to, and in other writs. In the middle of the sixteenth century, when untimely bereavements had thrown upon the estate the support of two dowagers, Janet Gray, the widow of Thomas, third Lord Fraser of Lovat, and Janet Ross, the widow of Hugh, fourth Lord, the two ladies, unable to agree about their respective terces, had recourse to the Sheriff-Court of Inverness, and the Sheriff decreed (1st July 1552) that their claims should be apportioned on the baronies of Abertarf, Stratherrick, Dalcors, the “auld heritage of the Aird,” Strathglas, and the conquest lands of Halyburton.²

So long and so closely have the Lovat family been identified with Stratherrick, that the district became known as the *Country of the Frasers*. The Grants are said to have left traces of their occupation of the valley in the names of several of the places, such as Gartmore, Gartbeg, Dellachaple, and Ballindulloch, but it is more probable that such names are rather local

¹ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 179.

² Sheriff-Court Book of Inverness, 1543-1594, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.

than tribal, and the fact that places in Strathspey bear similar designations only suggests that places having common or similar geographical features received similar names, and not that the Grants transferred the names of their holdings in Stratherrick to those of Strathspey. A manuscript history of the family of Lovat asserts that in the fifteenth century there were many Grants, some of them belonging to the Clanchiaran, living in Stratherrick, but if this were so, they must soon afterwards have given place to the followers of Lovat. It is recorded that in 1544 the race of Lovat was nearly annihilated in the sanguinary battle of Blar-na-leine, fought at the east end of Loch Lochy between the Clan Macdonald and the Frasers of Lovat, who were returning from an expedition to the Hebrides, whither they had gone to restore the heir of the Clanranald family to his estates. Both sides stripped to their shirts (whence the name of the battle), and the Frasers, who were inferior in numbers to their opponents, were all slain with the exception of one man, who escaped wounded.¹ Fortunately for the clan the bereaved wives of the Frasers, to the number of eighty, it is alleged, gave birth to posthumous sons, who, in due time, grew up and re-established the name. So far as Stratherrick was concerned, the retainers of Lovat are said to have suffered severely, and the valley is reported to have been peopled principally by the descendants of two cadets of Fraser of Lovat, one of whom settled at Foyers and the other at Loch Farraline, giving rise to two tribes, the Mac-mhic-ulliams or Foyer's tribe, and the Slioch-ion-mhic-Alisters, or Farraline's tribe.²

As illustrative of social life in Stratherrick till about the close of the seventeenth century, it may be said that the houses of the wadsetters were composed of cupple trees, the walls and thatch made up of sod and divot, but each containing a spacious apartment containing a large table, where the family and dependants daily ate their two meals, the family occupying one end of the table, and the dependants the other. The sons of these wadsetters were trained in agriculture and arms, and any other pursuit was reckoned a disgrace. The land was divided into davochs or half davochs, one or more of which was held by the wadsetter, and he in turn subset his holding in quarter or plough lands, or more frequently in

¹ Gregory's Highlands and Isles, p. 162.

² Old Statistical Account, vol. xx. pp. 21, 22.

auchten parts, and sometimes even in smaller portions, to cottars. Pertaining to Stratherrick there were extensive shealings or grazings on the hills towards Badenoch, and to these the inhabitants were wont to migrate in summer with their whole families and cattle, returning again to their farms when the winter began to set in.¹

The lands of Stratherrick, after being in possession of the Frasers of Lovat for more than three hundred years, were in 1746 forfeited, along with the other Lovat estates, on the attainder of Simon Lord Lovat for his participation in the rebellion of 1745, and retained by the Crown for nearly thirty years. They were then restored to General Simon Fraser, eldest son of the forfeited Lord, and Margaret Grant, daughter of Ludovick Grant of Grant, the "Highland King." General Fraser died in 1782, and was succeeded by his brother, Archibald Fraser of Lovat, who, in the year 1803, endowed seven Sunday charity schools, one of which was to be erected in Stratherrick.

In the printed letter in which he intimates this endowment to the neighbouring gentlemen, he says:—

"I wish for moral principle, and stipulate the New Testament shall be a school book; and the Old Testament, fit only for enlarged minds and more advanced experience and periods of life, shall not be used in the Sunday school until a proper excerpt, containing the history of the Creation, the faith of Abraham, the piety of Job, and the enlightened reflections of the Ecclesiastes, applicable to Christianity, shall, with the Psalms of David selected, form the compilation."

A copy of the letter was sent by Archibald Fraser of Lovat to Lady Grant of Grant, with an accompanying epistle, which shows that the writer had evidently inherited much of the racy humour of his father. Archibald Fraser's letter is as follows:—

Inverness, 2d October 1803.

Lady Grant will, I am persuaded, receive the enclosed paper with that complacency which, tho' it is the prerogative of her sex in general, is with her so peculiar an ornament.

The weather breaks; for the next six months a good castle, a large

¹ Old Statistical Account, vol. xx. pp. 23, 24.

room, a large family, clean hearts, chearfull minds, and roaring peat fires wou'd be my choice. My preparations are for a winter campaign, meal, leather bags, and boys to carry them, for lack of provender for garrons. And a little more than I want, when Sir James orders me to march, to give away, and gett the blessings of the people instead of their curses for plundering them for our money : moreover, a store of onions, salt, tobacco, Scots snuff, whiskey, and bagpipes for our people, and for the first Consal (Bonaparte) a single figg.

I hope your Ladyship's forgivnes for coming of before breakfast, and begging my respects to the Miss Grants and all the family, have the honor to be

Your most obedient humble servant,

A. FRASER, LOVAT.

Although the Grants parted with Stratherrick in 1419, and thus for a time severed their connection with Loch Ness, they reappeared a century later on its opposite shore as the owners of the large district of Urquhart and Glenmoriston. Meanwhile the family had fixed their abode in Strathspcy, whither we hasten to trace their possessions.

INVERALLAN IN STRATHSPEY.

The lands of Inverallan were among the earliest possessions of the Grant family, and the first which they acquired in Strathspey. They were possessed in the reign of King Robert the Bruce by John le Grant, and have ever since been inherited by the Grants, with one interruption caused by the lands having been provided to co-heiresses. The dispute which arose afterwards, respecting the possession of the lands, lasted for upwards of two centuries. It is fully instructed by documents in the Grant Charter-chest, and the facts are of interest for understanding the history of this early inheritance of the Grants in Strathspey.

As a separate estate, the lands of Inverallan were composed of three davochs. They were situated on the west side of the river Spey, and extended several miles up the river from the vicinity of Castle Grant. In these three davochs are comprised the lands of Kildreke or Dreggie, Glenbeg, Craggan, and Gaich. They appear to have formed part of the territory of the De Moravias in the early part of the thirteenth century, as between the years 1223 and 1242 Walter de Moravia granted the church of Inverallan to Andrew, Bishop of Moray, for the upholding of the cathedral church of Elgin,¹ but about 1288 they appear as the possession of Augustine, the son of the late Robert of Augustine, who styles himself Lord of "Inverallan in Strathspey."² In 1316, John of Inverallan, son to Gilbert, brother of Augustine, disposed the lands to John le Grant, the father of Patrick le Grant, Lord of Stratherrick, to whom reference has already been made. Patrick le Grant inherited them, and bestowed one-half of them, the davoch land of Dreggie and the half davoch land of Glenbeg, with his daughter Elizabeth le Grant, about the year 1357, upon William Pylehe, a burghess of Inverness.³

The son of William Pylehe and Elizabeth le Grant was William Pylehe,

¹ *Registrum Moraviense*, p. 111.

² *Ibid.* p. 142. A person of the name of Augustine appears in the time of Andrew de Moravia, Bishop of Moray, as his servitor. He was probably the father of Robert and other three sons, Benedict,

a friar of Kinloss, John, and another, whose name was either Sir William or Sir Walter. [*Ibid.* pp. 66, 86, 129, 135.]

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 10.

Lord of Culcabock and Inverallan. He married a lady named Elizabeth Pylche, and both he and his wife died before 1453, his widow having before her death resigned into the hands of Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray and Master of Douglas, her lands of the half-town of Inverallan, half-town of Glenbeg, and half town of Dreggie, within the earldom of Moray and regality of Ballochhill, in favour of John Hay of Mayne. The Lord of Culcabock and Inverallan had two daughters, Elizabeth and Marjory Pylche, who were infeft in the lands of Gaich, Dreggie, and Glenbeg, prior to the year 1430, and they again, in their widowhood, in 1482, resigned in the hands of the King, in favour of Alexander Hay of Mayne, their lands of Inverallan, Gaich, Glenbeg, Craggan, and Dreggie, with the lands of Culcabock, Knockintennaill, and the Hauch, which lands, it is said, had belonged to them hereditarily. These two heiresses, however, reserved the liferents of their respective portions of the lands.

But Elizabeth Grant, Lady of Stratherrick, the grand-daughter of Patrick le Grant, after disposing, in 1419, her lands of Stratherrick to her son, James Mackintosh, in 1433 conveyed all her other lands and possessions to her grandson, John Seres. She was heiress to her grandfather, Patrick le Grant, and as he had only bestowed half of the lands of Inverallan upon his daughter Elizabeth, on her marriage with William Pylche, the other half appears to have descended to John Seres. But from this point, owing probably to the sub-division amongst co-heiresses, the history of the lordship of Inverallan is one of contention.

The documents which narrate the transfer of these lands from the Pylche ladies to the Hays of Mayne, indicate that the whole of the lands of Inverallan were in the possession of these co-heiresses, and were by them made over to the Hays in 1482. In 1433 John Seres became the heir of Elizabeth le Grant, and in 1464 he obtained sentence before the Lords Auditors against Angus Gibbonson, for unjustly spoiling, occupying, and detaining the lands of Inverallan and Gaich to his injury, and ordering these lands and their profits to be restored to him. In 1482 Patrick Seres, son of the late John Seres, was infeft in the lands of Inverallan, on a precept by William Crawford of Federeth, called the superior of the lands. Patrick Seres shortly thereafter resigned them in favour of John Grant, son

and heir apparent of Duncan Grant of Freuchie, who was then infeft in the lands on a precept from the superior. John Grant died on 30th August 1482, and on a precept from the same superior, his son, John Grant, was infeft in the lands in the following year. On the other hand, Alexander Hay of Mayne received the lands after their resignation by Elizabeth and Marjory Pylche, from King James the Third, by charter dated 25th October 1482, and was infeft on the 30th of the same month by James Dunbar of Cumnock, Sheriff of Inverness.

The question was thus one both of superiority and possession. The claim of superiority lay between the Crown and the Crawfords of Federeth, that of possession between the Grants of Freuchie and the Hays of Mayne. For a time there is no appearance of a collision having taken place. But in 1511, after the death of Alexander Hay of Mayne, his heir not having entered to the lands within the specified time, the non-entry of the lands was conferred by the Crown on a person named Robert Douglas. Douglas found John Grant of Freuchie in possession of certain of the lands, and pursued him for the rents and dues thereof before the Lords of Council. In the action the Crown laid claim to the maills of half the lands of Gaich, half the lands of Glenbeg, and half the lands of Dreggie, but their Lordships decided in favour of John Grant of Freuchie on the production by him of charter and sasine of the lands.

In the later contest with the Hays of Mayne, the Grant family were, so far as legal proceedings were concerned, unsuccessful, but the contention was prolonged through several generations. During that period, on account of successive deaths among the Hays, and also their impecuniosity, the lands frequently fell into the wardship of the Crown, and the ward was gifted to various individuals. One of these was Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet, Clerk to the Privy Council, and Clerk-Register, who assigned his gift in 1566 to John Grant of Freuchie, then in actual possession of the lands of Inverallan as tenant. The Clerk-Register was related to William Hay of Mayne, heir to the lands of Inverallan, and interested himself in getting him established in them. At this time, too, William Crawford of Federeth challenged the right of superiority to the lands claimed by the Crown, but his claim was rejected. From the repeated mention of these lands in the Exchequer

Rolls during this period it is ascertained that their estimated annual value was £26, 13s. 4d. Scots.

In 1583 John Grant, fourth Laird of Freuchie, entered into negotiations with William Hay of Mayne, with a view to settle all disputes by a purchase of the lands, and it was agreed between them that the Laird of Freuchie should get the lands of Inverallan. In return, and for the "extinctione of pley, trouble, or expense," he was to infest the Laird of Mayne in the lands of Arndilly, pay the sum of three thousand merks, and, as the donator and assignee of the Laird of Mayne's maritagium, release him to marry whomsoever he pleased.¹ To this arrangement the consent of Alexander Hay, Lord Clerk-Register, was necessary, and for this the Laird of Freuchie wrote him a few days after the conclusion of the agreement.²

A year or two elapsed before the final terms were arranged. The Laird of Mayne married in the interval, and as his spouse was Jean Grant, a daughter of one of the principal scions of the family, Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch,³ it may be supposed that the choice was not altogether his own, though it probably was approved by all parties concerned for the sake of insuring the interment of old feuds, and procuring a stable foundation for present and future amity. During the same period the old Laird of Freuchie died, and the completion of the acquisition of Inverallan was devolved on his grandson and successor, John Grant, the fifth Laird. On 26th June 1587 a contract was entered into for the absolute sale of the lands of Inverallan, Glenbeg, Gaich, Craggan, and Dreggie, to John Grant of Freuchie, for six thousand merks. A charter of the lands was granted the same day in his favour by the Clerk-Register as fiar, and William Hay of Mayne as liferenter. It states that they were to be held of the Crown in fee and heritage for ever, and a charter of confirmation of the grant was obtained from King James the Sixth on 14th February 1592, who, in the same document, confirmed another charter of the adjacent lands of Auchnarrows, Downan, and Port.⁴ These lands, with those of Inverallan,

¹ Original Heads of Concurrence at Castle Grant.

² Vol. ii. of this work, p. 36.

³ Original Contract of Marriage, dated 1585, and subscribed by William Hay of Mayne, and Alex-

ander Hay of Easter Kennet, Clerk-Register, with the names of two sons of the latter, Mr. John Hay and Daniel Hay as witnesses, at Castle Grant.

⁴ Original Charter at Castle Grant.

were shortly afterwards included in a new incorporation of the barony of Cromdale. Shortly before his death, this Laird also satisfied William Hay of Mayne in respect of his claim for the ejection of his grandfather, by the Laird's grandfather, from his lands of Mayne.¹

These arrangements ought to have terminated, and to all appearance did terminate, the unhappy and prolonged litigation betwixt the Grants and the Hays of Mayne respecting Inverallan. But the contest was afterwards unexpectedly re-opened by James Hay, the eldest son of the marriage of William Hay of Mayne and Jean Grant of Ballindalloch. On her marriage Jean Grant had received, as a liferent portion, the rents of the davoch land of Dreggie, and the half davoch land of Gaich, and, in 1625, after the death of her husband, she sold her liferent rights in these lands to her eldest son.² Owing, apparently, to the want of some necessary precaution in making up the titles, James Hay was able to lay claim to the possession of the lands with some measure of success, and, in 1653, James, the seventh Laird of Freuchie, grandson of the Laird who had bought the lands from William Hay, found it his interest to compromise the matter, rather than renew the litigation. He accordingly agreed with James Hay, then designed "in Auchroisk," the Hays having ceased to be connected with Mayne, that the latter should dispoise to him all right and title which he had to the barony of Glenbeg, or any part thereof, either as heir to his father or other predecessors, or by his mother's liferent, deliver over all his evidents of the lands, and discharge all claims connected therewith; and also, that he should procure the renunciation of Auchroisk by the Clerks of Auchroisk, and denude himself of his rights therein in the Laird's favour. On his part, James Grant of Freuchie was to pay to James Hay £800 Scots, out of which Grisel Hay, sister to James Hay, and spouse to John Caddell, was to have her liferent portion, other four hundred merks on the performance of the conditions stipulated, and to give him a four years' tack of the lands of Cummingston, an estate on the Mulben property in Banffshire.³ This agreement effectually brought to

¹ Original Discharge, dated 17th November 1621, at Castle Grant.

² Original Disposition at Castle Grant. Another son, Patrick Hay, is a witness.

³ Original Agreement at Castle Grant.

a termination this disagreeable and unprofitable petty feud, and since this settlement, the lands have remained peacefully in possession of the Grants.

The stream which flows down from Tobair-Alline, where it takes its rise, through Glenbeg, and which from that circumstance is now called the Glenbeg Burn,¹ evidently, in earlier days, bore the name of the Allan, and gave the designation of Inverallan to the district which surrounds the lower part of its course. At its confluence with the Spey there appears to have been, in former days, a strong fort, whence, probably, the earlier Lords of Inverallan bore sway over their little territory, and dispensed feudal justice to their dependants.

The parish of Inverallan embraced a larger portion of the territory of Strathspey than was contained in the lands known as Inverallan. Among other lands in the parish were Tullochgorm, Curr, Clurie, Auchmahandet, part, at least, of the three Finlargs, and Freuchie itself, some of which fall to be treated in other connections, as portions of the Grant possessions. The original parish of Inverallan was united to the adjacent parish of Cromdale, both in the presbytery of Abernethy. A new church was built in the town of Grantown, and was generally designed and known as the church of Grantown. But the presbytery of Abernethy, on 26th March 1816, appointed the church to be called the church of Inverallan. On an application by the late Earl of Seafield, and others interested, the Court of Teinds, on 24th May 1869, erected the district assigned to the church of Inverallan into a parish *quoad sacra*, disjoining it and the district from the parish of Cromdale. In an action of transportation at the instance of the present Earl of Seafield and others interested, the new manse which had been erected for Inverallan was, by decree of the Court of Teinds, dated 3d July 1882, ordained to be the manse of the *quoad sacra* parish of Inverallan in time coming, and the old manse was authorised to be sold. The erection of the new parish of Inverallan was a great convenience, particularly to the inhabitants of Grantown, who were far removed from the parish church of Cromdale.

¹ It is also sometimes called the Craggan Burn and the Inverallan Burn.

THE BARONY OF FREUCHIE.

The name of this barony of Freuchie, variously spelled Frewche, Fruychue, Freuchequhy, etc., from the Gaelic, *Fraochach*, heathy or heathery, may be derived from the heathery hill situated about a quarter of a mile to the south-east of Castle Grant.

This barony first appears on record as a possession of the family of Grant in the time of Sir Duncan Grant. In 1453, previous to his being knighted, he is designed in a precept of sasine by Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray, for infesting John le Hay of Mayne in the lands of Glenbeg and others, as "our beloved cousin, Duncan le Graunte of Fruychy," and from that time until the close of the seventeenth century, Freuchie was the designation of the chiefs of the Grants.

Sir Duncan Grant appears to have possessed only the half of the barony of Freuchie, the other half being the property of Marjory Lude. She, on 28th July 1473, granted a charter to her son, Patrick Grant, in which she styles herself Lady of half the barony of Freuchie. By that charter, Marjory Lude, in her widowhood and urgent need, for the sustentation of her life, pledged or wadset to her son, Patrick Grant, in return for a payment made by him to her of six hundred merks, her lands of Auchnarrows, Downan, Port, and Dalfour, in the barony of Freuchie and shire of Inverness. Who Marjory Lude was, and how she obtained possession of the half lands of Freuchie, has not been ascertained. The portion of Freuchie held by Sir Duncan Grant in 1453 may have come to him through the marriage of his father with Matilda of Glencarnie, to whose father, Gilbert of Glencarnie, part of the lands of Freuchie appear to have pertained. Mention is made of a prominent part of the later barony of Freuchie, the lands of the two Congashes, as the property of Gilbert of Glencarnie at the close of the thirteenth century. About that time he granted to Duncan de Feryndraweht, on the marriage of the latter to his daughter Marjory, the eastern davoeh of the land of Congash, in the holding of Abernethy, with the homage and service of the tenant

of his davoeh land of Wester Congash.¹ The lands continued the property of the Glencarnies until the death, about the year 1438, of that Gilbert of Glencarnie whose daughter Matilda was the mother of Sir Duncan Grant. The lands then fell to the Crown by reason of non-entry, until, in 1464, Sir Duncan obtained himself served heir to his grandfather Gilbert in the lands of Congash.² Owing to an informality in this retour, by omitting to state the time when the lands fell to the Crown, and how long they had remained in the king's hands, it was rendered inoperative, and another service supplying the required information had to be expedite. This second service, expedite on 7th February 1468, was followed by a precept from Chancery authorising the infeftment of Sir Duncan Grant in the lands of Congash, and in it the lands are valued at forty shillings yearly, but in time of peace at ten merks. They are said to have been in the hands of the Crown since the death of Gilbert of Glencarnie, his maternal grandfather, thirty years previously, owing to the heir failing to prosecute his claim.³

Sir Duncan Grant of Freuchie died in 1485, and having been predeceased by his eldest son, John Grant, younger of Freuchie, he was succeeded in the lands by his grandson, also John Grant. On a precept from Chancery, John Grant of Freuchie was, on 17th June 1489, infeft in the half of the lands of Freuchie, the two Culfoichs, the two Congashes and Glenlochy, in the shire of Inverness, the Sheriff proceeding first to the lands of Freuchie and then to the lands of Congash, and giving sasine upon the ground and at the messuages thereof.⁴

Four years later, on 4th January 1493, John Grant of Freuchie obtained from King James the Fourth a charter erecting his lands into a barony, to be called the BARONY OF FREUCHIE. In this charter the King grants and confirms to John Grant of Freuchie the lands of Freuchie and mill thereof, the two Culfoichs, Dalfour, Auchingall, the two Congashes and mill thereof, and Glenlochy, all in the shire of Inverness, also the fifth part of the lands of Linkwood, with the fifth part of the mill thereof, the fifth part of the lands of Barmuckity, the fifth part of the lands of Garbity, half of the lands of Inchbery, half of the lands of

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 7.

² *Ibid.* p. 26.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 28, 29.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 37.

Ordiquish, half of the lands of Mulben, and six shillings and eightpence (or half) of the lands of Sheriffston, all in the shire of Elgin. These lands, the charter proceeds to narrate, belonged heritably to John Grant of Freuchie, and were by him resigned into the King's hands at Edinburgh,¹ whereupon His Majesty, for the singular favour he bore to John Grant, and on account of his faithful services in many ways, erected the lands into a free barony, to be called in all time coming the Barony of Freuchie.² On a precept from Chancery in favour of John Grant of Freuchie, sasine of the barony was given to him on the ground of the same on 5th February 1493.³

This new erection of the barony of Freuchie differed from the former barony in this respect, that some of the lands of the old barony were not in possession of the Grants of Freuchie, and, consequently, were not included in the new erection of 1493. By this time, however, they had added part, at least, of the half of the old barony, possessed by Marjory Lude, to their own portion of it. The lands of Dalfour were among those disposed by Marjory Lude to her son, Patrick Grant, but previous to this new erection they had been acquired by the Grants of Freuchie, who included them in the new erection of the barony in 1493. The lands of Auchnarrows, Downan, and Port, which, as already stated, formed part of the half of the old barony of Freuchie possessed by Marjory Lude, formed no part of the later barony of Freuchie. They were purchased by the Grants of Freuchie from James Grant of Auchernach in 1586, and shortly after their acquisition, as will afterwards be shown, were incorporated into a new erection of the barony of Cromdale.

The remaining lands, or parts of lands, lying in the county of Elgin, added by the charter to the barony of Freuchie, appear to have been detached lands possessed by the Grants, and to have been included in the new barony for the sake of giving greater unity to the estate. None of them are known to have formed part of the old barony. Sheriffston and Barmuckity were part of the lands held by Gilbert of Glencarnie from the Earl of Moray, and were inherited by Sir Duncan Grant in 1434, when

¹ Original Instrument of Resignation at Castle Grant.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 41.

³ Original Instrument of Sasine at Castle Grant.

King James the First granted to him, as heir of his mother, Matilda of Glencarnie, a precept of sasine in the lands of the fifth part of the barony of Rothes Wiseman, Barmuckity, the two Fochabers, and the half of Sheriffston.¹ But of these lands lying in the county of Elgin, thus included by the charter of 1493 in the barony of Freuchie, it is to be remarked, that they never afterwards appear in connection with the barony in any document. It would seem that all these lands, at least Ordiquish, Garbity, and Sheriffston, were exchanged by John Grant, second Laird of Freuchie, when his daughter Margaret married Thomas Cumming, younger of Erneside, for the half of the lands of Mulben and Mekill Balmabrochs, in the shire of Elgin.

In 1536, when James Grant "the Bold" was retoured heir to his father, John Grant of Freuchie, the barony of Freuchie comprised only such lands as were situated in the county of Inverness, and mention is for the first time made of the Castle and fortalice of Freuchie.² Before 1553, an addition appears to have been made to the barony in the lands of Auldcharn, which, after this date, are always enumerated among the lands of the barony. On the other hand, a slight diminution in the real extent of the barony took place in 1564 by the disposition to the Cummings of Erneside, of the south half of Dalfour, with a sixteenth part of the north half, leaving so much of Dalfour in the barony as to preserve a nominal completeness. This disposition was in fulfilment of a contract dated in 1508, but which had not been implemented.

The barony of Freuchie, as thus composed of the lands of Freuchie, with castle and fortalice thereof, mills, etc., viz., the Castletown of Freuchie, Dalfour, Auchingall, the two Culfoichs, the two Congashes, Auldcharn, and Glenloch, was held of the Crown on the usual terms, and is stated in 1553 and 1589 to be worth forty merks annually, and in time of peace thirty-three merks. This was the valuation of the Crown. An old rental of 1611 shows the value of these lands to the family of Grant in the time of King James the Sixth, with the burdens upon each davoch, and the various payments in kind made by the tenants to the Laird.³ The davochs were rented according to the nature of their soil, relative fertility,

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 13-15, 18.

² *Ibid.* p. 81.

³ *Vide* excerpt in vol. iii. of this work, pp. 300-313.

etc., some paying as much as £80 Scots annually, and others less than £10, of land maill, with corresponding sums in teind maill and vicarage, and a grassum generally every five years. The payments in kind were composed of a certain number of bolls of multuro bear, also wedders, lambs, kids, salmon, poultry, geese, and capons, in quantities proportioned to the respective rents. The total amounts of rental and other money payments in 1611 were:—Grassum, £223, 6s. 4d. ; land maill, £494, 13s. 4d. ; teind maill, £9, 6s. 8d. ; vicarage, £15, 4s. 4d. The rents paid in kind were seventeen bolls of multuro bear, nineteen and a half wedders, one lamb, twenty-four kids, thirty pounds of salmon, one hundred and seventy-nine poultry, twenty-four geese, and twelve capons.

This barony of Freuchie did not form a compact estate. It was divided into two portions by intervening lands. One of these portions embraced the lands of Freuchie, Auchingall, the two Culfoichs, and Dalfour, all of which were contiguous to the castle of Freuchie. The other portion was situated on the east side of the Spey, higher up the river, and in the parish of Abernethy. It comprised the lands of the two Congashes, Auld-charn and Glenloch, and these stretching from the Spey to Strathavon, formed a complete section across the parish of Abernethy. The lands which intersected the barony were those of Auchnarrows, Downan, and Port, pertaining to Patrick Grant of Auchnarrows, the son of Marjory Lade, but they were ultimately acquired by the Lairds of Grant.

As thus constituted, however, Freuchie continued to form a distinct barony and the principal possession of the Grant family until 1694, when Ludovick Grant obtained the Crown charter erecting all his lands into the REGALTY OF GRANT, and the barony of Freuchie was absorbed in it.

Although the castle or fortalice of Freuchie is not mentioned before the year 1536 in any of the charters which have been preserved, there can be little doubt that in the time of Sir Duncan Grant, the first of Freuchie, and also at an earlier period, the lands possessed a mansion-house. In the year 1489 Freuchie is described as the messuage.¹ It is possible that in the older barony some other place was the principal messuage, and that after the consolidation of his estates in 1493, John Grant of Freuchie chose,

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 38.

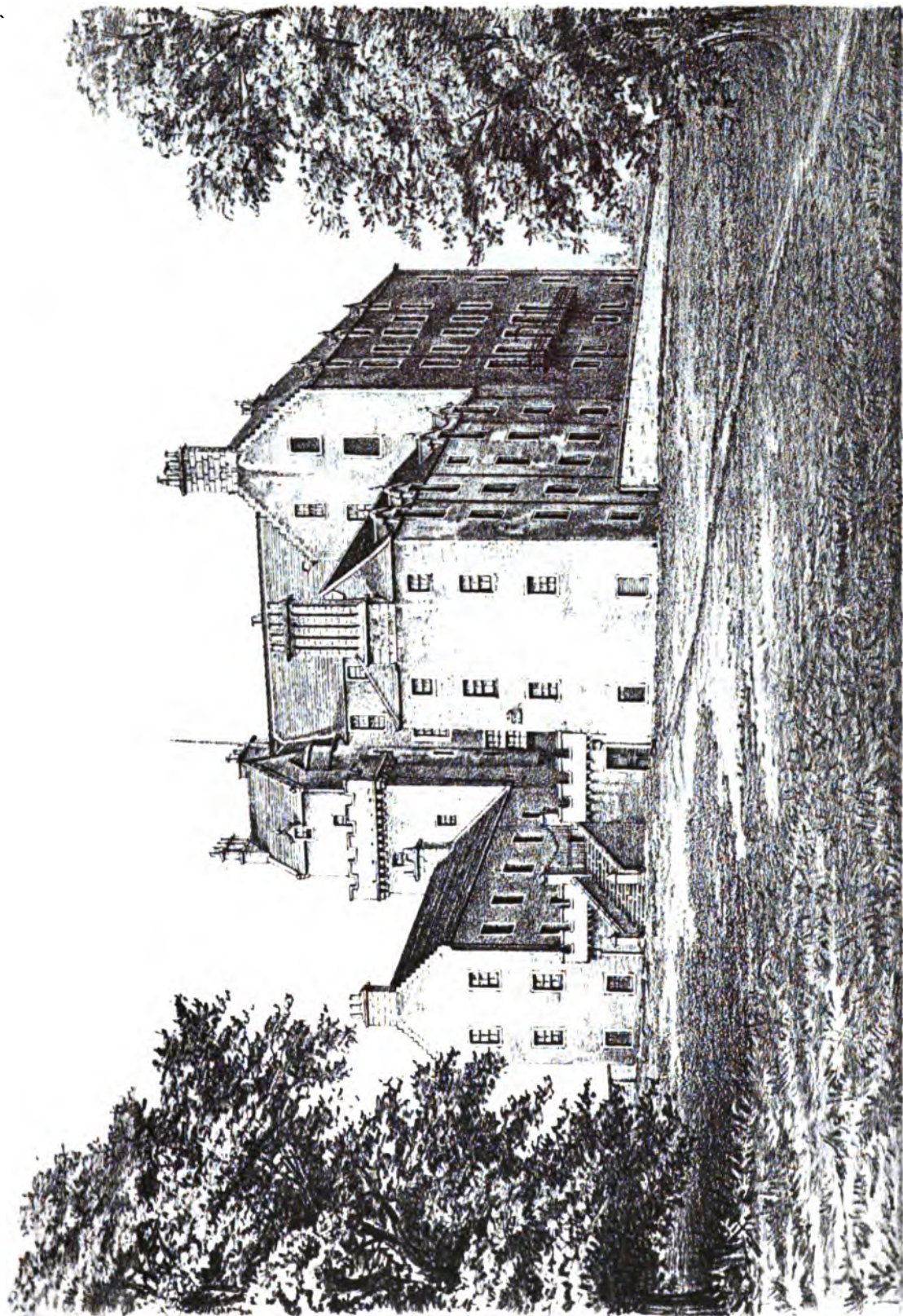
as the site of a residence, the lands from which the new barony was named. It is more probable, however, that the lands of Freuchie were always the principal part of the barony of Freuchie; but as the castle and fortalice of Freuchie are first mentioned in the retour of James Grant of Freuchie, his son, on 3d October 1536, it may be presumed that John Grant either rebuilt his residence, or extended the edifice which then existed.

The castle of Freuchie was frequently designated Ballachastell, which, literally rendered, is the town of the castle.¹ In like manner the dominical lands or mains of Freuchie were frequently called the lands or mains of Ballachastell. The names were often used interchangeably. Thus James Grant of Freuchie made his testament on 1st June 1553 at his place of Ballachastell, and a few weeks later, on the 22d of August, it is described as his castle of Freuchie. His son and successor, John Grant of Freuchie, who was in possession of the barony for about thirty years, dated his feudal documents sometimes from Freuchie, but more frequently from Ballachastell, and the latter appears to have been the designation preferred by succeeding Lairds until the erection of the Regality of Grant. Then it took its present designation from the name of its proprietors, and to this day remains CASTLE GRANT.

As the principal residence of the family of Grant, Castle Grant has been cherished and venerated not only by the members of the family, but by all the name of Grant, as the home of their chief. The castle itself is an imposing pile, reared on one of the most commanding positions in Strath-spey. Its outlook is at once varied, extensive, and magnificent, over a country which, for many miles around, owns its baronial sway. A writer of the eighteenth century, describing the view, says:—

“The house commands a pretty extensive and pleasing landscape. Southward, the deep forest of Abernethy, its broad dark green plain encroaching on the dusky side of the lofty Cairngorm, the pale rolling cloud seizing at times its summit, equalling its peerless elevation with the humbler hills, and the mountain anon discharging the hovering vapour in lingering detachments, resumes its proud pre eminence, and looks down upon its neighbours. Spread eastward lies the wide-bending cultivated

¹ It is also sometimes spelt Balloch Castle, that is, the castle in the pass.



C A S T L E G R A N T

plain of Cromdale, its green level border illuminated by the blue rolling river. On the north and west an irregularly curved range of hill displays upon its side the verdant mantle of flourishing plantation. The park itself is of great extent, diversified with the agreeable variety of thicket, grove and forest, cornfield and meadow; a double line of tall trees extend a cool shade over a long lane, by the lofty canopy of their intermingled foliage, impervious to the summer sun and the slighter shower; the trim garden, the ornamented shrubbery, and several pleasant ridings, may suggest a general idea of the environs of this respectable mansion, the extent of which may be conceived by the compass occupied by the wood, nearly four thousand acres."¹

The fabric of the castle is of various dates, one portion, called Babie's Tower, being considerably the most ancient. Formerly, the castle was built to face the south, and the workmanship on that side is traceable to the fifteenth century, but at a later period, in the time of Sir Ludovick Grant, the principal face was made to front the north, and wings were then built out to the south. Among the internal features of the castle may be mentioned the magnificent dining-hall, forty-seven feet in length, twenty-seven in breadth, and of a proportional height, its walls adorned with numerous and rare works of art, among which are many ancestral portraits. Drawing-rooms, staircases, and several of the numerous bed-rooms are similarly ornamented. A list of these portraits and paintings is given at the end of this volume.

The armoury, too, is extensive, and contains an excellent collection of warlike panoply, armour defensive and weapons offensive, of modern and remoter times. A list, dated in 1720, of the guns and other weapons in the castle contains among others the following :—

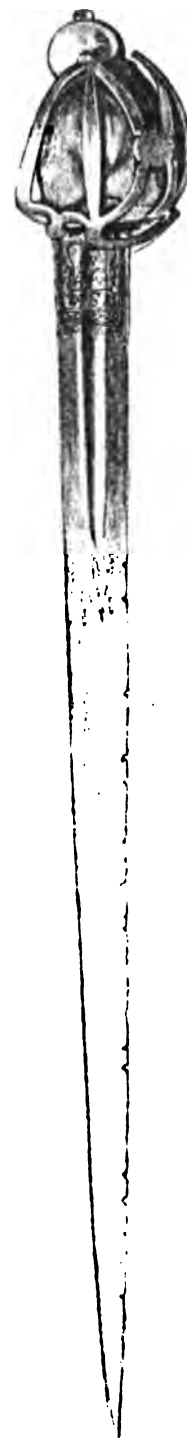
Baillie Clerk's long gun.	The gilt gun of the famelic.
Colonel Grant's long gun.	The double barrell'd gun.
Glenmorison's long gun.	Mr. Alex ^r Ogilvie's gun.
Belindalloch's eight squair gun.	Pitchases eight squair gun, marked J. G.
Peter Haberon's gun.	The short waipon gun.
Belindalloch's carved gun.	My Lady Down's long fusie.
Litcheston's whippe.	The Dutch fusie with the brass lock.

¹ Survey of the Province of Moray, 1708, pp. 271, 272.

Two round barrelled fusies made by Smairt . . .	The Glainar.
The club marked number twelve.	Tannachie's rifle . . .
The cartridge rifle.	Three larg brass blunderbushes.
Delvey's rifle.	Two small brass blunderbushes.
Cuthbert's rifle . . .	Three iron blunderbushes.
The Huzar, number nineteen.	A short carraben with a Highland lock.
Carron's rifle . . .	Kinmillies long gun.
A rifle by Barber.	A Highland gun.
	Twentie-four muskets in the gun case in the hall.
Hyland Guns.	
Jean Cumming.	A case of pistoles, with silver mounting . . .
Seaforth's gilt gun.	The two-handed sword.
The gilt rifle.	The sword of the famely.
Sir John Grant's litle gun.	Seven brod swords . . .
Alister More's gun.	A syd pistoll, with Grant of that Ilk on the barrell. ¹
The steel gun.	

An interesting inventory of the plenishing of Castle Grant, taken about the year 1711, and estimated upon oath before two justices of Moray, gives details of the rooms in the Castle and their furnishings. In the "roome caled young Grantes room" there was a "bed of dark coulered strip-stuff, lyned with red satin;" and he had also a drawing-room. The "gilded roome" contained "one red silk damask bed, lyned with whyt cessenot; . . . the gray damask roome, one gray damask silk bed, lyned with blew satine; . . . the wester gallaric, one dark coulered cloth bed, lyned with red cessenot; . . . the easter gallaric, one grein stuff bed; . . . the roome above the dressing-roome, one blew stamp worsted stuff bed; . . . the roome above young Grantes roome, one strip bed of hemp and worsted stuff; . . . Gellowaye's roome, an old dark coulered cloth bed," and corresponding furniture in each of these rooms. There are also mentioned the drawing-room, the dining-room, the school chamber, the "nursarie," Rorie's chamber, and Dugall's chamber, two rooms "in the new wark," and the "women house." Other portions of the inventory deal with general furniture, wardrobes, bedding, napery, kitchen and pewter vessels, and among the silver plate are mentioned, "ane large cup with ano cover, gifted be the Laird of Grant to his sone George," a gilded bason, a gilded laver, two

¹ The longest gun has engraved on the barrel, largest brass blunderbusses is inscribed, "Grant's Clerk to the Laird of Grant;" and on one of the pocket pistol."



OLD TARGETS & SWORD AT CASTLE GRANT.

posset cups, a gilded cup with a cover, "ane old-fashioned cup and cover," a porringer, "ane litle brandie cup," with knives, forks, candlesticks, etc.¹

"There is a pleasant summer parlour," wrote Mrs. Grant of Laggan, after a visit to the Castle in 1785, to a friend, "opening with a glass door to the garden, the walls of which are entirely covered with the portraits of those lesser gentry around, who were attached, many of them, by the double tie of kindred and feudal subjection. This last was rather patriarchal sway, as they managed it. Never, surely, was power so gently used, or protection so gratefully acknowledged. Those endearing, though invisible and undefinable ties, that have for generations held these people so strongly to each other and to their chief, produce united effects, which afford one of the most pleasing views of human nature that can be met with." Referring to the portraits, she says, "The castle is a spacious, convenient, and elegant mansion, where many heroes of the family 'on animated canvas seem to frown.' Some of these are very characteristic of the amiable propensity of this family, to cherish the inferior gentry and their humble relations who 'dwelt under their shadow.' . . . Everything evinces an abode where baronial pomp and hospitality still continue to linger, softened by the milder graces of modern elegance."²

And so another writer. "Everything within and without denotes the habitation of a chieftain, and brings to remembrance those days in which the head of every tribe was surrounded by his own clan. His castle was their fortress; his approbation was their pride; his protection was both their duty and their interest, for in his safety their own fate was involved. In his hall stood the board to which they were always welcome; there he sat with all the feelings of a father in the midst of his children; he acted as their general in the day of battle; their judge in the time of peace; and was at all times their friend."³

To the hospitable board of the castle not only the members of the clan but travellers were made welcome. In the time of John Grant, who was laird from 1585 till 1622, the "penniless pilgrim" was entertained at the castle during his travels in Scotland in the year 1618. The pilgrim

¹ Original Inventory at Castle Grant.

² Letters from the Mountains, vol. ii, pp. 100, 101.

³ Robertson's Agricultural View of Inverness-shire.

was John Taylor, the "Water Poet," who, as explained by the editor of his works, undertook the journey from London without any money. After giving an account of his hunting in Braemar and Badenoch, he tells of his arrival and entertainment at Castle Grant.

"From thence we went to a place called Balloch Castle (Ballacastle), now Castle Grant, a fair and stately house, a worthy gentleman being the owner of it, called the Laird of Grant; his wife being a gentlewoman honourably descended, being sister to the Right Honourable Earl of Athole, and to Sir Patrick Murray, Knight; she being, both inwardly and outwardly, plentifully adorned with the gifts of grace and nature; so that our cheer was more than sufficient, and yet much less than they could afford us. There stayed there four days four earls, one lord, divers knights and gentlemen and their servants, footmen, and horses; in every meal four long tables furnished with all varieties; our first and second course being threescore dishes at one board, and after that always a banquet; and there, if I had not forsworn wine till I came to Edinburgh, I think I had there drunk my last."¹

During a tour in the north of Scotland in 1787, Robert Burns also paid a short visit to the castle.

During the rebellion of 1745-46, and shortly before the battle of Culloden, Castle Grant had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the rebels, who occupied it for some days. Happily, however, no injury was done beyond the consumption of its stores.

A remarkable relic is preserved in Castle Grant known as "Comyn's skull." It is a human skull, cut in two halves, with hinges added to make the two halves open and shut like a box. The skull, according to tradition, is that of the last Comyn of Freuchie, preserved as a relic of the traditional feuds between the Grants and the Comyns, and the final triumph of the former.

¹ Works of John Taylor, the Water Poet, edited by Charles Hindley, 1872. p. 55.

THE BARONY AND LORDSHIP OF GLENCARNIE
IN THE PARISH OF DUTHIL AND COUNTY OF INVERNESS.

Along with the barony of Freuchie, the family of Grant held, as one of their early possessions, the ancient lordship or barony of Glencarnie, in the parish of Duthil. This barony, though formerly included in the sheriffdom of Inverness, was transferred for a time to that of Elgin or Moray, but by Act of Parliament, passed in 1870, it was restored to its original position in Inverness-shire. The Act defines the boundary line between the two counties as extending "from the mouth of the river Dulnan where it enters the river Spey, up the river Dulnan to the point where the Muckrach or Findlarigg Burn enters it, thence up the Muckrach or Findlarigg Burn to a point thereon where a stone marked 'County Boundary' has been placed, five hundred and seventy-two yards or thereby, measuring in a straight line from the well called Fuaranahanish Well, lying on the south side of the hill called Bannmore, and from the last mentioned point on the said Muckrach or Findlarigg Burn in a straight line to the said well, which is a point on the present boundary between the counties of Inverness and Elgin or Moray."¹

No district in the Grant country is known by the designation of Glencarnie at the present time. The lands comprising the ancient lordship lie, for the most part, in the parish of Duthil, and the parochial name has, for all purposes of utility, taken the prominence, leaving to the older designation a significance mainly historical. But as a historic and ancient lordship, famous not only in its own day of greatness, but even now also for its wealth of traditional and legendary romance, Glencarnie demands more than a merely passing notice.

Glenkerny, Glenchernyn, Glenchairnycht, Glencarnin, from the Gaelic, *Gleann a Ceatharnach*, that is, the valley of the heroes, appears to have derived its name from the use of the place by the natives in prehistoric times, for the purposes of interment, especially of their warriors. The

¹ The Inverness and Elgin County Boundaries Act, 1870.

Scoticised name of Glencarnie seems also a most fit designation for the district, for as each warrior was honoured with the erection of a cairn over the spot where he lay buried,¹ and as the number of these graves with their surmounting cairns was very great, no more suitable appellation for the district could have been invented than the Glen of Cairns, or Glencarnie.

Although the name has changed, the nature of the country is still characteristic of its ancient designation. A learned and observant visitor to Duthil in 1873 has given an interesting description of the district:—

“It was impossible to live for weeks at Carr Bridge and not see a considerable number of cairns. Close to it, indeed, there is a district called Docharn, which probably means the Davoch of the Cairns. I did not count the number of small cairns which are to be found on this and the adjoining farms, but I am certainly correct when I say that there are hundreds. The majority of them are small. There are three, however, of great size. The largest of these is at Tom-tigh-an-leighe—the hill of the house of the doctor. . . . The second in size of the three great cairns, is on the top of a knoll in the wood, just above Dochlagie. It is sixty feet in diameter, and nine to ten feet high.”² The third cairn is described by the writer as being much smaller in size, and as standing near the old house of Inverlaidnan, where Prince Charlie once passed a night. In this cairn, human remains were found in a stone cist. He describes also a peculiar cairn known as the Granish or Grenish Circle or Ring Cairn, which “lies in the Grenish wood, about five miles from Carr Bridge, on the way to Aviemore, on the west side of a small loch, called Loch na Carraghean. It consists of two great circles of standing stones, the outer circle being sixty and the inner

¹ “These immense accumulations of stones are the sepulchral protections of the heroes among the ancient natives of our islands: the stone chests, the repository of the urns and ashes, are lodged in the earth beneath. The people of a whole district assembled to show their respect to the deceased, and by an active honouring of his memory, soon accumulated heaps equal to those that astonish us at this time. But these honours were not merely those of the day. As long as the memory of the deceased endured, not a passenger went by without adding a stone to the heap; they supposed it would be an

honour to the dead, and acceptable to his *manes*. . . . To this moment there is a proverbial expression among the Highlanders, allusive to the old practice: a suppliant will tell his patron *Curri mi cloch er do charne*, I will add a stone to your cairn, meaning when you are no more, I will do all possible honour to your memory.” [Pennant's *Voyage to the Hebrides*, pp. 206, 208, 209.]

² *Vacation Notes in Cromar and Strathspey*, by Arthur Mitchell, M.D., V.P.S.A. Scot.; printed in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. x. p. 683.

twenty-four feet in diameter. It is thus a structure of great size. The stones forming the circles are about three feet above ground, and are close together. The space between the two circles is eighteen feet wide, and it is filled to the level of the top of the standing stones which define it, with loose stones, which are not large, are generally waterworn, and exhibit no sign of building."¹ The writer expresses the opinion that these cairns are not meaningless aggregations of stones, but that they were collected and arranged methodically with a purpose. "There is another thought," says he, "which seemed ever present to my mind while I was living beside these great cairns, and seeing them constantly. It was this. Do we not look too contemptuously on the people who erected them? Whoever they were they built tombs for their great men, and over these raised vast and enduring monuments. A cairn, seventy feet across, and twenty feet high, is no insignificant conception, nor is it an easy thing to erect such a cairn. They were not stupid savages who conceived and erected such memorials. In whatever light they regarded death, they certainly treated their dead with respect, and thought greatness worthy of commemoration. If we are descended from them, as I hope we are, we have no reason, I think, to be ashamed of our ancestors, who, though uncivilised, were certainly not feeble. It is possible, indeed, that they were potentially as good men as we are. Even in numbers they can scarcely have been much behind us—that is, if we leave out of view our great cities. Looking, indeed, at the number and size of the cairns still remaining in this district, it seems to me that there must have been as great a population between the two Craigellachies in the cairn times as in ours."²

The traditions of Glencarnie for the most part encircle the lady who was the last representative of the earliest known Lairds of Glencarnie, and the connecting link between them and their successors, the family of Grant. Traditionally she is known as Bigla Comyn, on the supposition that the early Lairds of Glencarnie, of whom the last was her father, Gilbert, were of the family of the Comyns. For this, however, there is no foundation in fact, as will presently be shown. The remains of an old castle are still visible on a steep bank of the Spey near Boat of Garten station on the Highland

¹ Vacation Notes, p. 685.

² *Ibid.* p. 685.

Railway. This is said to have been the site of the lady's stronghold, and is commonly known as Tom Pitlac, or Bigla's Castle. The building stood on an elevated plateau, protected on one side by the river, and on the other three sides by a deep moat. So close to the river was the castle, that tradition relates that a practice existed of fishing from its windows by means of a net let down into the stream, the arrangement of which was such that the fish, in the act of entering the net, rang a bell in a room of the castle. Many other traditions are current in Duthil regarding this lady, connecting her with whatever is peculiar in the district. The building of the kirk of Duthil is also ascribed to this wonderful lady, although there is evidence of the existence of a church there two centuries before the period generally assigned as that in which she flourished. But traditions are proverbially anachronistic, and those of the Duthil heroine are no exception to the rule.

It is the commonly received opinion, based, there can be little doubt, on the traditions which exist with regard to the supposed Bigla or Matilda Cumming, that the old Lairds of Glencarnie were of the Comyn family. This, however, is refuted by the facts now to be stated regarding the early history of Glencarnie and its possessors. That there were Comyns in the neighbouring district of Badenoch and elsewhere is matter of history, but there is not the slightest trace of their alleged connection with Glencarnie. Even the cherished tradition that Glencarnie was first acquired by the Grants through the marriage of Sir Duncan Grant's father with Matilda, the heiress of the last of the Glencarnies of that ilk,—the lady whose name is generally associated with the traditional Bigla,—must also be discarded in the light of authentic history.

The lands of Glencarnie first appear as a possession of Gilchrist of Glencarnie, a younger son of Gilbert, third Earl of Strathern, the grandson, through Earl Farquhar, his father, of Malise, the first known Earl of Strathern. Earl Gilbert founded the monastery of Inchaffrey in his own earldom. His grandfather appears on authentic record as early as the year 1115, when he witnessed the charter of foundation of the Priory of Scone by King Alexander the First. It was this Earl Malise who greatly distinguished himself at the battle of the Standard, fought on 22d

August 1138, when, indignant at the confidence placed by King David the First in his Norman knights, he exclaimed, "Why, O King, are you more willing to confide in these Normans? Unarmed as I am, not one of them, with all their mail, shall be before me in the fight this day."¹

The charters of earliest date in the collection printed in this work refer to the lands of Glencarnie in the time of Gilbert, third Earl of Strathern. The first charter is a grant by King William the Lion to Earl Gilbert of the lands of Kinbethach, and appears to have been bestowed about the year 1180. The second charter, also by King William the Lion, contains the earliest reference to the lands of Glencarnie, as it confirms a gift made by Earl Gilbert to his son Gilchrist of the lands of Kinnebethin² and Glancarnin, to be held of the Earl in fee and heritage. The charter of confirmation is dated at Forfar, 16th April, apparently about the year 1205. The third charter is by King Alexander the Second, dated at Dunfermline on 12th February, *circa* 1220-6, and confirms the grant of 1205.³

Gilchrist, the son of Earl Gilbert, died in 1198, and the lands of Glencarnie appear to have passed into the possession of his brother Gilbert. This Gilbert, who, about the year 1232,⁴ is designed son of Gilbert, late Earl of Strathern, and is mentioned as patron of the kirk of Duthil, entered into an agreement on 12th September 1232 with Andrew Bishop of Moray, whereby it was provided that Gilbert and his heirs should hold of the Bishops of Moray the half davach of Kyncarny in feu-farm, for payment to them of three marks yearly and the forensic service due to the King, there being reserved to the Bishops of Moray the persons born on the land (*nativis hominibus*).⁵ Some years later the owners of Glencarnie adopted their local designation as a surname, and Gilbert appears to have been knighted. About 1256 Sir Gilbert of Glencarnie received from Alan Durward (Hostiarius Scotiae) a charter of half his lands of Tulachfyn in

¹ Fordun (Ed. 1872), Appendix, p. 443.

² As to this name, a Gaelic scholar in the district explains that Kinbethach and Kinnebethin are the same as the modern Kinveachy. The word means the head or end of birch or birchwood. The Gaelic for birch is *beith*, pronounced *veigh*, and birchwood may be translated *beitheach*. The end or head of

birchwood would be written *Ceann a beithich*, and pronounced, *Kin-ve-ich*. The presence of the letter *n* in Kinveachy is accounted for by the fact that the letter *b* in *beitheach* is in the genitive changed into *bh*, which has the force of *r*.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 1, 2.

⁴ Registrum Moraviense, p. 93. ⁵ *Ibid.* p. 89.

Mar. Sir Gilbert had a son, Gilbert "de Glennegerni," junior, who married Marjory, sister of Sir John Prat, and received with her from Sir John Prat the lands of Daltely or Daltulich in Moray,¹ the charter of which was confirmed by King Alexander the Third at Aboyne on 14th August 1267. At the same time the King also confirmed another charter by Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith, with consent of Countess Mary, granting to Gilbert, son of Sir Gilbert of Glencarnie, the western half of the town of Broculy, in the district of Menteith.

On succeeding to his father, Gilbert junior assumed the title of third Lord of Glencarnie. Under this designation he, with consent of his second wife, Matilda, on 2d February 1280, granted to his eldest son Gilbert the land of Gerbothy, to be held of the granters for payment of a pair of white gloves yearly at the term of Whitsunday to either of them, and for the rendering of the Scotch service (*Scoticanum seruicium*) due to the king therefrom. The charter is dated at Glencarnie, which indicates the existence of a manor-place or fortalice as the residence of the Lords of Glencarnie.²

The lands of Glencarnie, as has been shown, were held of the Earls of Strathern. This is acknowledged, and the terms of holding further elucidated in a letter granted on 24th June 1306, by Malise Earl of Strathern to Sir Gilbert of Glencarnie, in which the former recognises the services of the latter in adhering to, and remaining with him with his forces in the Scottish war, against the tenor of his charter, promises that these services shall not be to his prejudice, and that such should never be required from Sir Gilbert nor his heirs in future unless at their own pleasure.³ Shortly after this, however, the immediate superiority of the lordship of Glencarnie, for reasons which have not been ascertained, was transferred from the Earls of Strathern to the Earls of Moray. In a charter by King Robert the Bruce to Sir Thomas Randolph, granting him the earldom of Moray, the king annexes to the grant of the Crown lands in Moray as they had existed in the time of King Alexander the Third, certain other lands adjacent to them, stretching from the water of Spey on the east to the western shore of Glenelg, and including Badenoch, Kincardine, and

¹ Daltulich is on the eastern border of the parish of Ardelach, in the county of Sairn.

² Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 6, 7.

³ *Ibid.* p. 8.

Glencarnie, with Lochaber and a large extent of other territory.¹ But after the failure of Randolph's male line, and the resumption of the earldom by the Crown, which appears to have been prior to 1362, the then Gilbert, Lord of Glencarnie, made resignation of his lordship in the hands of King David the Second, and received from him a charter, dated at Aberdeen, 18th January 1362, regranteeing all the lands of the barony of Glencarnie, with pertinents, within the shire of Inverness, in the earldom of Moray. These lands were to be held of the Crown by Gilbert and the heirs-male of his body, failing whom, by Duncan Fraser and Christian his spouse, Gilbert's sister, and the heirs-male of their bodies, and failing them by the heirs of line of Gilbert for services due and wont.²

The barony of Glencarnie continued in the male line of the Glencarnies of that ilk, and with the exception of the first Laird, in an unbroken succession of Gilberts until the reign of King Robert the Third, when, in 1391, the then Laird Gilbert exchanged with Marjory, Countess of Moray, and Thomas of Dunbar, Earl of Moray, her son, his paternal inheritance of Glencarnie for the lands of the two Fochabers in Strathspey, and the liferent lease of the land of Mayne, near Elgin, to be held in feu and heritage of the Earls of Moray.³ But in 1398, Gilbert of Glencarnie sold the lands of Fochabers to Thomas of Dunbar, Earl of Moray, the former proprietor, for £100 sterling "of the vsuale monay of Scotland." In the agreement for the sale of these lands, dated at Elgin, 26th March 1398, the seller is designated "Gilbert of Glencherny, than Lord of Fochabirris, tenand of that ilke land," showing that the excambion had been effected, and that Glencarnie had again become a possession of the Earls of Moray.⁴

Sir Duncan Grant of Freuchie, as son to Matilda of Glencarnie, only daughter and heiress of the last-mentioned Gilbert, became heir, after his mother's death, to what remained of her father's lands, as well as to those which had been possessed by Matilda herself. As heir to his mother, Duncan Grant obtained a precept from King James the First, dated 31st January 1434, for his infeftment in the lands of the fifth part of the barony

¹ Registrum Moraviense, p. 342.

² Registrum Magni Sigilli, p. 24. Charter printed in vol. iii. of this work, p. 12.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 14, 15.

of Rothes Wiseman and Barmuckity, the two Fochabers, and the half part of Sheriffston.¹ As heir to his grandfather, Sir Duncan Grant received a precept from King James the Third, dated 3d March 1468, for his infeftment in the lands of Congash.² But no reference is made to the lands or the lordship of Glencarnie as forming any part of the possessions of either Gilbert of Glencarnie or his daughter Matilda.

Matilda of Glencarnie was not a Comyn. It so happens, however, that a part of the lands of Glencarnie had almost passed into the hands of a Comyn about this very time. On 28th May 1408, Sir Thomas of Dunbar, Earl of Moray, promised his sister Euphame in marriage to Alexander Comyn, and pledged himself to give with her twenty merks worth of land within his lands of Glencarnie, his mansion-house and demesne excepted, to the heirs of the marriage.³ But there were difficulties in the way of the fulfilment of the latter part of the contract. The Lord of the Isles had at the time a lease of Glencarnie from the Earl of Moray, and until it expired, Alexander Comyn was to receive a corresponding amount of land from the Earl of Moray. Shaw states that Comyn never got Glencarnie at all, receiving instead the warrandice lands of Logie, Sluie, Presley, Branchell, and Craigmiln, in the county of Elgin and Forres.⁴

The forfeiture of the Douglasses in 1455 brought the earldom of Moray, and with it the lordship of Glencarnie, into the possession of the Crown. Immediately afterwards, Glencarnie appears to have been let on lease at an annual rent of £110, as in the account rendered in Exchequer on 19th July 1457, William, Thane of Cawdor, and Mr. Thomas Carmichael, canon of Moray, the king's chamberlains north of the Spey, credit themselves with £55 as the rent of the lordship for the single term of Whitsunday of that year. In another part of the same account they are allowed on this sum £10, which fell to be deducted from the rent of the lordship of Glencarnie, because the king was letting it at a lower rent for this term than the sum with which they had previously credited themselves.⁵ The rental would thus be lowered to the sum of £90 annually.

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 18.

² *Ibid.* p. 29.

³ History of Province of Moray, by Lachlan Shaw, p. 475.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 475.

⁵ Et eisdem ex decedencia firmatum domini de

Glencharny quia pro parte Regis minus assedabantur de hoc termino quam in oneracione supradicta continetur prout facta fuit fides super computum xli. [The Thanes of Cawdor, pp. 30, 31.]

Out of the £55 received as first mentioned, one-third, £18, 6s. 8d., was paid to Sir John Ogilvy as the terce due from the lands of Glencarnie for the term mentioned to his spouse, Elizabeth of Dunbar, widow of the late Alexander Douglas, Earl of Moray.¹

Who the Crown tacksman of the lordship of Glencarnie was does not appear. Tradition connects Duncan Grant of Freuchie with the lands of Glencarnie at this date, and it may be perfectly correct in doing so. It is the case that Duncan Grant of Freuchie was, in 1457, the Crown tacksman of the lands of Ballindalloch, which lands are afterwards closely associated with Glencarnie. In the account to which reference has just been made, there is allowed to the accounters by the auditor the sum of £3, 6s. 8d. "of the rents of the lands of Ballyndalach, which comprise one davoch, are situated in Strathown, and pertain to the property of Moray, which Duncan Grant holds, but from the enjoyment of which he is deterred by Sir Walter Stewart."² It is not, therefore, improbable that Duncan Grant was the tacksman of Glencarnie, and it is all the more likely from the interest he had in the lands through his mother. Shaw, on the authority of the Exchequer Rolls, states that the lordship of Glencarnie was set in lease by the Crown to Sir Duncan Grant in the year 1478.³ This is the earliest authentic intimation of the possession of Glencarnie by the Grants of Freuchie, but the lease mentioned in the Rolls may have been only a renewal of a previous one. The lease of 1478 was renewed and converted into a feu in favour of Sir Duncan Grant's grandson and successor, John Grant, second Laird of Freuchie, by a charter of King James the Fourth, dated 4th February 1498, when the rent of the lands is still further reduced. This charter is still preserved at Castle Grant, and narrates the good, faithful, and thankful service, rendered and to be rendered by the said John in peace and in war, for which the King bestows all "our lands of Glencarnie and Balnadalach, and mills thereof, within our sheriffdom of Elgin and Forres," to be held in fee and heritago for a yearly rent of £71 Scots, paid at the customary terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas, in name

¹ The Thanes of Cawdor, p. 29.

² *Ibid.* p. 31. Sir Walter Stewart of Strathavon inherited Strathavon from his father, Sir Andrew Stewart, natural son of Alexander Stewart,

Earl of Buchan, Lord of Badenoch and Strathavon, who was a son of King Robert the Second. [Antiquities of Aberdeenshire, vol. ii. pp. 295, 296.]

³ History of the Province of Moray, p. 475.

of feu-farm only. It further stipulates that should John Grant or his heirs fail in payment of the rent at the specified terms, or at least, if one term's payment had not been made on the arrival of the ensuing term, the donation and infestment were thereupon to be of no force or effect.¹ Sasine of the lands of Ballindalloch was given to John Grant of Freuchie at the "place of Ballindalloch, as the principal messuage" of the lands, on 8th April 1499,² and on the same day sasine of the lands of Glencarnie is said to have been given at Mullochard, "locum de Mulquuharde, principale messuagium dictarum terrarum."³

After the death of John Grant, which took place on 1st May 1528, his son, James Grant, third Laird of Freuchie, obtained from King James the Fifth a gift under the Privy Seal of the non-entry duties of Glencarnie, Ballindalloch and Urquhart. The gift is dated 24th December 1529.⁴ It would also appear as if a question had been raised as to the position of Glencarnie in regard to the King's rental, as about this time James Grant of Freuchie was summoned at the King's instance before the Lords of Council for the payment of the rent of Glencarnie for the then current year, 1529, and arrears for sixteen years immediately preceding.

The earldom of Moray had been bestowed by King James the Fourth on James Stewart, his natural son by Janet Kennedy, and from the date of that king's death it would seem that the payment of the rents of the lands of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch had been made to the Earl of Moray instead of to the Crown, probably at the instance of the young Earl's advisers, who evidently desired the re-annexation of the lordship of Glencarnie to the earldom of Moray. King James the Fifth, however, was not inclined to augment his natural brother's rental at the expense of his own; hence the claim against the Laird of Freuchie. During the dependence of the claim James Grant succeeded in obtaining from King James the Fifth a confirmation of the charter made by his royal father to the late Laird of Freuchie, and in ratifying the deed the king adds, that though the said late John and James Grant now of Freuchie, his son and heir, have failed in payment of the feu-farm rents of these lands to

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 43, 44.

² Original Instrument of Sasine in Grant Charter-chest.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 44, *note*.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 73.

the Crown for the last seventeen years or thereabout, having instead paid them to the Earl of Moray ; nevertheless no injury, damage, or prejudice shall accrue to the said James Grant, his heirs or assignees, and that they shall not incur any risk or danger of the loss of feu-farm or heritage of the said lands, notwithstanding any laws, Acts of Parliament, etc., whatever made or to be made in the contrary. King James concludes by renouncing all claim to these lands on account of the non-payment of the rent. This document is dated 19th March 1529-30.¹

In return for this renunciation a composition was agreed upon between the Crown and James Grant of Freuchie, which was nothing else, it would appear, than the paying up of the whole of the arrears. This is evident from the decret of the Lords of Council in the case, dated 30th March 1530, eleven days after the granting of the above ratification, in which James Grant, as heir to his father, is adjudged to pay to the king £71 yearly, for unpaid feu-duties of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch for sixteen years previous to 1529, and £71 for that year's rent. On producing the confirmation by King James under the Privy Seal, James Grant was absolved from the penalty of the forfeiture of these lands. The decret reserves to James Grant his action against the Earl of Moray, to whom he had paid the feu-duties. This decision was confirmed by King James the Fifth on 2d April 1532.² James Grant did take steps to reimburse himself from the Earl of Moray, a notarial instrument being still extant in the Grant Charter-chest, drawn up at Edinburgh on 28th March 1530, in which he required the Earl of Moray to relieve, defend, and protect him from loss in this matter, and protested, in the event of his declining, that he would seek redress in the proper quarter.³

The Earl of Moray responded to the demand, and a bond was executed between them at Elgin, on 21st June 1530, stating that forasmuch as James Grant of Freuchie had become "man and seruant" to the Earl of Moray, the latter strictly bound himself to use all possible diligence with the King and others to secure the lands of Glencarnie in the hand of the Laird of Grant, to give up all claim which he had to them in favour of the said James Grant, excepting the feu penny mail only contained in the Laird's

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 74.

² *Ibid.* pp. 74-76.

³ *Ibid.* p. 266.

infertment, if he could procure it from the King, and to obtain a sufficient discharge from the King and the Treasurer of the arrears of rent, so that the Laird of Grant should incur no loss.¹ It does not appear that the Earl of Moray succeeded in getting the feu penny mail.

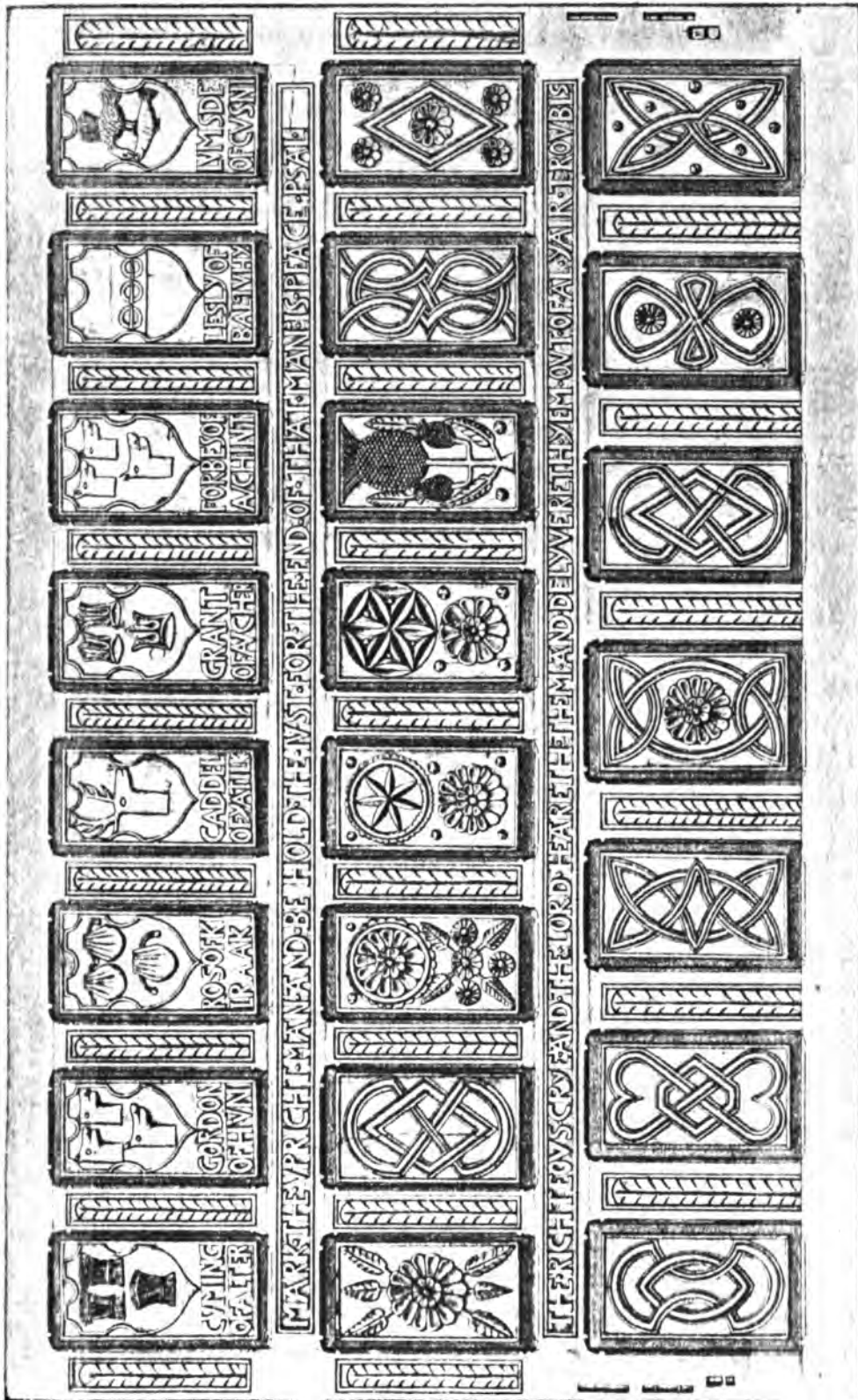
The lordship of Glencarnie, as distinguished from the lands so called, also included the lands of Ballindalloch. Though these lands are situated on the eastern bank of the Spey, and about twenty miles lower down the river, they are mentioned as lying in the lordship of Glencarnie, and are included in the same feudal titles. Soon after their acquisition they were bestowed upon Patrick Grant, who founded the cadet family of Grants of Ballindalloch.

The lands in Glencarnie, or, according to the modern usage, in the parish of Duthil,² are all the property of the Earl of Seafield, as Laird of Grant. As in other cases, the lands of Glencarnie were subdivided into davochs and lesser parts, and either disposed in wadset, or leased to tenants, generally of the name of Grant, and not unfrequently were held by members of the Chief's family. The more prominent of these davochs were Bolladern, Aviemore, Duthil, Auchterblair, Dalrachnie, Gellovie, Kinveachie, Lethindie, Inverlaidnan, Kinchirdie, Gartinbeg, Tullochgriban, and Mullochard, and several of them have furnished families of Grants who have won historic fame. Prior to the period at which these lands were wadset, they yielded a considerable rental to the Lairds of Frenchie, payments being made both in money and in kind. Taking the lands in the aggregate, in 1611 the yearly revenue was, land mail, £1893 Scots; toind mail, £62, 10s.; vicarage, £41; with a silver duty of £28. The payments in kind were sixty-two bolls of multure bear, one hundred and twenty-five wedders, three lambs, one hundred and twenty-four kids, three hundred and ninety-eight poultry, twelve geese, and twelve capons, with fourteen stones of butter. A grassum of £770 Scots was payable by the tenants every five years. During the time the lands were in wadset the rental must have become merely nominal, but in 1762, when the wadsets

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 267.

² Duthil is thought by some to be derived from the Gaelic *Tuathil*, meaning north, to which some colour is given by the fact that a district in the

south of the parish is distinguished by the name *Deishol*, or south. Others connect the name with that of the river Dulnan, which bisects the parish.



OLD CARVED FRAME FOUND AT SHILLOCHAN IN DUTHIL IN 1874 NOW AT CASTLE GRANT.

had almost all been redeemed, the rental was £2350 Scots. As now let, the lands of the parish of Duthil are valued at £5963, 14s. sterling.¹

One principal object of interest in Duthil is the parish church, the existence of which can be traced back to the thirteenth century, when, in the days of Andrew, Bishop of Moray, Gilbert, son of the Earl of Strathern, was its patron. As one of the burial-places of the family of Grant it is peculiarly cherished in the Grant country. At one time the architectural features presented by it attracted the attention of Walter Macfarlane of that Ilk, the eminent antiquarian, and he made a note about it, remarking especially the ornate character of the church door. He says, "The bands of the kirk door are very rare, made after the manner of a tree casting out its branches, and covering the whole door after the manner of needlework."²

The internal fittings of the church appear to have been of the same character as the door. Several years ago a large piece of carved wood was discovered at the house of Shillochan when it was being taken down. The wood is an excellent piece of Scotch fir, eight feet long, six feet in height, and about four inches thick, quaintly but neatly carved, and may have formed part of a prominent pew or gallery in the church of Duthil. The carving consists of an upper row of panels, eight in number, each displaying the coat of arms of a Highland house—Cumming of Altyre, Gordon of Huntly, Rose of Kilravock, Calder of that Ilk, Grant of Auchernach, Forbes of Auchintie, Leslie of Balquhain, and Lumsden of Cushnie. Below this row of panels is the text of Scripture—

**Mark the upright man and behold the just,
For the end of that man is peace.**

Immediately underneath is a second row of eight panels variously carved with figures and flowers, followed by another text of Scripture—

**The righteous cry and the Lord heareth them,
And delivereth them out of all their troubles.**

The last row consists of seven panels of plainer design than those of the other two. A photo-lithograph of the carving is here given from the original at Castle Grant.

¹ Valuation Roll of the County of Inverness for 1879-80.

² Macfarlane MSS., quoted by Dr. Arthur Mitchell in the work already referred to.

An interesting document relating to the settlement of a parish clerk in the church of Duthil in pre-Reformation times exists in the Grant Charter-chest, and is printed elsewhere.¹ It affords a curious glimpse of popular election even at that early date. The parishioners, whose names are mentioned, assembled in the church, and the applicant for the vacant clerkship, Mr. Andrew Grant, appeared before them requesting their suffrages. The parishioners unanimously gave him their support, and during the celebration of high mass, which followed, he proceeded to the altar step and in a loud voice requested the parishioners who consented to his election to stand up. Upon this, says the notary who recorded the proceedings, every one in the church arose, so that I saw no one sitting, and all with one voice exclaimed, We choose Mr. Andrew Grant to be our parish clerk of Duthil, and no other, unless we are compelled to the contrary by James Laird of Grant, and if we should be so compelled by the said James to elect another, we will that last election to be null and void to any one accepting it, inasmuch as it could not be called election, but compulsion. The precept for the induction of the clerk was granted by Alexander Dunbar, Dean of Moray, who, as the see of Moray was then vacant, acted as Vicar-General. It is directed to the curate of the church of Duthil, and on the back of the precept a notarial instrument is indorsed intimating that William Wallace, the curate, had performed his function of inducting the new clerk into his office by delivery of the amphora and aspersion with the holy water, and admonishing the parishioners, under pain of the greater excommunication, to pay the dues and rights of the clerkship to Andrew Grant, and to no other.

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 268-270.

THE BARONY AND DISTRICT OF STRATHSPEY.

Strathspey, as has already been remarked, was the home of the Grants in Scotland, and, at one period or other, the greater part of the territory lying in the valley, from Laggan to Fochabers, has formed part of their possessions. The voluminous and rapid river which traverses the valley and gives it its designation, is noted as one of the principal water-courses of Scotland, excelled in the extent of its drainage area only by the Tay, and perhaps the Clyde. Taking its rise in Badenoch, at no great distance from Glen Roy, it flows at first eastwards, then, bending in a north-easterly direction near Laggan, pursues that course steadily until it reaches the Moray Firth at Speymouth. Although unsuited for navigation, the river was utilised by the proprietors along its banks for the conveyance of their forest timber to Garmouth, the supply of water in autumn, winter, and spring being, in general, sufficiently copious to permit the passage of rafts. The Grants of Tulchan are reputed to have been the first to attempt the transport of timber from the rich pine forests of Rothiemurchus, Glenmore, and Abernethy to the river's mouth. Their method was to fasten a few trees together by means of ropes, and to pilot the mass down the stream from a "curach"¹ rowed in advance, while assistants, walking along the banks of the river with tail ropes from the float, guided and controlled its movements. The working of the forests was afterwards intrusted to

¹ The curach was simply a frame of wicker-work covered with skins and hides. It was so light that the boatmen easily conveyed it home again on their backs.

A story is told of a sailing match which once took place on the Thames, between a Strathspey woodman with his curach and a number of the Thames boatmen. The contest was occasioned by the following circumstance. The Laird of Grant, being in London on a visit, was one day looking, with an English friend, at the shipping on the Thames, when the latter made some remark in disparagement of the Laird's native river, and its ability to produce a similar spectacle. This elicited the rejoinder, from the Laird, that he had a subject on the Spey who

could outstrip, in his boat of bullock's hide, the fleetest of the boats on the Thames. The Englishman ridiculed the idea, and the result was that a wager of considerable amount was laid on the matter. The Laird appealed to his woodmen, and a youth of eighteen years soon appeared in London with his curach to vindicate the honour of his chief. On the day appointed he took his place amongst a numerous host of competitors, and, without the slightest difficulty, easily succeeded in distancing them all. The Laird at once won his wager, and established the fame of his native stream and the inhabitants of Strathspey. [Highland Legends, by Glenmore, p. 41.]

companies of Englishmen, who introduced modern appliances and superseded the use of the curach.

The Spey has frequently proved a source of considerable damage to the inhabitants of its strath, the most notable instance of which is probably that of the floods in the year 1829, so graphically recorded by a late popular writer.¹ Many were the hairbreadth escapes, and many the devices resorted to by the bewildered denizens when they found their retreat impeded by the rising torrents. But, perhaps, none was more remarkable or ingenious than that of a widow and her children at the hamlet of Cullachie of Gartenmore, who succeeded in making their escape upon a "brander."²

The Deanery of Strathspey formed one of the four divisions into which the See of Moray was anciently divided, Elgin, Inverness, and Strathbogy being the other three. The "decanatus" of Strathspey embraced the churches of Cromdale and Advic, Kingussie and Inch, Duthil, Inveravon, Abernethy, Kincardine, Rothiemurchus, Logykenny, and Alvie.³ In 1364 Alexander, Bishop of Moray, was invested, by King David the Second, with powers of justiciary within the districts of Strathspey and Badenoch; and two years later, in 1366, these powers were confirmed to the same

¹ Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, in his Account of the Great Floods of August 1829, in the province of Moray and adjoining districts.

² The story, as told by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, is worth quoting. In making his investigations into the extent of the disaster, he came to Mrs. Cameron, the widow above referred to, and asked the history of her disasters. "'Ou, sir,' said she, 'ye see Spey was just in one sea a' the way frae Tullochgorum yonder, on the tither side o' the Strath, to the muiry hillocks out by there, ayont the King's road forenent us; and, or ere we kent whar we war, the water was a' in about huz, and up four or five feet in our houses; an' it destroyed a' our meal, and floated aff our peat-stacks—see till some o' the peats lyin' oot on yon hillock-side yonder, twa hunder yairds frae whar we're stannin'. I was feared oot o' my judgment for my hairns, and sae I but to be oot o' this wi' them.' 'And how did you escape?' demanded I with the greatest anxiety. 'Ou, troth, just upon a brander,' replied Mrs. Cameron. 'A brander!' exclaimed I with astonishment, arising from my

ignorance that the word was applied to anything else than a Scottish gridiron, and thinking that the riding to the moon on a broom, or the sailing in a sieve to Norway, were nothing to this. 'A brander! What do mean by a brander?' 'Ou, just a bit float,' replied the widow, 'a bit raft I made o' thay bit palins and bits o' mossafir that war lyin' about.' 'What I and your children too?' exclaimed I. 'Ou, what else I' replied she, amused at my surprise; 'what could I hae done wi' them else? nne horse could hae come near huz. It was deep enough to droon twa horses.' 'And how did you feather your self over?' inquired I. 'Troth, sir, I hae nae feathers,' replied Mrs. Cameron very simply; 'I'm no a dewk to soom. But, ye see, I sat on my hunkers on the middle o' the brander, wi' my bairns a' about me, in a knot; and the wind, that was blawing strong enough frae the north, just teuk us safe oot to the land.' 'And how did your neighbours get out?' asked I. 'Ou, fat way wad thay get oot but a' thegither upon branders,' replied Mrs. Cameron." [Account of the Great Floods in Moray, p. 189.]

³ Registrum Moraviense, pp. 361-366.

bishop.¹ This shows, and there is otherwise abundant proof of the fact, that the bishops of Moray had acquired possession of a considerable portion of the lands of Strathspey, and of that part of Badenoch abutting on the Spey. These lands, in course of time, were consolidated into a temporal lordship, under the name of the Barony of Strathspey. In a rental of the bishopric of Moray, compiled in 1565, Strathspey is named as one of eight baronies paying rent to the bishops. The barony of Strathspey extended from Laggan, in the county of Inverness, to Arndilly, in the parish of Boharm, in Banffshire, and embraced much of the land lying on either side of the river Spey. At the period mentioned above, it was rented at a sum of £187, 3s. 9d., to which, in one or two cases, payments in cattle and grain were added.²

Previous to 1539, the greater part of the lands in the bishop's barony of Strathspey were let, on terminable leases, to the Lairds of Freuchie, but in that year negotiations were entered into for giving the lands to the Grants on terms of a more permanent nature, and which ultimately resulted in their acquisition by the Grant family.

On 24th February 1539-40, James Grant, the third Laird of Freuchie, and Patrick, Bishop of Moray, met at Edinburgh, and entered into an agreement by which it was arranged that the lands of Strathspey should be feu farmed to the Laird of Freuchie and seven other persons, bearing the surname of Grant. The lands to be thus disposed were the following:—Laggan, Ardinch, with croft thereof, Kinchirdy, Kinakyle, Easter and Wester Elchies, with the mill and croft of Wester Elchies, Allachie, Arndilly with croft thereof, Advoky, Carron, Easter and Wester Daltulie, Auchannoehy, Dalvey, with mill thereof, Advie, Rirorie, Caledir, Tulchan, Auchnahandat, and Nether, Mid, and Over Finlarg. The Bishop came under obligations to infest the Laird of Freuchie and his seven Grant friends in these lands, and either to obtain the consent of his chapter to the transaction, or if they refused, to purchase the service of a commission from the Court of Rome at his own charges. Should he be also unsuccessful in procuring the commission, he pledged himself to grant to the Laird a new lease of the lands for five years following the termination of his last lease of them.

¹ Registrum Moraviense, pp. 361-366.

² *Ibid.* p. 449.

James Grant, on the other hand, became bound to pay, within a certain period, the sum of four thousand merks, and for the payment of the yearly rental of the lands to the Bishop, augmented by one-third, or as the contract puts it, "in agmentatioun of the said reuerende fadir rentale, extending to the thrid penny mair thane the said reuerend fador rentale horis or cuir gaif to the said reuerende fadir predecessouris of befoir." Thus, the previous rental was £93, 10s. yearly, and £31, 3s. 4d. was added, making the new rental £124, 13s. 4d. In addition to this there was the rental of the mill and multures of Dalvey, paid in kind, and amounting to twenty-four bolls victual, sixteen customs marts, and two chalders eleven bolls of customs oats. There was the usual doubling of the feu-farm on the entry of heirs, and the usual knight's service from the lands. From this last, however, the Laird of Freuchie was exempted, as he was "ane baron of the King's grace," but he was required to provide a number of men corresponding to the proportion of the lands of Strathspey held by him. The Laird of Freuchie was to give three suits yearly in the Bishop's three head Courts of Moray, and personal attendance at the Bishop's justico-ayre or ayres, wherever these should happen to be held. Another provision relates to the partition of the lands. James Grant was to receive land to the value of forty merks, and the rest was to be equally divided among the other seven, in such a way that none of them should have more than the value of twenty-four merks, and each was to be obliged to effect certain improvements on the land feu-farmed to him in building of houses, stables, dove-cots, etc., planting trees, and such other meliorations as their particular infestments might require.¹

This contract was executed in duplicate by both parties. Both duplicates are still preserved in the Grant Charter-chest. The parties agreed to the contract being registered in the Official Books of Lothian, and this was done the same day, the official, John Weddale, admonishing the parties to the due performance of the terms of their agreement under pain of the major excommunication.

On the back of both contracts an addition was made on the same day to the effect that if the infestments were offered at the time appointed, the

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 272.

term of Michaelmas following, and refused, the Laird of Freuchie should still be under obligation to pay the four thousand merks, with any other sums the Bishop might be able to recover for the non-fulfilment of the contract. On the other hand, should the Bishop fail in offering the infeftments by the stipulated term, the Laird was to be held as free from the payment of this money. Besides this addition, one copy of the contract has two other indorsations of significant importance respecting this transaction, and also a sentence added to the one just noticed, providing that the seven persons of the name of Grant to whom the infeftments are to be given, should be chosen by the Laird of Freuchie, and that their names should be notified to the Bishop against the specified term.¹

The first of these two indorsations sets forth that on the last day of February, the same year, in the house² of the Cardinal (Betoun), and in his presence, there being also present the Bishop of Brechin, Alexander, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, Henry White, Dean of Brechin, John Weddale, Official of Lothian, Robert Galbraith, Rector of Spot, and others, the Bishop of Moray made the statement before a notary that of his own will, and at the sight of the King, he was content to renounce the contract, and, so far as he was concerned, consented to its dissolution, provided that James Grant, the other contracting party, was willing, for his part, to do the same, but not otherwise.³

The remaining indorsation on the Bishop's copy of the contract is also a notarial statement that on the 4th of March following the date of the contract, David Wood of Craig, the King's Comptroller, and James Lermouth of Balcomie, were warned on their own confessions under the pain of excommunication, submitting themselves to "our jurisdiction"⁴ in this case, together and separately, in renouncing benefit of division and all privileges or exemptions granted or to be granted to either or both of them for relieving and keeping scatheless the reverend father at the hands of James

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 276.

² The house of Cardinal Betoun was long an object of interest to antiquarians and others. It stood in a street of Edinburgh known as the Cowgate, a little to the west of the site of the ancient Scottish Mint. But it has lately been taken down

in order to widen the thoroughfare into which it projected, and to permit other desirable improvements being effected.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 276.

⁴ To whose jurisdiction they submitted themselves is not clear.

Grant of all the contents of this contract, and also for employing diligence at the hands of the King to cause James Grant to renounce the contract.¹

From these additions to the contract it is evident that opposition was being offered by outside parties to the carrying out of the agreement, and even that sinister methods were being employed, and pressure put upon the Bishop and the Laird separately to get the contract cancelled. Certain of the lands mentioned in it, those of Advie, Tulchan, Caledir, Rirorie, and Advoky, appear to have been inhabited, at the time the agreement was made, by John Grant of Ballindalloch, or at least they lay in close proximity to his other possessions, to which he was desirous they should be annexed. He also sought that his brother Patrick should obtain the lands of Dalvey, and by the intervention of King James the Fifth he was successful.² The mode in which pressure was brought to bear on the Bishop of Moray will be found narrated in the memoir of James Grant, third of Freuchie.

The King also, it would appear, in furtherance of his designs to give Dalvey and the other lands to Ballindalloch and his brother, had sent letters to the Dean and Chapter of Moray, discharging them from giving their consent to the contract between their Bishop and the Laird of Freuchie. But on the 27th April he wrote again, "We pray zou rycht effectuislie gif zour consent and commoun sele vpoun the said James chartir of feu-ferme of the saidis landis, but ony delay, as ze will do ws singulare emplesour, and report our speciale thankis, nochtwithstanding ony our letteris of discharge gevin to zow in the contrare of before," and referring them to the messenger for further reasons.³

If there had originally been any opposition on the part of the Dean and Chapter to the feu-farming of the lands of Strathspey to James Grant of Freuchie other than that evoked by the King's letters, it was overcome, and with the exception of the lands given to Ballindalloch and his brother, the terms of the contract were carried into effect, but with a modification of the sum agreed upon to be paid as grassum to the Bishop by the Laird. In a discharge granted by Patrick Bishop of Moray to James Grant of Freuchie, John Grant of Culcabock, his brother, and John Grant, the Laird's son and heir-apparent, acknowledgment is made of the payment by them

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 277.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 81.

of thirteen score of merks as the balance in complete payment of two thousand eight hundred merks (instead of four thousand, as originally agreed upon) as gratuities and grassum, and for the feu of the lands to them by the Bishop with consent of his Chapter.

This discharge then narrates the apportionment made of the lands, as follows :—

Laggan, Ardinch, Auchnahandat, Kinakyle, Auchehangen, Wester and Easter Daltulie, with the Croft of Cardell, Arndilly with its croft, and Allachie, with the fishings of these lands upon the Spey, and those also of the lands of Dalvey, Advie, Caledir, Tulchan, and Advoky, were all feu-farmed to James Grant, Laird of Freuchie.

Easter Elchies, with fishings on the Spey, and other pertinents, were feu-farmed to Duncan Grant, the Laird's son.

Finlarg or Muckrath, Over, Mid, and Nether, were feu-farmed to William Grant, another son of the Laird's.

Wester Elchies, with its mill, fishings on the Spey, porter's croft and ferry coble; Kinchirdie, with its fishings and pertinents, and the lands of Carron, were feu-farmed to John Grant of Culeabock.¹

Advie, Tulchan, Caledir, Rirorie, and Advoky, as already noticed, were feu-farmed to John Grant of Ballindalloch, and

Dalvey, with its mill, to which were thirled the lands of Auchnahandat, Finlarg, Kinchirdie, Kinakyle, Ardinch and Laggan, to Patrick Grant, the brother of Ballindalloch. The fishings of these lands, however, were left in the hands of the Laird of Freuchie.

Under the Bishops of Moray the Barony of Strathspey included also the lands of Kincardine, Rothiemurchus, and Kingussie,² but after it became the property of the Lairds of Freuchie, it lost its distinctive character as a barony. Strathspey, as described in later rentals of the family of Grant, included, besides these, Tullochgorm, Curr, Clurie, Knockando, etc.

All these church lands, with others belonging to the Bishops of Moray, were in 1451 erected by King James the Second into the Regality of Spynie in favour of John, then Bishop of Moray, and his successors, and hence they were for some time usually designed as lying in the regality of Spynie.

¹ Original Discharge, dated 7th May 1544, in Grant Charter-chest.

² *Registrum Moraviense*, p. 450.

Those, however, which had been acquired by James Grant of Freuchie were in course of time consolidated by themselves, with the addition of the lands of Bellivat and Ardelach, in the parish of Ardelach and county of Nairn, into a free tenantry called the Tenantry of Finlarg. The date of this erection has not been definitely ascertained, but it appears to have been prior to the year 1613, when one of the Strathspey lands, Auchelangen, is described as lying in the Tenantry of Finlarg. So is it with the estate of Arndilly in 1620.¹ In 1624 Sir John Grant of Freuchie renewed his titles to all these lands, and was infeft in them on 24th May 1624, on a precept of *clare constat* by John (Guthrie) Bishop of Moray,² and the terms of both these documents indicate the pre-erection of the Tenantry. In the following year Sir John Grant resigned the lands comprising the Tenantry of Finlarg into the Bishop's hands,³ and from him received a charter of regrant of them in free tenantry,⁴ which was confirmed by King Charles the First.⁵ The lands of Nether Finlarg were appointed the principal messuage of the tenantry, one sasine taken there sufficing for the whole. This was in marked contrast to the proceedings at the infeftment of James Grant of Freuchie in his lands of Strathspey in 1554, when, according to the notary's statement in the instrument of sasine, the round of the whole lands had to be made, and sasine taken on each of them separately, a process which, on that occasion, occupied from six in the morning till five in the afternoon.⁶

One of the designations very commonly applied sometimes to the upper and sometimes to the central of the three davochs of Finlarg was that of Muckrath. The name, it seems probable, was derived from former possessors under the Bishops of Moray, one document relating to the district making mention of a Christian M'Crath in 1386.⁷ The Castle of Muckrath or Muckraw, of which a representation is here given, is now a ruin. The castle is said to have been built by Patrick Grant of Rothiemurchus while Laird of Muckrath. A large armorial stone bearing the date of 1598, with the initials P. G. for Patrick Grant, and I. G.

¹ Original Documents at Castle Grant.

² Precept, dated 19th March 1624, *ibid.*

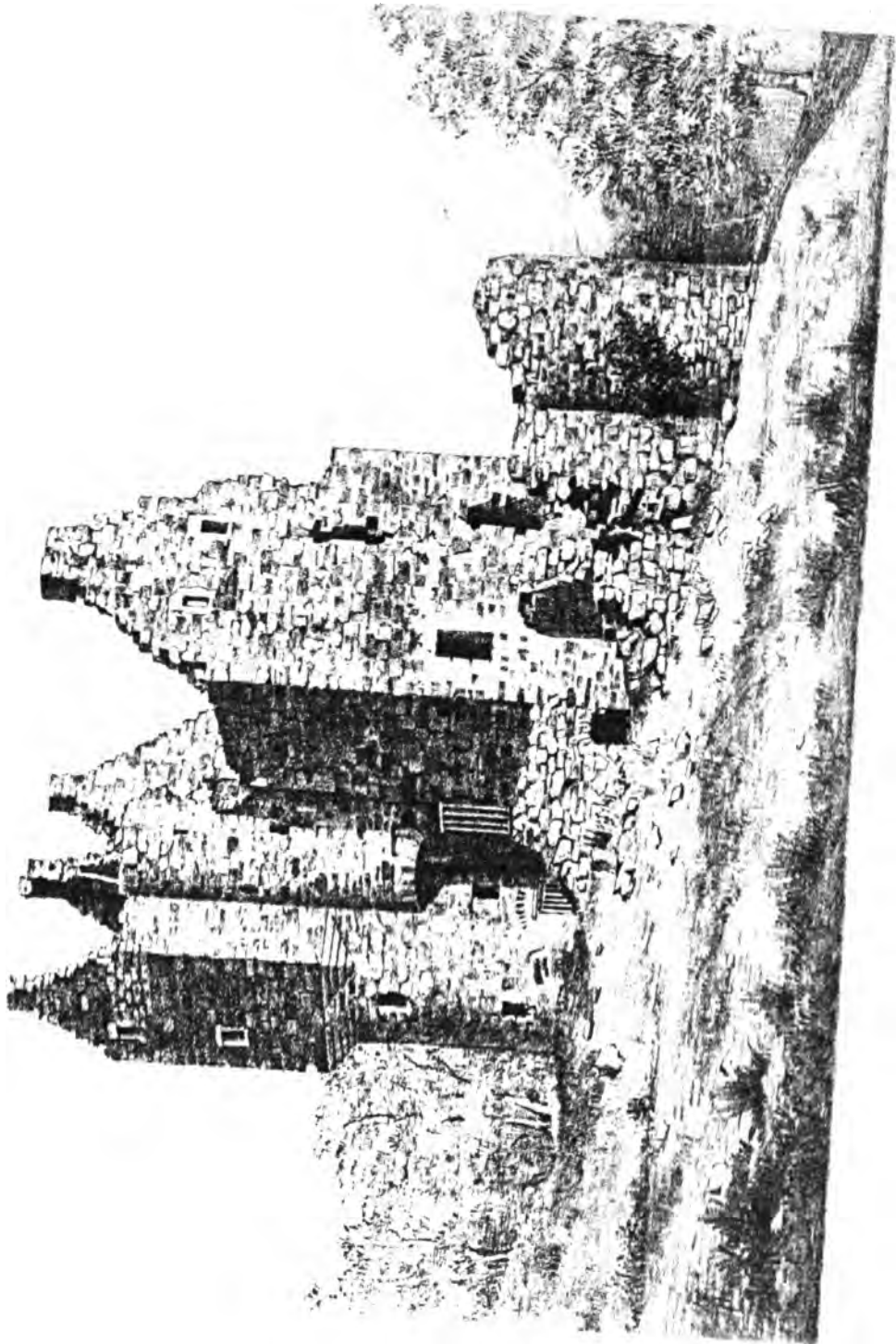
³ Instrument of Resignation, dated 17th May 1625, *ibid.*

⁴ Charter, dated 18th May 1625, at Castle Grant.

⁵ Charter, dated 25th July 1625, *ibid.*

⁶ Original Instrument of Sasine, *ibid.*

⁷ Registrum Moraviense, p. 196.



MUCKRACH CASTLE.
STRATHSPEY.

for Jean Gordon, his wife, with two shields of arms, surmounted by the motto, "In God is al my traist," still exists at the Doune of Rothiemurchus, where it is built into a wall behind the mansion. This stone is said to have been brought from Muckrath when Patrick Grant changed his residence to Rothiemurchus. But the date of 1598 is not consistent with that tradition, as he had previously removed from Muckrath. The armorial stone afterwards served as the lintel of the door of a house at the Dell of Rothiemurchus, until in 1879 it was removed to the Doune.

The lands of Tullochgorm have been rendered famous in Strathspey history, not only as the traditional seat of the Clan Phadric, but more especially in later times from its connection with the song lore of the Highlands. The "Reel of Tullochgorm" is one of the most famous of the world-renowned Strathspey reels. As is well known, words were written to its music by the Reverend John Skinner, Episcopal clergyman at Longside, Aberdeenshire, father of Bishop John Skinner, and it was by this perhaps that his lyric fame became first widely established, one of his commonest designations being the "Author of Tullochgorm."¹ Burns said that Tullochgorm was the best Scotch song ever Scotland saw.

O Tullochgorm's my delight;
It gars us a' in ane unite;
And ony sumph that keeps up spite,
In conscience I abhor him.

Burns was also much pleased with another Highland strathspey connected with Rothiemurchus. In a letter to Mr. Thomson, editor of the Scots Musical Museum, Burns says, "Many of our strathspeys, ancient and modern, give me most exquisite enjoyment, where you and other judges

¹ Mr. Skinner wrote two other popular songs, *John o' Badenyon*, and *Ewie wi' the crookit Horn*. In a letter to his brother James, a writer in Edinburgh, dated at his residence at Linshart, 19th June 1790, Mr. Skinner, *inter alia*, says, "I am very thankful for what I have seen, 'my children's children, and peace upon Israel.' Three of us, and of the same name, in different pulpits at the same time, and in the three orders of the Church (though not in the order of nature), is a curiosity few, if any, of my brethren can boast of, which I own I do, and

hope I shall be excus'd and pardon'd if need be for it." The three referred to are himself, his son Bishop John Skinner, and the Bishop's son, also John Skinner, who was then in orders, and became Dean of Dunkeld and Dunblane. [Original Letter in the possession of William Skinner, Esq., W.S., Town-Clerk of Edinburgh, who is also the custodian of several other characteristic letters written by the author of Tullochgorm from Linshart between the years 1779 and 1803.]

would probably be showing disgust. For instance, I am just now making verses for Rothiemurchies' rant, an air which puts me in raptures; and, in fact, unless I be pleased with the tune, I never can make verses to it." The result was his well-known song, "Lassie wi' the lint-white locks."¹ Another song in which Tullochgorm is referred to was written by Sir Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck, of which the following verses may be quoted:—

"Come the Grants of Tullochgorum,
Wi' their pipers gaun before 'em,
Proud the mithers are that bore 'em,
Fee fa fudle fum.

Next the Grants of Rothiemurchus,
Every man his sword and durk has,
Every man's as proud's a Turk is,
Fee fa fudle fum."

The fortunes of the lands of Tullochgorm were for long bound up with those of the neighbouring davochs of Curr and Clurie. Prior to the year 1379 all three belonged to John of Inverpeffer, who resigned them into the hands of King Robert the Second, and that king granted them to his son Sir Alexander Stewart, Lord of Badenoch, on 18th October 1379. The charter describes the lands as those of Curr and Cluthry, and the two towns which are called Tulachgorme, with their pertinents, within the shire of Inverness. The tenure was blench of the king for payment of a silver penny annually at Inverness, if asked.²

These three lands, which are generally described as lying in the lordship of Badenoch, passed at a later period into the possession of the Earls of Huntly, who were also Lords of Badenoch. Two of them, Tullochgorm and Corroo, or Curr, were disposed on 14th June 1491 by George, second Earl of Huntly, with consent of his eldest son, Alexander Lord Gordon to John Grant of Freuchie "for satisfactioun and contentatioun of the landis of Fotterletter, Innerloquies, and tua Innerrowries, lyand within the baronie of Strathdown and sherefdome of Banff."³ This

¹ Life and Works of Burns, by Robert Chambers, vol. iv. pp. 91, 117.

² Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. i. p. 151.

³ Charter mentioned in Old Inventory of Docu-

ments at Castle Grant, dated 1622; also in an Inventory, dated 1794, of papers taken to Edinburgh. See also vol. iii. of this work, pp. 39, 40.

was evidently an excambion, and places the date of the original agreement, so far as Tullochgorm was concerned, much earlier than that stated by Shaw, which is about 1606.¹ This is the date of a later contract of excambion, in which John Grant of Freuchie obtained certain lands in the parish of Abernethy from George Marquis of Huntly, in exchange for Blairfindy and other lands, and in it opportunity is taken to renew and confirm the former excambion respecting Tullochgorm and its neighbouring davochs.² The lands of Clurie also were sold to John Grant of Freuchie on 4th February 1491,³ and all were to be held of the Earls of Huntly.

The rights of the Grants of Freuchie in Tullochgorm, Curr, and Clurie were fully recognised and acknowledged by the Earls of Huntly, until, in 1555, when John Grant of Freuchie, grandson of the Laird who acquired the lands, having been retoured heir to his father in other lands, claimed also to be served heir to his father, James Grant of Freuchie, in these lands. The Sheriff-principal of Inverness, who was none other than George, fourth Earl of Huntly, himself, refused to expedite the service, or allow it to proceed, and the Laird of Freuchie had to apply to the Lords of Council, who, after hearing parties, appointed a special Commission to expedite his service, as heir to his late father, in these lands, with others acquired from the Earls of Huntly since 1491.⁴ But this is the only case in which his title was impugned, and it was afterwards fully acknowledged.⁵

The lands of Tullochgorm were wadset in 1614 to John Grant, son of Patrick Grant, who had formerly been tenant or lease-holder of them, as he is designed sometimes "of" and at other times "in" Tullochgorm; and although a Patrick Grant occupied the lands as early as 1530, no reference to titles prior to the wadset of 1614 is ever made by the descendants of John Grant. These held the estate until 1777, being enabled to do so by a prorogation of the redemption of the wadset in 1752 for twenty-four years. But in 1777 Sir James Grant resumed them, and the Grants of Tullochgorm afterwards were only tenants of the Lairds of Grant.

¹ History of the Province of Moray, third edition, vol. i. p. 241.

² Inventory of Documents at Castle Grant.

³ Original Charter by George, second Earl of Huntly, dated at "our place of Gecht," at Castle

Grant. Precept of Sasine, of same date, printed in vol. iii. of this work, p. 40.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 117-119.

⁵ Precept of *clare constat* and infeftment thereon was given to John Grant in these lands in 1562.

THE BARONY OF ABERNETHY,

IN THE PARISH OF ABERNETHY AND COUNTY OF INVERNESS.

As its name indicates, the barony of Abernethy is situated in the district surrounding the river Nethy, in the shire of Inverness, especially at or near its confluence with the Spey, of which it is a tributary stream. The See of Moray early planted a church there, and as far back as 1226 testimony of the occupation of the lands adjacent is found in the record of a dispute between the church and the proprietor or feuar of the estates around as to what was really church property. The latter was represented by James, the son of Morgund, the former by Andrew, Bishop of Moray, and the dispute respected certain lands in the fee of Abernethy, in Strathspey, to wit, a piece of land at Coningas, now Congash, and another piece said to pertain to Abernethy; and also the sum usually paid to the Crown, in name of cain teinds, by the predecessors of James. The matter was thus arranged:—James and his heirs were to be freed from all exactions made by the Bishops of Moray, or the Dean and Canons, and in return was to provide a suitable manse near the church, with a croft, extending to one acre, convenient thereto, and also to pay one mark sterling yearly, in token of the agreement being firmly and perpetually observed.¹

Tradition relates that the barony of Abernethy formed part of the possession of the Comyns, Lords of Badenoch, who flourished in the thirteenth and the early part of the fourteenth century. The ruins of an ancient castle or peel still stand in Abernethy. It is called Castle Roy, or the Red Castle, and is usually connected, as so much in the entire district of Strathspey is, with traditions of the Comyns, being reputed one of their strongholds. Lachlan Shaw describes it as similar in construction to the castle of Old Duffus, which stood by the side of Loch Spynie, and to the old Castle of Rait, in the parish of Nairn. The former he describes as square in form, with walls about twenty feet high and five feet thick, and furnished with parapet, ditch, and drawbridge; while within the square,

¹ Registrum Moraviense, p. 76.

buildings of timber were erected against the wall, with stables and all necessary offices.¹

It has been asserted that upon the forfeiture of the Comyns, the lands of Abernethy were included in the earldom of Moray, erected by King Robert the Bruce, and bestowed by him upon his nephew, Sir Thomas Randolph. The charter of the earldom included all the King's lands in Moray as they had existed in the hands of King Alexander the Third, the last royal predecessor of King Robert, and among these were all the lands of Badenoch, Kincardine, and Glencarnie,² to which the lands of Abernethy were adjacent. On the other hand, however, it is to be noted that the lands of Abernethy are not expressly named as included in the earldom of Moray as granted to Sir Thomas Randolph, and they do not appear to have formed part of the earldom of Moray granted by King Robert the Second on 9th March 1373 to his son-in-law, John of Dunbar, and Marion his spouse. From this grant of the earldom of Moray the lordships of Lochaber and Badenoch are excluded, with the barony and Castle of Urquhart.³ Abernethy, too, appears to have been at this time in the possession of John Comyn—and perhaps it had been one of the estates which remained to the Comyns on the forfeiture of their chiefs—as it was resigned by him at Montrose on 7th February 1381, in the hands of King Robert, and in presence of the Court. This fact is stated in a charter of the lands of Abernethy within the sheriffdom of Inverness, which formerly belonged to John Comyn, granted by King Robert the Second to his son, Alexander Earl of Buchan, at Perth on 7th October 1384. In this charter we have the first notice of the erection of the lands of Abernethy into a lordship. They were to be held of the Crown by the Earl of Buchan and his heirs and assignees in fee and heritage in one entire and free barony.⁴

The improbability of the barony of Abernethy forming a part of the

¹ History of the Province of Moray, third edition, vol. iii. p. 97. The author adds his opinion that these castles were erected as early as the time of King David the First; on which the editor of the third edition adds a note with the opinion of the late Cosmo Innes, that the remaining masonry is not older than the end of the fourteenth century.

² Registrum Moraviense, p. 342.

³ Registrum Magni Sigilli, p. 88, No. 309. In the Exchequer Rolls, Laurence le Grant, Sheriff of Inverness, credits himself in his accounts for the years 1263 and 1266, with twenty-four merks for the ward of the land of Abernethy.—[Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. pp. 13, 19.]

⁴ Registrum Magni Sigilli, p. 176, No. 40.

earldom of Moray is further increased by the fact that when, on 12th June 1501, King James the Fourth bestowed that earldom on his natural son, James Stewart, he made to him on the same day a separate grant of the lands and lordship of Abernethy, which, as was the case with the earldom of Moray, in the event of the failure of heirs, were to revert to the King.¹

From this Earl of Moray, John Grant, second Laird of Freuchie, obtained a grant of the lands and lordship of Abernethy in feu at a fixed annual rent of £40 Scots. This appears from a number of receipts for that amount of land mail for the lordship of Abernethy, paid between the years 1516 and 1578 to the Earls of Moray or their chamberlains.² The Lairds of Freuchie had thus Abernethy in possession so early at least as the year 1516, one discharge³ by James Earl of Moray referring back to that year, as one in which the rents of Abernethy had fallen due. When the earldom of Moray came into the possession of George Earl of Huntly in 1548-9, before it was bestowed by Queen Mary in 1561-2 upon her brother, James Stewart, afterwards the Regent Murray, it is probable that the superiority of the lordship of Abernethy was granted along with it. But the discharges referred to above show that the lordship of Abernethy had been granted with the earldom of Moray to the Regent.

James Stewart, second Earl of Moray, Lord Doune and Abernethy,⁴ who was the son of James, the "bonny Earl" of Moray, and Elizabeth Stewart, the eldest daughter of the Regent Murray, on 13th April 1609, entered into an arrangement with John Grant of Freuchie for the feu-farming to the latter of the lands and lordship of Abernethy,⁵ for which the Laird of Freuchie was to pay a sum of money. In return, he obtained a charter of the same date, granting to him the lands and lordship of Abernethy, with the manor place thereof, woods, and all other pertinents, irredeemably, and without any condition, provision, or obligation of reversion or redemption whatever. For this the Lairds of Freuchie were to continue to pay annually to the Earls of Moray, as their lords superior, the sum of £40 Scots, which was just the sum they had been paying as

¹ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. Nos. 2586, 2587.

² Original Discharges at Castle Grant.

³ Printed in vol. iii. of this work, p. 67.

⁴ The Earls of Moray had by this time assumed the title of Lords Abernethy from these lands.

⁵ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 106.

feu-duty since their first occupation of the lands. The charter was confirmed by King James the Sixth on 17th June the same year,¹ and the Laird was infest on 1st August.²

The grant of the lordship of Abernethy thus made by the Earl of Moray did not comprise all the barony as possessed by the Lairds of Freuchie, but only the upper portion of it. The lower portion, which included the davochs of Gartimore, Riemore, and Tulloch, was acquired in 1606 by John Grant of Freuchie from George, Marquis of Huntly, by way of excambion for the lands of Blairfindy and others in Strathavon. At the time the exchange was effected, a servitude was imposed on the Laird of Freuchie whereby timber might be taken from the woods of Abernethy for the repair of the Marquis's houses; but this right was afterwards bought up.³

The lands and lordship of Abernethy were divided into a number of davochs and smaller portions, the chief of which were the half davoch of Culnakyle, where the Lairds of Freuchie and Grant had a pleasant summer residence, the Auldtoun of Abernethy, Glenbrown, Belliefurth, Auchernach, Clachaig, of which one-fourth was called Lurg, Lettoch, Riemoir, Easter and Wester Tulloch, and Gartimore.⁴ Among these should also be included Glenloch and Congash, both of which were formerly included in the barony of Freuchie, but, being locally in Abernethy, occupy a place among the Abernethy lands in later rentals.

Among the wadsetters of Abernethy, there were several families of considerable importance, including that known as the Clan Allan, the chief of which was Auchernach. Others were Gartimore, Tulloch, Lurg, Glenloch, and Lettoch.

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 407.

² Old Inventory at Castle Grant.

³ The Contract of Excambion is dated 11th September 1606. Inventory at Castle Grant.

⁴ The following curious custom is said to have obtained in Abernethy in former days. When any

disease broke out among the cattle of a davoch, the fires in all the dwellings of that davoch had to be extinguished. This was supposed to aid in stamping out the disease. The fires were afterwards rekindled by the rubbing of sticks against the cupples of the byres in which the diseased cattle were kept.

THE BARONY OF CROMDALE,

IN THE PARISH OF CROMDALE AND SHIRE OF INVERNESS.

It was the policy of the Lairds of Grant in successive generations, while they added to the family possessions, to aim at the concentration of their estates around their own home in Strathspey. They did not lose any good opportunity of acquiring new estates even at a distance, but they naturally preferred to have them near at hand, and if they could not purchase, they sometimes effected their object by exchanging some remote estate with a proprietor to whose possessions it lay more convenient, for some property which that proprietor possessed in Strathspey. When Baron Grant had determined to sell his estate of Easter Elchies in 1758, Sir Ludovick Grant could not rest in the thought that any other than a Grant should "have a footing within the two Craigelachies." Rather than that he determined to give over his purpose of purchasing an estate on which he had set his mind, that of Kincorth, and he wrote to his law-agent in Edinburgh that he would sell the lands of Allanbuie, Ballintome, and Allachio, in order to secure the continuance of the family sway in the district. Nay, he would even go further, and part, if need be, with his favourite estate of Moy, rather than allow another family to gain an opposing influence in the district.¹ Sir Ludovick's ancestors were of the same mind, and especially so with regard to the district now known as the parish of Cromdale. That was their home, and being so, it in course of time entirely fell into the possession of the family of Grant. The previous owners of the old barony of Cromdale, the Nairns, alienated a portion of it to the Laird of Freuchie, and a century later the entire barony was made over to the Grants.

The barony of Cromdale, before its acquisition by the Grants of Freuchie, was of considerably smaller dimensions than the barony which was erected in their favour. The latter, indeed, may be said to have been an entirely new barony into which the former was absorbed.

The older barony of Cromdale appears to have belonged, in common probably with the surrounding lands, to the Earls of Fife, as, about 1226,

¹ Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 269, 270.

Malcolm, then Earl of Fife, while adjusting with Andrew, Bishop of Moray, some differences which had arisen between them in regard to their respective lands, is said to have, of pure liberality, bestowed in perpetuity upon the bishop and his successors the right of the patronage of the kirk of Cromdale.¹ That the Earls of Fife were the owners of Cromdale and the adjoining lands is further established by these being included in a resignation of certain baronies and lands made by Isabel, Countess of Fife, the daughter and heiress of Earl Duncan, who renounced the earldom of Fife in favour of her brother-in-law, Robert Stewart, Earl of Menteith, afterwards Duke of Albany and Regent of Scotland—"Likeas also the said Isabell, 22d Junii 1389, resigned *ad perpetuam remanentiam* in the hands of King Robert the Third, the barrone of Strathurd, Strabrann, etc., in Perth, . . . the barrons of Crumdail and Affin (probably Advie) within the schireffdome of Innernes, the lands of Strahovie and Abrandolie within the schireffdome of Bamf," etc.²

The barony of Cromdale next appears on record in possession of the family of Nairn, the representative of whom, John of Nairn of Cromdale, was in 1431 Sheriff of Elgin and Forres.³ As held by him and his descendants, who designed themselves Barons of Cromdale, it comprised the lands of Lethindie with its castle and manor, mill, and other pertinents, the lands of Over, Middle, and Nether Auchroisk, Garling, the kirktoon of Cromdale, and the lands of Dellachaple and Rinabulloch, with their respective pertinents.⁴ The barony of Cromdale was sold in 1603 by Thomas Nairn of Cromdale, who was presumably the son of John Nairn, younger, to his uncle Thomas Nairn in Dellichaple,⁵ and it was probably he who, under the designation of Thomas Nairn of Cromdale, sold the lands and barony to John Grant of Freuchie in 1609, and immediately thereafter resigned them in the hands of the Crown for a regrant to the Laird.⁶

Twenty years previously, in 1589, the same Laird of Freuchie had purchased from James Grant of Auchernach, the lands of the two Auchnarrows,

¹ Registrum Moraviense, p. 68.

² Skene de Verborum Significatione, *sub voce* "Araige."

³ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 193.

⁴ Crown Charter of Resignation by King James the Sixth to John Nairn of Cromdale, elder, in life-rent, and his son John Nairn and his heirs-male in

fee, of the barony of Cromdale, dated 24th June 1575. The Original Charter is at Castle Grant.

⁵ Charter of Confirmation by King James the Sixth, dated 8th February 1603, of the Charter of Sale, dated 28th January 1603. Original at Castle Grant.

⁶ Original Procuratory and Instrument of Resignation at Castle Grant.

Downan, and Port. These lands had formerly pertained to the barony of Freuchie, and had been bestowed by Marjory Lude upon her son, Patrick Reoch (or Roy) Grant, by charter, dated 28th July 1473. On his death in 1513, the lands became the property of his grandson and heir, Nicholas Cumming, but they were apprised from him by James Grant of Auchernach.¹ These lands, with those comprised in the lordship of Inverallan, were resigned by John Grant, fifth Laird of Freuchie, in the hands of the Crown at the same time as Thomas Nairn made his resignation, one procurator appearing for both before Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline, Lord Chancellor, who, as representing the Privy Council, received the resignations.² Thereupon, on 28th June 1609, King James the Sixth granted to John Grant of Freuchie a charter of all these lands, erecting them into one entire and free barony to be called the barony of Cromdale, of which the manor and fortalice of Lethindie was appointed the principal messuage, and one sasine taken there was to suffice for all the lands of the entire barony. The new barony was to be held of the Crown in fee for the usual services.³

The Laird of Freuchie at that time, amidst other energetic efforts for the welfare of his family and estates, and the general good of the country, evolved a plan for its further development in the foundation of a township or burgh of barony in connection with the barony. The site of the Kirk-toun of Cromdale, which was to form the nucleus of the new town, appears to have been the locality still occupied by the parish church of Cromdale, and in close proximity to the river Spey. The town would thus be favourably situated both in respect of the river and also the road, as the main road through the valley would here have probably intersected the proposed town. It does not appear that the Laird's purpose was ever carried out in regard to Cromdale. The erection of Grantown upwards of a century and a half later in the same parish of Cromdale, or in what, at that time, was the neighbouring parish of Inverallan, and at a spot less than three miles distant across the river from the site of the proposed town of Cromdale, rendered the erection of the latter inexpedient.

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 394-397.

² Original Instrument of Resignation, dated 27th June 1609, at Castle Grant.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 408.

In the clause of the charter authorising the erection of the burgh, the king describes the district as a wild and barbarous part of Scotland, at a great distance from the sea, and the inhabitants as rude and barbarous, void of civilisation and good manners. His expectation was, that by the erection of the burgh, with magistrates, courts, police, and prison, the inhabitants would become more civilised, and that the irregularities committed by many persons within these bounds would, by fear of punishment, be repressed.¹

The davochs and smaller portions into which the barony of Cromdale was subdivided are given at length elsewhere. A note of the position of several of these davochs, apparently written about 1775, found in the Grant Charter-chest, is of some interest. After premising that the Castletoun of Freuchie, now called Castle Grant, is in the parish of Cromdale, it states that Dalfour, Auchmagall, and the two Culfoichs lie to the north thereof, and about a mile down the river on the west side; Congash, to the south, at the end of the bridge over Spey, and on the east side of the river in the parish of Abernethy; Auldcharn, about a mile to the east of Congash, at the west side of the Hill of Cromdale, and in the parish of Abernethy; Glenloch, about three miles distant from Spey on the east side of the river, and rather in the country of Strathavon, having the Duke of Gordon's lands of Inverloch and Dellavrogatt to the north, the lands possessed by Fodderletter to the east, that large tract of hills called Cromdale to the west, and adjoining, to the south, the lands of Sir James Grant called Braes of Abernethy, in which parish it lies; Lethindie is distant about an English mile from the Kirk of Cromdale eastward; Auchroisk, Over, Mid, and Nether, and Carling, are all contiguous to the Kirk, and between it and Lethindie; Dellachaple, about three-quarters of a mile below the Kirk, on the east side of the water; and Rinaballoch to the east of Dellachaple and north of Lethindie. Inverallan, Glenbeg, Gaich, Craggan, and Dregie, lie all contiguous a short mile to the south of Castle Grant on the west side of the river, and in the parish of Inverallan; Auchnarrows and Downan in the hills to the north; and the Port at the Boat of Cromdale, all on the west side of the river and in the parish of Cromdale.

On the recommendation of the Commissioners of Parliament for the

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 409.

planting of Kirks, the parishes of Inverallan and Cromdale were united in 1618, and the parish of Advie had previously, in 1593, been annexed to Inverallan.¹ In terms of a mandate by the Lords Commissioners, intimation of their decree was made to the Laird of Freuchie, who, as tacksman of the united parishes, was required to provide the modified stipend of five hundred and twenty merks annually to the minister who supplied the spiritual wants of the people. Mr. David Dick was then the incumbent, and he was appointed to the united charge.²

Cromdale had the distinction of affording the last battle-field in Scotland, where an appearance was made on behalf of King James the Seventh at the time of the Revolution. Claverhouse had fallen at Killiecrankie, amidst the shouts of victory, and his place was taken by Colonel Cannon. Even if he had possessed the military experience of Dundee, Cannon yet wanted the tact for obtaining the confidence of the Highlanders. General Mackay, the commander of King William's troops, had already atoned for his defeat by the activity with which he took steps to counteract its effects, and Cannon shortly afterwards was obliged to retire. He was succeeded by Major-General Buchan, whom James sent over from Ireland to take the command of the Jacobites in Scotland, and under him another effort was made in the Highlands. On his way through Lochaber and Badenoch, Buchan marched down Strathspey with about eight hundred men, and on the last day of April 1690, encamped on the plains between the hills of Cromdale and the Spey, making the Castle of Lethindie his headquarters. Castle Grant was fortified for the Government, and on Buchan's position being discovered, the Captain of the castle informed Sir Thomas Livingstone, who had been ordered to operate against Buchan. With assistance furnished by the Grants, Livingstone surprised Buchan's camp, and inflicted a severe defeat. The slaughter among Buchan's troops was very great, and it would have been greater but for the shelter afforded by the morning mists on the hills, which hid the fugitives from their pursuers. This battle is referred to in the well-known song, "The Haughs of Cromdale."³

¹ *Fasti Ecclesie Scotice*, vol. iii, p. 232.

² Precept by the Lords Commissioners, dated 7th July 1618, at Castle Grant.

³ *Brown's History of the Highlands*, vol. ii, pp. 189, 190.

THE BARONY AND CASTLE OF URQUHART,

IN THE PARISH OF URQUHART AND GLENMORISTON, INVERNESS-SHIRE.

The barony or lordship of Urquhart, which lies about eight or ten miles south-west of Inverness, and on the west side of Loch Ness, is of considerable extent, measuring from east to west eighteen miles, and from north to south twelve. It forms the outlying province of the Grant possessions, being entirely separated by intervening estates from the lands in Strathspey, but notwithstanding its remote position, this barony has been faithfully retained by the Lairds of Grant since their acquisition of it in the year 1509.

One of the earliest authentic notices of the barony of Urquhart is the gift of it by King David the Second to William Earl of Sutherland in exchange for all the lands in Kincardine, which he received in marriage with the king's sister Marjory.¹ It was afterwards gifted, in 1371, by King Robert the Second to his son David Stewart, Earl of Strathern, and failing heirs of David, to pass to another son, Alexander Stewart, known as the Wolf of Badenoch.² In consequence, no doubt, of this charter, the barony with the castle was carefully excepted from the grant of the earldom of Moray made in the following year to John of Dunbar.³ In the exercise of his rights over Urquhart, the Earl of Strathern leased the barony to his brother, the Earl of Buchan, with this result, that in April 1385, Earl David appeared before the king in council, and complained that his brother was keeping back and occupying the barony to the complainer's prejudice. The king advised the brothers to compromise the matter and agree together, the case being delayed to that end, but the Records of Parliament do not relate the sequel.⁴ At a later date, after the decease of both Earls, the Parliament ordained that the castle of Urquhart should be placed in the hands of King Robert the Third, who was to appoint a proper captain to defend the same till the kingdom was at peace from malefactors, the

¹ Robertson's Index, p. 49.

² *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, p. 85.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁴ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 189.

castle to be then restored to those entitled to restitution.¹ In 1455 the barony and castle of Urquhart were inalienably annexed to the Crown,² but they appear to have been for a time bestowed upon John Earl of Ross.³ His forfeiture in 1475 placed them again in the hands of the Crown.

For some years after this the lands of Urquhart became a source of contention between the Mackintoshes and Rose of Kilravock, the latter having obtained a lease of them against the wishes of the former. Resort was had, in 1479, to the arbitration of neighbouring chiefs, by whose advice the Earl of Huntly, as king's lieutenant in the north, renewed the lease of Urquhart to Hugh Rose of Kilravock. That lease was discharged in 1482, and the Earl of Huntly appears then, or shortly thereafter, to have granted the barony to the Laird of Freuchie on a similar footing. The Grants must certainly have acquired an interest in Urquhart so early as 1488, as in a dispute between the Laird of Freuchie and Alexander Lord Gordon, in the end of the year 1492, about the rents of Urquhart, they are stated to be four years in arrear. It has been asserted that the Laird at this time held the office of Crown Chamberlain on the Urquhart lands,⁴ which included the baronies of Corriemony and Glenmoriston, but the statement is not corroborated.

For the purpose of securing good government and a settled condition of affairs among the inhabitants, and for reducing the refractory and disobedient to a dutiful allegiance, King James the Fourth, on 8th December 1509, granted feu-charters of these lands to John Grant, second Laird of Freuchie, and two of his sons. The Laird himself received the lands of Urquhart,⁵ all united and erected into one barony, to be called the BARONY OF URQUHART, with the castle of Urquhart as the principal messuage. The office of forester of the royal forest of Cluny was included in the grant,

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 209.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 42.

³ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. p. 462.

⁴ Statistical Account of Inverness, p. 45.

⁵ The lands are detailed in the charter of 1509, vol. iii. of this work, p. 51. In a report upon Urquhart in 1763, by Mr. William Lorimer, the tutor of Sir James Grant, it is stated that a great part of the lands of Urquhart seem to have been

the property of the Church. There is a farm in it still called the Temple, where stand the ruins of a church and a consecrated well, to which superstitious people resort for curing several diseases. There is also a farm called St. Ninians, which was the burial-place. The report here adds: There are proofs of the goodness of the soil, as the clergy always chose the best grounds. [Report at Castle Grant.]

but by a special exception the forest itself was to continue the property of the king. The lands of Pitcherill Chapel, which were reserved to the chapel of St. Ninian of Urquhart, were also excepted.¹ The terms of holding were the annual feu-duty of £46 Scots, and 6s. 8d. yearly of augmentation. John Grant and his heirs were to find and support three sufficient horsemen for each £10 of the lands, for royal service in time of war beyond the kingdom, to convene at the king's command with all the fencible men dwelling on the barony. The Laird was also bound to repair, construct, or build up in the capital messuage of Urquhart, a tower with a counterscarp or rampart (cum antemurali siue propugnaculo) of stones and lime, for the keeping and preservation of the lands and their inhabitants from the inroads of thieves and malefactors. Within the castle also he was taken bound to construct hall, chamber, and kitchen, and to build all other needful houses, etc., such as a pantry, bakehouse, malthouse, granary, woodhouse, furnace, a cot, dove-grove (luco columbari), and orchard, to provide tree fences, and to till or reclaim wild land in meadows and pastures, make enclosures or "stiling," improve the public highway within the barony, and supervise and care for the common benefits, such as stone and wooden bridges, "faldzettis," and stiles, and provide common passage within the lands and barony.

On similar conditions were granted to John Grant, youngest son of the Laird of Freuchie, the lands of Corriemony, all united and erected into one barony, to be called the BARONY OF CORRIEMONY.² The annual feu-duty was £27 Scots, with 6s. 8d. yearly of augmentation.

The other son, to whom were given the lands of Glenmoriston, was John Grant, an illegitimate son of the Laird of Freuchie, and designated "Mor," to distinguish him from his brother of the same name, who received Corriemony. He also held the lands of Culcabock, and appears to have been a man of unusual stature or bulk, as, in one document of the time, he

¹ In vol. iii. of this work, pp. 121-124, there are printed a presentation by Mary Queen of Scots, and letters of Collation following thereon in favour of Sir John Donaldson, Chaplain of St. Ninian, of that chaplainry, with the forty shilling land of Pitcherill and a croft; and also the croft and relics of the

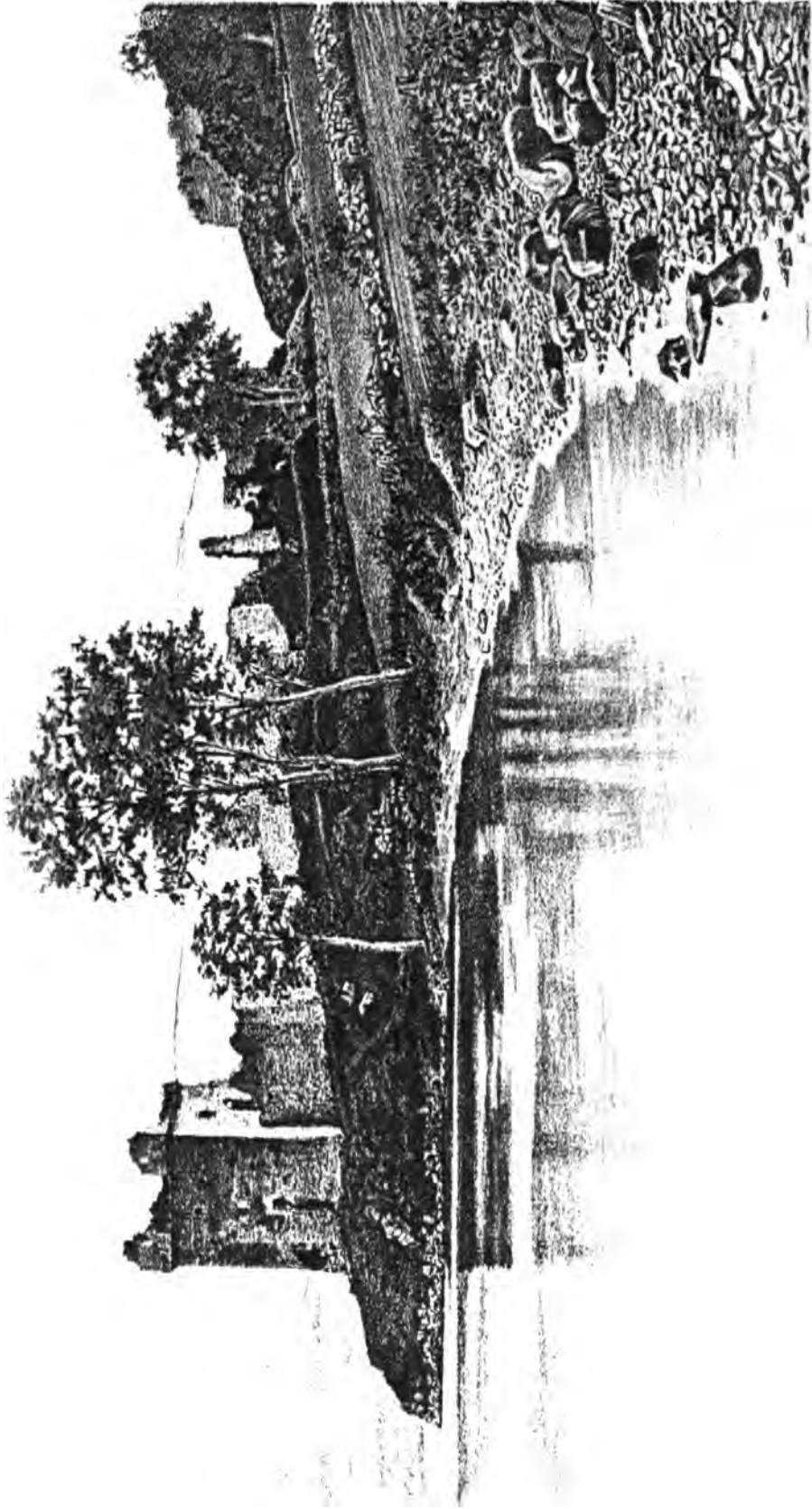
crucified Saint Drostan. Induction was given by delivery of the horns and ornaments of the high altar, and of the keys and bell-ropes of the church.

² The lands are detailed in the charter of 1509, vol. iii. of this work, p. 54.

is styled "Meikle John Grant of Culcabock." He obtained the lands of Glenmoriston, Conachan, Craskie, Inach, Auchlayn, Tullechard, Dundreggan, Innerwick, Blairy, Inver, Coulnakirk, and Meikle Cluny, all erected into a barony, to be called the BARONY OF GLENMORISTON. The feu-duty was also £27 Scots, with 6s. 8d. of yearly augmentation, and the conditions were similar to those already narrated.¹ The descendants of John Mor Grant still continue to hold the lands conferred upon him by King James the Fourth, but the barony of Corriemony has been alienated. The last Laird, James Grant, who sold the barony, died in 1835, at the patriarchal age of ninety-three years. The family of Corriemony, whose descendants still survive, gave origin to the family of Grant of Sheuglie, so called from an estate of that name held by them from the Lairds of Freuchie, and this family have the honour of giving birth to the distinguished statesman, Charles Grant, Lord Glenelg, and his brother, Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay. It also is still represented by living descendants.

One of the objects for which the barony of Urquhart was conferred on the Lairds of Grant was that it might be improved, and its inhabitants rendered more prosperous and happy. Consideration and regard for their dependants was ever a prominent characteristic of the chiefs of Grant, and expedients for amelioration of their condition were often devised, but rendered impossible by the troublous nature of the times. As will be shown in the memoirs of the chiefs, Urquhart often suffered severely in tribal and more widespread civil dissensions, and it was not until the middle of last century that circumstances permitted the application of the more civilising agencies of life to Urquhart. Brigadier Alexander Grant had it in view to build a town on a beautifully situated moor between Balmacaan and the church of Urquhart, but it was left to Sir James Grant, commonly called "the good Sir James," to execute this purpose, which he did about the year 1767. The town was to be named Lewistown or Kilmore, and Sir James intended that it should consist of one great street about sixty feet wide, and several smaller streets about twenty-four or thirty feet in width. Manufacturers and artisans were to be invited to settle, the harbour was to be rendered commodious and safe, good roads were to be constructed

¹ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. p. 726.



CASTLE URQUHART. GLEN URQUHART INVERNESS-SHIRE.

and maintained to facilitate communication, and a weekly market was to be held, with fairs at appointed times.

Being a remote estate, considered, in fact, as a distant province, Urquhart was usually administered by a chamberlain, whose house and offices were at Balmacaan. The chamberlain was also baron-bailie, and presided in the courts appointed for the dispensation of justice. For this latter service he received from each of the tenants what was denominated the "bailie-darracks," or services from the tenants, which being discretionary, were often very oppressive. In the time of Sir Ludovick Grant (1747-1773) these are stated to have been the labour of seventy-two horses for one day yearly, and of twenty-four reapers in harvest.

The castle of Urquhart is situated on the lands of Borlum in Urquhart, and stands on a peninsular rock on the western shore of Loch Ness. It is now a ruin, and a representation of it is here given. While it stood in its strength Castle Urquhart was an almost impregnable fortress. The waters of Loch Ness washed its rocky base on three sides, while it was separated from the mainland by a moat, sixteen feet in width, and from twenty to twenty-five feet deep. The whole extent of the rock was strongly walled in by double walls, terraced in some places, and having platforms on which the soldiers stood while discharging missiles against assailants. Entrance to the castle was by means of a drawbridge across the moat, and the spacious gateway, flanked by two guard-rooms, projected beyond the general line of the walls, and was secured by a succession of strong doors, and an enormous portcullis. On either side of the portcullis rose a circular tower. The keep or great tower was square in form, fifty feet high by fully thirty feet broad. It consisted of three stories, surmounted by a crenelated battlement and watch-towers at each of the four corners. Its walls were nine feet thick, and the castle could accommodate between five and six hundred soldiers.

A fabulous antiquity is claimed for the Castle of Urquhart, but very little is on authentic record respecting it prior to the year 1297, when it fell into the hands of King Edward the First of England, during one of his incursions into Scotland. He found it necessary, however, to retake it several years later, in 1304, and the castle has, since then, figured pro-

minently in several national and civil struggles. It was annexed by the Crown, and became one of the royal fortresses. When the barony of Urquhart was granted to John Grant of Freuchie, the castle was appointed the principal messuage, but as there is no mention of its preservation in a military capacity, and the Laird was taken under obligation to repair it, and, evidently, to convert it into a mansion-house, it must, before that time, have ceased to hold the position of a fortress, and, probably, was somewhat decayed. The Lairds did utilise it as a residence, and several documents were signed by them there. Still, in 1545, it was an armed house, for in the raid on Urquhart by the Macdonalds and Camerons in that year, no fewer than twenty pieces of artillery, with a powder vessel, were among the multifarious spoils borne off. Urquhart Castle was also the residence of Mary Ogilvie, Lady Grant, after the death of her husband, Sir John Grant of Freuchie, but she possessed it in evil times, for the covenanting struggle, which then raged, forced her to flee from it, and when, in 1647, immediately after her death, her son, James Grant of Freuchie, sent to the castle to value the plenishing, there was nothing found in it save a timber bed, a table and a bench in the chamber above the hall; another timber bed and a table in the vault chamber; a board (dining-table?), a bench, a table and a chair in the hall, and an old chest in the cellar; the whole valued at not more than £20 Scots. [Vol. iii. p. 342.] Of all the Grant estates, Urquhart appears to have suffered most frequently in troublous times. Successive Lairds expended considerable sums on repairing the old castle, but time and the elements have deprived it of its pristine glory, and crumbled it down to a picturesque ruin.

In Glenmoriston there is a cave where, after the defeat of Prince Charles Stewart at Culloden, he lay hid, cared for by seven faithful Highlanders, who, despite the enormous reward of £30,000 sterling set upon the Prince's head, concealed him, and furnished him with the necessities of life, and information. Sir Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck commemorates the deed in one of his poems, entitled, "On the fidelity of the Highlanders in the Rebellion, 1745-6"—

"Exulting we'll think on Glenmoriston's Cave."

THE REGALITY OF GRANT.

In addition to the baronies and lordships already considered, acquired by the Lairds of Freuchie from time to time, separate lands in Strathspey and elsewhere were also added by them to their estates. Some of these were only held for a short time, but others became more permanent acquisitions. Among the latter was the barony of Mulben, comprising the lands of Mulben with tower and fortalice, Balnabreich, Cardeny, Auldcash, and Forgie, certain of which were in the possession of the Grants before 1510. They were parts of the earldom of Rothes, and were previously held by the families of Cumming of Erneside and Dumbreck of Orton. Other lands were those of Knockando, Glencumrie, and Brodland in the parish of Knockando, which originally pertained to the chaplainry of St. Andrews or Knockando, a dependency of the Cathedral Church of Moray, but were granted by Alexander Douglas, chaplain of St. Andrews in 1545, with consent of the dean and chapter of Moray, to James Grant of Freuchie and Christian Barclay his spouse.

These lands, with the baronies of Mulben, Freuchie, Cromdale, Urquhart, and Corriemony, the lands of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch, the barony of Cardells, the lands of Muldaries, Bridgeton of Spey, and the large tenement in the town of Elgin, which had belonged to Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscardine, were all consolidated by Laird Ludovick into one holding, called the REGALITY OF GRANT. The crown charter of erection is dated 28th February 1694. It appointed the castle of Freuchie the chief messuage of the Regality, and changed its designation to the CASTLE OF GRANT. It also erected the Castletown of Freuchie into a town and burgh, to be called the Regality town of Grant, and confirmed in the hands of the Lairds of Freuchie, whose title henceforth became more uniformly than before LAIRDS OF GRANT, the patronages of the churches of Inveravon, Kirk-michael, Knockando, Urquhart, Glenmoriston, Cromdale, Advie, Abernothy, Kincardine, and Duthil.

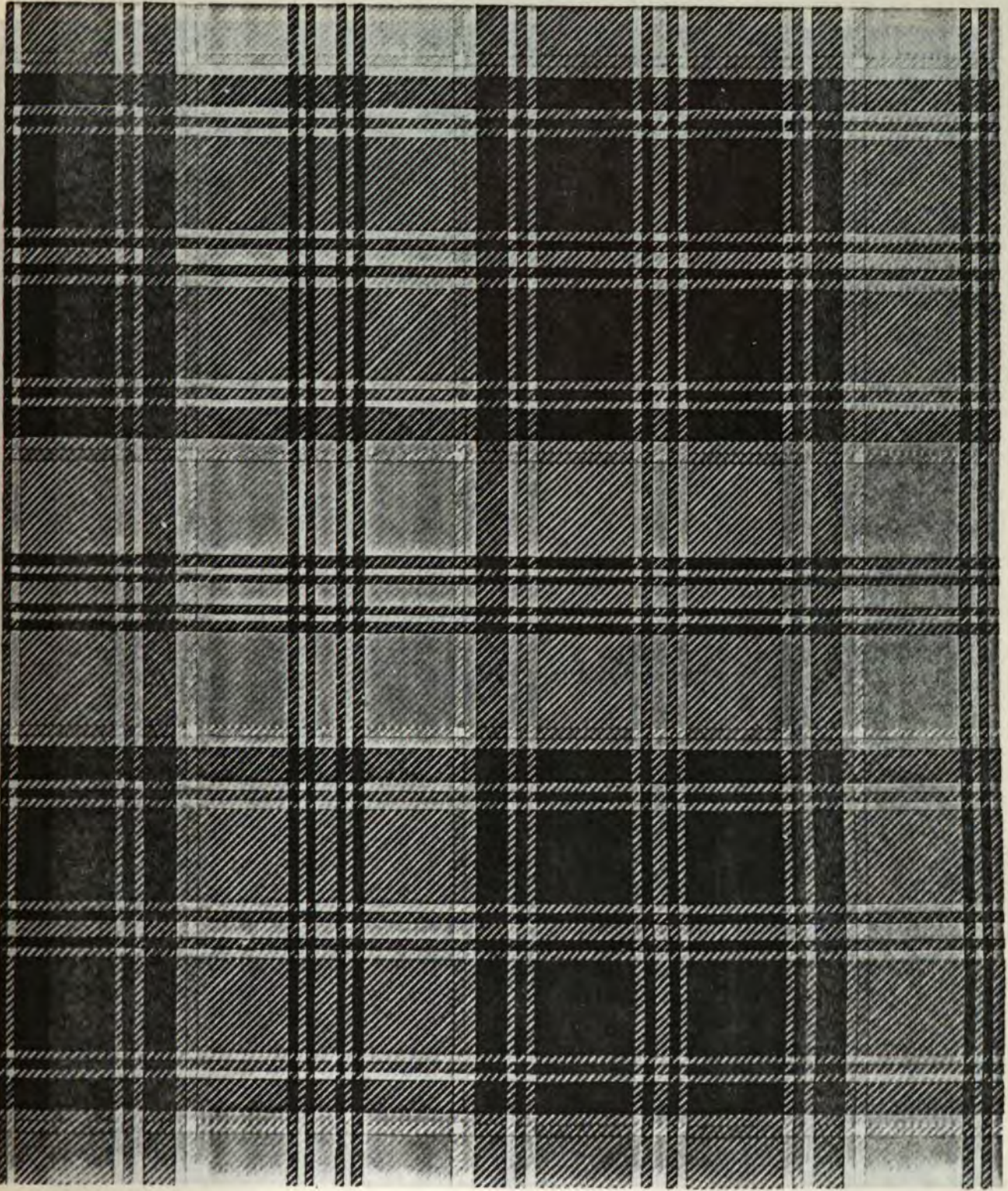
This erection of the Regality of Grant invested the Lairds as Lords of

Regality, with full jurisdiction of justiciary, free chapel and chancery, with power of holding courts, appointing all necessary officers therefor, and either by themselves or by bailies-depute, to sit as judges in all actions, civil and criminal, lese-majesty and treason only excepted. All escheats within the bounds of the Regality, save for the excepted crimes, were to belong to the Lords of Regality. Over several of the lands in the Regality, which were held from subject superiors, such as Cardells, the tenantry of Muldaries and several adjacent lands, the Lairds were appointed hereditary bailies, with powers similar to those they exercised within their own Regality.¹

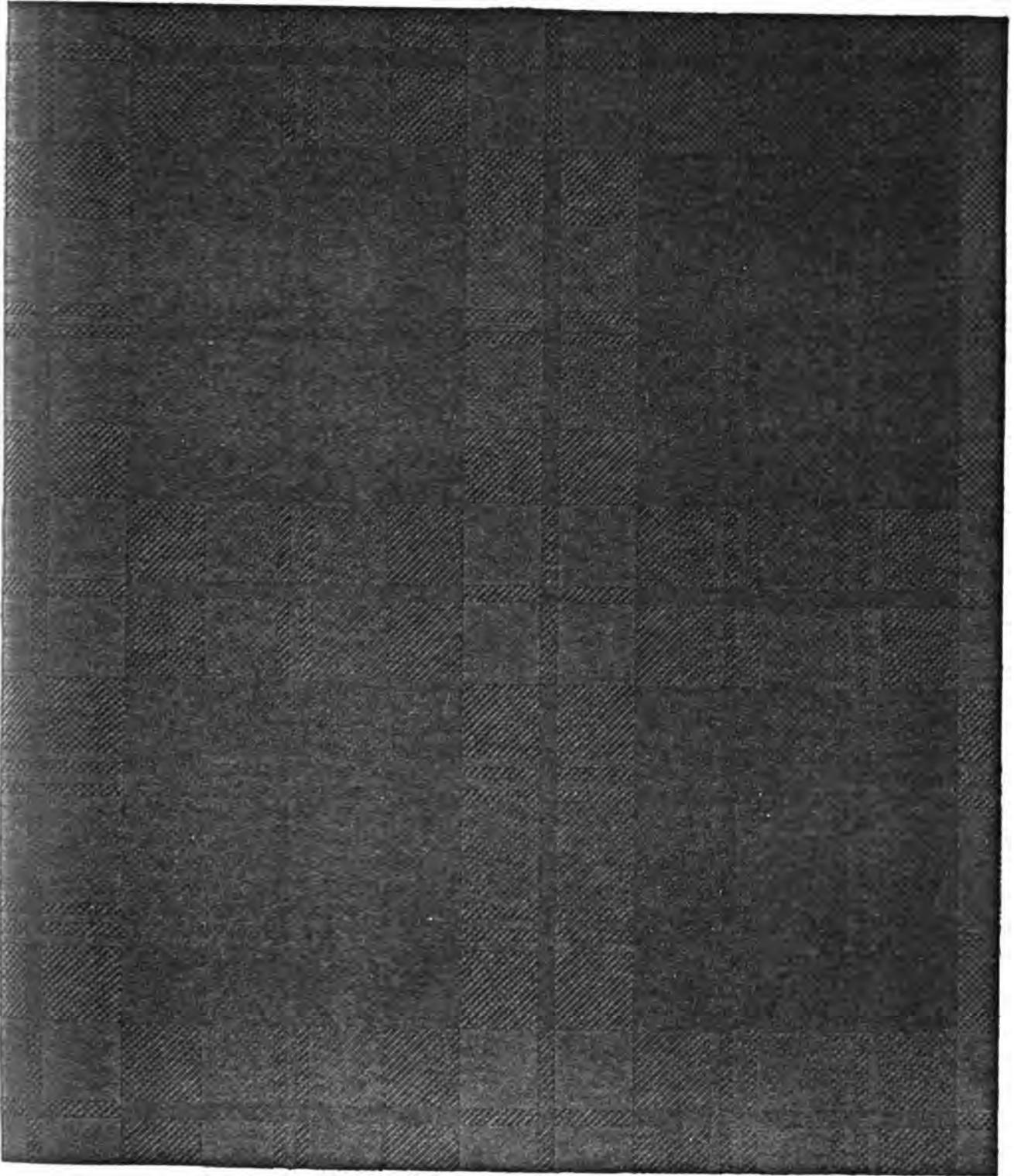
Five of the court books of the Regality, covering the period from 1690 to 1729, are still extant. Up to the year 1700 there seems to have been only one bailie, James Grant of Gellovie, cousin-german to Laird Ludovick. Except when the Laird was personally present, he presided over the courts. These were generally held at Balintome, which was the place of punishment and execution, and was near the confluence of the Dulnan with the Spey; but not unfrequently courts were held at Grantown, Castle Grant, Coulnakyle, Rothiemoon, or Duthil, to suit the convenience of those whose presence was required at the courts. Subsequently to the year 1700, district bailies were appointed, each of whom presided over the courts of the portion of the Grant estates committed to him. The Cross of Grantown was the Regality Cross from which proclamations were made.

The suppression of crime by punishments, the preservation of the policies, and of the rights of property in general, and the enactment of ordinances for the guidance of the subjects and vassals in the regality, were all portions of the jurisdiction and administration of the courts. The preservation of the forests of fir and birch frequently called for intervention, and the gentlemen wadsetters were taken under obligation to prevent their tenants and servants from destroying the woods. The killing of deer also formed a subject of inquiry, and was prohibited under severe penalties. To diminish the depredations made among flocks of sheep by foxes, it was in 1706 "statut and ordained, with consent of the hail parish of Duthell and lordship of Glencharnek," that each person who killed a fox should receive 20s. Scots and the skin of the animal. To create a

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 476-482.



GRANT TARTAN - FULL DRESS



GRANT TARTAN

fund for these payments, each "auchten pairt" was taxed one merk, or, if they preferred it, one lamb, and every "melander" (cottar) that had sheep half a merk. Twenty-one years later, when foxes and eagles both inflicted "continual and daily losses" by killing the sheep, each gentleman and tenant in the four parishes of Strathspey was ordained to pay one year old wedder or two shillings sterling, and each "melander" one lamb, or 12s. Scots. From the fund provided by this impost every man who killed a fox or an eagle, young or old, was to receive for each £2 Scots.

At another time it was ordained that every one who fished in Lochindorb, or in the burns thereof, should be obliged to give the half of their fish for the Laird's table, either at Castle Grant or Coulnakyle, the Strathspey residences of the Lairds.

To secure uniformity in the dress of the clan, the bailie of Tulchan and Skiradvie, on 27th July 1704, at the command of the Laird of Grant, younger, ordered that the whole tenants, cottars, maltmen, tradesmen, and servants on these lands should each provide, against 8th August following, Highland coats, trews, and short hose of tartan, of red and green set, broad-springed, with sword, pistol, and dirk, and be prepared to present themselves at a rendezvous within Strathspey, upon forty-eight hours' advertisement, for the hosting and hunting of the Laird or his father.

Social questions were not lost sight of in these courts. In 1712, Mr. James Chapman, minister of Duthil, complained that, on a couple giving in their banns to be proclaimed for marriage, the nephew of the intended bridegroom stopped the marriage by a grave charge against the bride. On the matter going to trial, and reference being made to the woman's oath, the charge was found to be false, and the slanderer was condemned to stand in the "jogs" during the pleasure of the session, or suffer imprisonment. Three years later, the minister of Abernethy, Mr. William Grant, made a representation to the bailie of the regality of Grant, "against the heathnish custom of calling of fiddlers to likwakes, and other barbarous uses," whereupon the bailie "statute and ordained that no fidler, house-keeper, or any other person within the said parish (Abernethy) be employed in fiddling or dancing, or any other barbarous or sinful custome, or playes at the walking of dead people, under the faillzie of £10 Scots ilk person in

all time coming *toties quoties*, to be uplifted by the session's collector after convictione, by and attour being liable to church censure, and that ilk ane of them be liable in the failzie of £3 money forsaid *toties quoties* they shall disobey the church censure, to be likewayes uplifted by the said collector, and appoints this act to be intimate from the pulpit by the minister."

To protect the trading interest, the four bailies of Strathspey, in 1703, with consent of the gentlemen of the country, ordained that the brewers within the four parishes should buy their malt within them, and that "none presume to buy or import malt out of any place without said parishes, under pain of confiscation;" also that no aquavite be imported to the four parishes. The brewers were ordained to brew aquavite of the country malt, and serve the four parishes "at reasonable rates, of sufficient stuff."¹

In connection with the aquavite of the district a curious case is recorded in the court books of the Regality. In 1703 three women were charged with the crime of conveying aquavite clandestinely to prisoners in ward at Castle Grant, who drank to such excess that they died. So unique and peculiar was the charge that the ablest lawyers in the nation were consulted by the judge, who was on this occasion Brigadier Alexander Grant. He was advised that as the charge could not be made a capital one, and as it could not be construed into poisoning, the ends of justice might be served by the infliction of an arbitrary punishment with banishment upon the confession of the prisoners. The three women were condemned to be taken to the Regality Cross at Grantown and tied thereto, their bodies made bare from the belt upwards, and scourged with cords by the hangman, each receiving thirty stripes. They were then to be banished from the Regality. At the same sederunt the court adjudged another woman to be similarly scourged and banished, and one of her ears cut off, for haunting with a notorious freebooter called the Halkit Steir, and other outlaws.

Another case of scourging occurred with a man who had stolen a steer. He was ordained to be taken to the gallow's-foot at the hill of Ballintome,

¹ In his account of the parishes of Duthil and Rothiemurchus, about 1790, Mr. Patriok Grant says, "The only principal inn in the parish is at Aviemore. There are no alehouses. The number of

houses in which whisky (a beverage which seems fit only for demons) is sold is ten. There were many more, until of late, when they were suppressed by the proprietor." [Old Statistical Account, vol. iv. p. 317.]

to be bound thereto and scourged by the hangman with thirty stripes. His mother, who appears to have resetted the steer, was required to restore it, and to pay four pounds, under pain of poinding.

Thieves, however, did not always escape so easily. Banishment from the Regality, or in graver cases, "from the countrey of Strathspey and from all countries of Scotland benorth the toun of Perth, never to return, or reside, travel, or have any intercourse in the said places in time coming," under the pain of death, was the sentence sometimes pronounced. For the theft of the sock of a plough, a lad of seventeen years was sentenced to have "his lug nailed with ane irone nail to ane post, and to stand thus for the space of ane hour without motione, and then allowes him to break the grip nailed without drawing of the naile." For resetting the stolen sock, the lad's master was fined £50 Scots. The encouragement or concealment of theft was met with severe measures, and one ordinance of the Regality Court was to the effect that all persons within the country "apprehending theaves with the fang or without fang upon attemptes shall not ffyn with them and let them go frie, under the failzie of ane hundreth poundis *totties quoties*, except they present the theaves to justice: Moreover, whoever compones with ane thief shall pay the same unlaw: Moreover, they shall be in the transgression of the premises if the theiff be in the power of any person to apprehend and lets him go frie."

Capital punishment was frequently inflicted. On one occasion, two prisoners, for housebreaking and stealing cheese, were condemned "to be brought to the Gallow Hill of Belintome, and betwixt two and four hours in the afternoon, to be both hanged upon the gallows by the neck by the hand of the executioner till they be dead."

These powers of justiciary and general jurisdiction had also been exercised by the previous Lairds of Freuchie, fragmentary decisions of their courts from about 1580 occasionally appearing among their papers. According to traditions in Abernethy, the bailies under the Lairds often wielded their power with despotic cruelty. In the parish of Abernethy it is said there were three such bailies, and that one of these, Robert Grant, called Bailie More, would hang people for merely disobliging him. He rarely called juries, and is said to have on one occasion hanged two brothers on a tree,

and buried both in one grave by the roadside. Another bailie, James Grant, called Bailie Roy, is said to have perpetrated an act of "Jeddart justice," by first hanging a man and then finding him guilty by an assize. On another occasion he is said to have hanged two notorious thieves, and after parboiling their heads, set them up on poles; and at another time to have placed two men in sacks and drowned them in the river. The third bailie bore the designation of Bailie Bain, and made himself so odious to the people that they drove him with his horse into the Spey, where he was drowned. By the execution of their office these bailies often enriched themselves. They had the bailie's darg, as it was called, or the services of each of the tenants for one day in the year; the escheated goods of all who suffered capitally; the fines of those who were mulcted for breach of the laws of Court; and the herial horse or cow, being the best horse or cow, or other article possessed by any tenant at the time of his death.¹

According to another authority, culprits often escaped by securing the favour of the bailie; but if this was not done, or any who were tried before these Courts were under the displeasure of the judge, they were almost certain to be hanged, even if innocent. Brigadier Grant is credited with putting an end to this injustice in Strathspey, by hanging eleven of his own clan in one day, and declaring his resolution never to show partiality or compassion to a thief of his own name. In 1704, when the Brigadier went to live at Ballindalloch, it is said "there were but four honest men in all the parish of Inverawen."²

Over the Grant estates these unjust practices were terminated, about 1738, by Sir Ludovick Grant, and in 1747 such powers of jurisdiction were abolished over the whole country by the Heritable Jurisdictions Act, under which the present system of legal administration by sheriffs was introduced.

By the charter of erection of the Regality, as has been remarked, the Castletown of Freuchie was changed into the burgh and town of Grant or Grantown. It was to be the principal burgh of regality, containing a market cross, from which proclamations might be made, also a tolbooth and a jail. Burghal authorities were to be constituted. From the references to the town and cross of Grantown in the court books of the Regality

¹ Old Statistical Account, vol. xiii. p. 151.

² MS. Notes by Mr. William Lorimer, at Castle Grant.

already referred to, their existence then is established. This village appears to have been nearer the castle, and to have been removed on the foundation of the new town.

The present town of Grantown, however, is of more modern date, having been projected in 1765 by Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant and his son, the good Sir James. The site of this town was formerly a barren heath moor called Feavoit. Plans and leases were prepared, and by 1766 the first houses were erected. It was especially the project of Sir James Grant, and he used every means in his power to promote the prosperity of the town. Under his fostering care it prospered greatly, and in 1780 it had become so important as to memorialise for the establishment of a post-office and special mail service. Establishments for brewing and baking were set up, linen and woollen manufactories and a bleachfield were commenced and carried on, and tradesmen of all kinds were encouraged to follow their crafts in the new town. Schools for boys and girls were erected, and so early as 1767 Sir James Grant had projected a technical school of arts to be maintained by voluntary contributions, where the children of artisans might be properly instructed in the process of linen and woollen manufacture and agriculture. Twenty-six years after its foundation the town could boast of three hundred inhabitants, many of whom when they settled "were worth nothing," but in 1792 are said to be "in affluent circumstances." A plentiful supply of water has been introduced, new roads made and bridges built, and under the patronage of the succeeding lairds, Grantown has continued to prosper, and to bring prosperity to its inhabitants. It consists of one long street with a large central square, adorned with trees, and is considered one of the healthiest towns in the north of Scotland. In 1871 the population had increased to upwards of thirteen hundred.

During one of her Highland tours with the Prince Consort, Her Majesty Queen Victoria passed a night in the old inn in the town of Grantown. The presence of royalty was kept a secret till the party had left.

RETROSPECT OF THE GRANT ESTATES :

WADSETS, LEASES, DAVOCHS, FORESTS, ETC.

Questions of land rights have lately formed the subject of keen controversy in the Highlands, and are still engaging public attention. It is no part of the object of this work to discuss such questions, as the Grant country is happily not involved in them. But in this concluding chapter of the introduction to a work which relates to a large portion of the Highlands, allusion may be made to the statements of certain writers, who assert that chiefs of clans took advantage of their tenants and vassals, and reduced them from being with their chiefs co-proprietors of the soil, to the position of mere landless men. Whatever may have been the case with other Highland chiefs, such a state of matters had no place under the Chiefs of Grant. Their relations with their tenantry and dependants have ever been of the most harmonious character.

In the beginning of this introduction, and also in the memoir of the late Chief of Grant, one instance has been given of the reciprocal affection which may be said to have been hereditary on both sides. It has been there shown how much he was beloved in life and lamented in death. But in nothing, perhaps, was his remarkable popularity more manifested than in the great rejoicings which took place when he was created Baron Strathspey of Strathspey. In many parts of Scotland the creation of a peerage of the United Kingdom in favour of a Scottish nobleman already holding a higher dignity might have passed with little or even no popular demonstration. But it was otherwise with the Chief of Grant. The enthusiasm of his people was unbounded. Upwards of thirty "enormous bonfires" illuminated the whole country. The very Spey seemed in a blaze of fire with the reflected brilliancy of such a general conflagration. Besides these fiery beacons, banquets, balls, triumphal arches, house illuminations, and other enthusiastic demonstrations evinced the joy of the Clan Grant at the honour done to their head. Such devotion could

only have been evoked in favour of the good chief who had always proved himself to be the father and friend of all his people.

The territorial possessions of the Grant family, far from having been taken by force from their dependants, were acquired by purchase or by gifts from the Crown in return for services rendered to the State. On the other hand, the clan, composed of the younger descendants of the family, and it may be also of natives of the soil who assumed the name of Grant, had never any other claim to the Grant estates than what was conferred by the nature of the tenures under which they held their respective possession from successive Lairds. These tenures were chiefly of two kinds—wadsets and leases.

WADSETS.—This mode of holding, so far as the Grant estates were concerned, appears to have been inaugurated by John, fifth Laird of Freuchie, whose extensive purchases of land probably required him occasionally to borrow large sums of ready money. The wadset was of the nature of a mortgage, but it provided that the lands disposed should be possessed by the holder of the wadset and his descendants, until the Laird or his successors repaid the sums advanced, and thereby redeemed the territory. The amount of money lent on wadset over any land was commonly no more than a sum of which the annual interest would equal the valued yearly rental of the land. This arrangement obviated the twofold transaction of the holder paying rent to the owner, and the holder receiving from the owner the annual rent of the sum lent to him.

While the wadset remained unredeemed, the holder of it was practically the proprietor of the lands. He was considered a lesser baron, and he could elect, and be himself elected to serve in Parliament. He was designated by the name of the lands. He sublet the whole or portions of them to tenants and cottars, who became his servants. They paid their rents and rendered services to him, and were controlled by him without reference to the actual feudal proprietor. This system saved the latter much trouble in dealing with a numerous tenantry. But it had dis-

advantages which outweighed any supposed benefit. During the progress of the country, and the advance in the value of land, the benefit accrued not to the real owner, but to the holder of the wadset.

The Grants of Tullochgorm, who, in 1614, obtained for £2000 Scots a wadset of the davoch of land on the banks of the Spey which bore that name, were designated therefrom the Grants of Tullochgorm, and that family held the land in wadset until the year 1777. So attached did these families become to the ancestral possession, that it was frequently with the utmost reluctance they consented to its redemption by the chiefs, preferring rather to pay large annual feu-duties and considerable sums as grassum, which the rise in value of the lands justly demanded, that they might thereby obtain a prorogation of the redemption of the wadset. In the case of the Grants of Tullochgorm this was twice done, and the same favour was conceded in other cases also ; but Sir James Grant, the successor of Sir Ludovick Grant, wisely resolved to discontinue the practice, and emancipate himself from the " gentlemen wadsetters," as they were called.

The system of wadsetting was not confined to Strathspey, but was from early times a recognised form of tenure in different parts of Scotland. On this subject, Mr. Lorimer, who in the interests of his pupil made a tour of several large estates in the Highlands, informed Sir James Grant that Lord Broadalbane had formerly had many wadsetters on his estate. His lordship described them as oppressors of the poor. He had redeemed all his wadset lands, and remarked with evident satisfaction, " I am now master of all my own estate." The system, Mr. Lorimer also stated, was still maintained in Argyllshire and the Isles, where the principal tenants or wadsetters lived like lairds, and the poor-subtenants and cottars were almost slaves.¹

Wadsetting of lands, which was once so common a mode of lending and borrowing money on estates, is now almost entirely discontinued throughout the Highlands as well as the Lowlands of Scotland. The generally observed form of borrowing money on the security of landed estates is that of mortgage, as it is technically called, or on heritable bonds or bond for the sum borrowed, and a disposition of the lands to the lender in security of his loan.

¹ MS. Notes, dated in 1763, by Mr. William Lorimer, tutor to Sir James Grant, at Castle Grant.

TACKS OR LEASES.—The other form of tenure was that of tacks or leases, by which the lairds let one or more farms to tenants for a stated number of years, in return for a fixed annual rent. This rent consisted of money and grain, with certain other "customs," such as butter, sheep, hogs, hens, capons, peats, linen yarn, etc., according to the products of the country. These payments in kind were in effect the marketings of the landlords, and being made at different times, according to arrangement, kept their larders replenished. About 1730, Sir James Grant converted the "customs" into money, as owing to his residing chiefly in London, they were of no avail to him. But when his son, Sir Ludovick, came to live at Castle Grant, he found he could get neither mutton nor fowls for his table, and was accordingly constrained to restore the "customs." In addition to these payments, the tenants were obliged to render services, with their men and horses, for a certain number of days yearly to the Laird, generally in tilling his lands, carting his peats, and such like labours. The leases contained irritancies of various kinds, providing that if the tenants were convicted of shooting at deer, killing black fish, moorburn, theft, or reset of theft, rebellion, etc., the leases should become null and void. These services and payments were ultimately entirely commuted into equivalent money payments.

In 1763, according to Mr. Lorimer, the services paid by each tachtan (eighth) part yearly, consisted of two "carriage horses," or £6 Scots for each; two horses every three months, to carry stones, lime, slate, and timber, or £1, 10s. Scots for each; two horses in the spring, to plough, manure, and harrow, or £1 Scots for each; and two shearers in harvest, or twelve shillings Scots for each.

FEUING.—Another form of land tenure known in Strathspey, as elsewhere, was that of feuing, by which, for a sum of money and the payment of a yearly duty, certain lands were granted in perpetuity to the feuar. It was in this way that the Chiefs of Grant themselves obtained several of their baronies from the Crown and others, and the granter of the lands retained no other property in the lands than his rights of superiority. In only one

or two cases, however, did the family of Grant resort to this mode of disposing of their lands, the chief cases being those of Ballindalloch, Rothiemurchus, and Wester Elchies. For the purpose of creating votes, Brigadier Grant is said to have sold the superiority of these lands in 1713 to the then Lairds. Rothiemurchus was valued at £400 Scots, and Wester Elchies at twenty-eight years' purchase, and it is said a present of these sums was made by the Brigadier to the Lairds of Rothiemurchus and Wester Elchies. A proposal to feu out all the lands of Strathspey was at one time laid before Mr. Humphrey Grant, elder brother of Sir Ludovick Grant, the benefits of such a system being stated as twofold, namely, that he would be sure of his rent, and he would also thereby rear around him a body of men, all Grants, who would be well-affected to him, and fight for him on all occasions. It is added by the narrator that Mr. Grant would probably have agreed to this proposal. "But, luckily, he died, and the scheme did not take place. It would have almost annihilated the family of Grant."¹

DAVOCHS.—In accordance with the divisions of land common to the north of Scotland, the Grant estates were portioned into davochs and aliquot parts of a davoch. From the earliest times of charter records davochs have been the prominent designation of the principal divisions of land in the northern Highlands. Thus the parish of Kirkmichael, in Banffshire, is said to consist of ten davochs,² and the Grant family possessed no fewer than fifty-two of these davochs in the parishes of Cromdale, Abernethy, and Duthil.³ The "aucht-and-forty dauch of Huntly," in Strathbogie, was well known among the Gordon farmers, and is one of their favourite toasts at meetings.⁴

Opinions still differ respecting the origin and signification of the word davoch. Some consider the term to be derived from the two words, *daimh*, oxen, and *ach*, a field, importing as much land as could be tilled by eight oxen;⁵ while, among other hypotheses, it is maintained that "davoch"

¹ Mr. Lorimer's Notes, 1763.

² Old Statistical Account, vol. xii. p. 426.

³ MS. Notes by Mr. Lorimer in 1763.

⁴ Innes's Legal Antiquities, p. 273.

⁵ Old Statistical Account, vol. xii. p. 426.

simply means *the pasturage*.¹ In respect of extent, these davochs were composed of four ploughlands, each of which was sufficient to occupy one plough in a year. Two ploughlands formed a half-davoch. Ploughlands were again sub-divided into two, and the parts called *auchten* parts, each being the eighth part of a davoch, and these *auchten* parts were quartered into *oxgates*, the *hovata terræ* of the Regiam Majestatem, each of which contained thirteen Scotch acres; and thus a davoch was equal to thirty-two *oxgates* of land of thirteen acres each, or four hundred and sixteen acres. This was determined by law at an early period in Scottish history. "In the first tyme that the law wes maid and ordanit, thai began at the fredome of halikirk and syne at the measuring of lands. The plewland thai ordanit to contene viij oxingang, the oxgang sall contene xiiij akeris, the aker sall contene four rude, the rude xl fallis, the fall sall hald vj ellis."²

Notwithstanding this strict definition of the contents of a davoch, the fact remains that in reality it was an indeterminate quantity of land, and so was the *oxgate*. In some davochs there were ten or even twelve *auchten* parts, and few davochs were commensurate one with another. Some of the *oxgates* in Strathbogie, it is said, do not extend to six acres, while others contain nineteen.³

THE MILL ; TEINDS.—Under the former management of the estates a prominent feature was the mill. It was erected by the landlord, who obliged all his tenants to have their meal ground at the mill, for which they paid to the tenant, or "goodman of the mill," a proportion of the meal, called *multure* meal, besides some small donation to the miller, who was the servant of the "goodman." Tenants who violated the rule of *sucken* or *thirlage* to a particular mill by going to another, were liable to the payment of *astricted multures*. In general certain lands were *astricted* or *thirled* to a certain mill, but in Strathspey a custom obtained of allowing the tenants to go to any mill belonging to their landlord, provided they did not go to

¹ Robertson's Early Scottish Kings, vol. ii. p. 271.

² Fragmenta Collecta in Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 751.

³ Old Statistical Account, vol. xix. p. 290.

those of any other proprietor. It was claimed on behalf of this system that it made the miller careful and obliging, as he had to attract custom, and had no monopoly. He was paid by the tenants what was called dry multure, but this was ultimately commuted for money payments. The tenants thirled to a mill were also obliged to render certain services towards its maintenance and repair, and to assist in drawing the mill stones and timber.

Another peculiar custom observed and noted by Mr. Lorimer was, that in Sir Ludovick Grant's leases to his tenants, he always let "the teinds." By this clause in their leases every removing tenant was required to leave to his successor the tenth part of his corn, which tenth part belonged to the Laird. This custom, Mr. Lorimer suggested, was probably introduced after the long famine in King William's time, from 1695 to 1701, when many tenants died, and the lands lay unpossessed. To assist and encourage poor tenants to take farms, corn or money had been given them to the value of the tenth part of what they might grow in a year, which on removal they were obliged to leave to the incoming tenants. Mr. Lorimer also mentions a proposal to sell this teind to the tenants, a step which he believed they would welcome. This was probably done by Sir James Grant.

FORESTS.—The forests of Strathspey are portions of what once composed the great Caledonian fir forest, which is said to have extended from Glenlyon and Rannoch to Strathspey and Strathglas, and from Glencoe eastward to the Braes of Mar. Rothiemurchus is said to derive its name from the forests, its etymology denoting a great stretch of fir. Large tracts of country which are now peat-bogs show evidence of having once been included in this forest range, but the devastations of forest fires have changed their aspect and condition. Such fires were frequent, and one occurred accidentally in the forest of Abernethy in the year 1746, when nearly two and a half millions of trees were destroyed before the progress of the conflagration was arrested. On the occasion of another forest fire which is said to have occurred about 1770 and to have threatened disastrous consequences, the Laird sent the fiery cross through Glen Urquhart, to summon his dependants. These assembled to the number of five hundred armed with axes, but they

succeeded in arresting the progress of the flames only by cutting a gap, 500 yards in width, between the burning wood and the rest of the forest.¹

The chief forests belonging to the Lairds of Grant were in Abernethy, where they extended for miles. In 1631, for the sum of £20,000 Scots, Sir John Grant of Freuchie leased them and other woods in Glencarnie for a period of forty-one years, to Captain John Mason, apparently acting for the Earl of Tullibardine. During that period all the trees in the forest were to be at the Captain's disposal for manufacture and transport. Reference has already been made to the mode of transporting wood by floating the logs down the Spey, their course being guided by men in currachs. A lease of the forests of Abernethy was made in 1728 to the York Buildings Company, who, after working for some time with the currachs, introduced for the first time into Scotland an improved system of transport by rafts. In these rafts large trees were lashed together and covered with deals and boards, and the men in charge being provided with benches and oars, worked the passage to Speymouth from the rafts themselves. This change in the mode of transport necessitated the removal of some rocks which impeded the channel of the river.

By the terms of the contract betwixt Sir James Grant of Grant and this Company, a lease of the forests of Abernethy was granted for fifteen years, during which they were to cut and transport to sea sixty thousand fir trees. For this right the Company were to pay the sum of £7000 sterling in the course of seven years. The principal station of the Company was at Coulnakyle, which was also leased to them, and they began by erecting saw-mills and iron furnaces, and making roads and bridges in the woods. Their chief agent and superintendent was Mr. Stephens, who resided at Coulnakyle. He had formerly been a Member of Parliament, and such was the credit and influence of the Company, that for some years his notes of hand passed as readily for cash in Strathspey and the neighbourhood, as bank notes now do. It is said that the Company were very extravagant and profuse; that they used to display their vanity by making bonfires, and opening hogsheads of brandy to the people, and that on one of these occasions five persons died in one night through excess of drinking.

¹ Letter, Sir Walter Scott to Lord Montagu, 23d June 1822, in Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, vol. v. p. 188.

The Company ultimately became insolvent, leaving the place without clearing off their debt to the Laird of Grant, but also leaving among the inhabitants a knowledge of their improved system of working the forests, the effect of which was in some respects beneficial.

After the failure of this English company, contracts were frequently entered into by the Lairds for the sale of their woods, and one made by Sir James Grant with two London merchants for the sale of one hundred thousand of the best pines in Abernethy and Glencarnie, stipulated that his eldest son, Mr. Ludovick Grant, should become a partner with them. A still later contract was made in 1769 for the sale of one million choice fir trees of Abernethy and Dulnan, to be cut during the ensuing fifteen years.

Until a comparatively modern period no special regard was had to the utilisation of these vast forests, and little attention was paid to their culture. What existed was apparently of nature's own sowing. It is stated that the first and early method of making deals by splitting the wood with wedges and dressing it afterwards with the axe and adze subsisted for long in Strathspey. A high room in Castle Grant appears to be floored with deals made in this way and never planed, the marks of the adze across the boards being still visible, and, it is added, such is the superlative quality of the timber, that though this floor appears to be of great antiquity, it may continue as sound as it now is hundreds of years hence. This floor has also another mark of antiquity in the nails, their bonnets being as broad as a halfpenny. The price obtained for wood at no very remote period, was only one merk a year for what a man chose to cut and manufacture with his axe and saw. So recently as the early part of last century it was 1s. 8d. a year, then the sum doubled to 3s. 4d., and afterwards the Laird of Rothiemurchus (Macalpine) raised it to 5s. and one pound of tobacco.¹

But during the latter half of last century, and more especially since that time, arboriculture in Strathspey and the other Grant possessions has been as much cared for as agriculture. The woods being formerly free to the tenants were subjected to many abuses. These freedoms were latterly prohibited, the woods placed under strict preservation, and in many cases

¹ Old Statistical Account, vol. xiii. pp. 132, 133.

the tenants were obliged to plant trees. Since the time of Sir James Grant of Grant, commonly called the good Sir James, no landed proprietor in the north of Scotland has exceeded the Lairds of Grant, now Earls of Seafield, in the extent of ground which they have planted, the greater part of which would otherwise be altogether unproductive.

The abundance of the Muniments of the family of Grant have necessitated the arrangement of this work in **THREE VOLUMES**. The **FIRST VOLUME** contains the history of the successive chiefs of Grant, who are traced from their advent in Scotland, and especially from their first settlement in Strathspey, through the varying vicissitudes of Scottish Highland life, for upwards of six centuries, down to the present time. This introduction, dealing with the territorial baronies which they have possessed, was deemed necessary and appropriate as elucidating and illustrating the memoirs.

The **SECOND VOLUME** contains selections from the immense collection of correspondence of the Chiefs of Grant, preserved at Castle Grant. These have been arranged in several sections—Royal Letters and Warrants; State and Official Letters, including several letters from the Marquis of Montrose and his rival Argyll; Family and Domestic Correspondence, embracing letters from many of the most prominent Highland Chiefs and others connected with the Family of Grant. Another section of the correspondence consists of letters written by the famous Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, selected from a large number written by him to the Lairds of Grant and others. Lovat was an indefatigable correspondent, and many of his letters have been formerly published in his Memoir and in other works; but the present is probably the largest collection of his letters which has ever been printed. They afford plentiful illustrations of the peculiar epistolary style of this distinguished Highland chief. Other sections of the volume of correspondence contain letters from Henry Mackenzie, author of "The Man of Feeling," who was a brother-in-law of Sir James Grant of Grant, from several members of the Grant family, and from the more distinguished of the cadets. Later discoveries of additional letters of importance have found room in a supplementary section.

The **THIRD VOLUME** of this work contains the more important Charter Muniments of the Family of Grant. They extend from the reign of King William the Lion, in the twelfth century, to that of Her present Majesty, Queen Victoria, and affect not merely the Grants of Grant and the clan, but much of the surrounding country, in fact the whole of the Scottish Highlands. Almost every form of legal document which obtained in the north of Scotland is represented, and they throw upon the manners and customs of the remoter inhabitants of Scotland a light which is peculiar to such antique witnesses. In addition to a selection of nearly three hundred documents printed in full, comprehensive abridgments have been added of upwards of one hundred more.

In drawing to a close my long labours on this protracted work, I am conscious that from its nature there must necessarily be found many imperfections which no amount of care, however anxiously bestowed, can altogether avoid. But while candidly confessing this, I can at the same time claim that much labour and anxiety have been undergone in order to attain to accuracy throughout all the sections of Memoirs, Correspondence, and Charters. The late and present Earls of Seafield cordially co-operated with me in every encouraging way, and they intrusted to me, with the most generous confidence, their extensive collections of Grant Muniments. All the gentlemen officially connected with the Grant estates have readily aided me when local questions had to be investigated. To many members of the Clan Grant I have also been indebted for much valuable assistance, particularly in reference to the pedigrees of the cadet branches. Although printed in tabular form only, these pedigrees contain the essence of thousands of documents and records. My own assistants have afforded me willing and valuable aid. To all these contributors of assistance in various forms, too numerous to particularise without the risk of omissions, I have endeavoured, from time to time, to express my grateful acknowledgments.

WILLIAM FRASER.

EDINBURGH, 32 CASTLE STREET,
June 1883.

THE CHIEFS OF GRANT.

I.—SIR LAURENCE LE GRANT, SHERIFF OF INVERNESS.

1258-1266.

THE Family of Grant, like all other great families in the Highlands, have had their bards or *seannachies*, who sang the praises of their chiefs, and assigned to them a glorious ancestry of fabulous antiquity. In the case of the Grants, the licence usually given to the imaginations of the family bards has been largely exercised, the earliest ancestor claimed for the clan being no less a personage than Odin or Wodine, the well-known Scandinavian warrior or demigod. But the muse who presides over modern history permits no such flights of a romantic spirit, and the present work treats only of those members of the family or the name of Grant who appear in historic times and authentic records.

The origin of the Grants, like that of many other ancient families, has formed the subject of keen discussion. But recent investigations have displaced the fabulous ancestry assigned to them, and put the history of the family on a true and sure foundation. Wodine and Hacken Grant, with many generations of their supposed descendants, may now be discarded as ancestors of the Grants, as unceremoniously as the fabled Thanes of Lochaber, Banquo, and Fleance, who were long accepted as the ancestors of the royal and illustrious house of Stewart.

Besides the Scandinavian ancestry ascribed to the Grants, various other origins have been assigned to the family and name of Grant,¹—a

¹ The name Grant is variously spelled, Grant, Graunt, Graunte, Grawnt, Grantt, Grand, and Graund, and in the early documents and records it is generally preceded by the particle "le." But except in the case of quotations, the name is given in its modern form throughout this work.

Celtic, both Gaelic and Irish, an English and a Norman extraction, have all been urged. Of those who seek to establish a Gaelic origin, some make the family a branch of the Macgregors, one of whom acquiring the surname *grannnda*, i.e. ill-favoured, from some personal deformity or defect in his appearance, was the remotest ancestor of the Grants; others assume them to be indigenuous to the country of Strathspey, and explain the surname by transference from an extensive moor there, called Griantach, or Sliabh Grianais, the plain of the sun. The apologists for the Irish theory contend that several of the names current among the Grants, as Patrick, Duncan, etc., are native to Ireland, and thus establish the connection, the more especially that one distinct family of the clan bore the Irish appellation of Cheran or Chiaran. A similar line of argument is adopted by those who favour the theory of a Danish origin. They find the names Suene, Alan, etc., in frequent use among the Grants, and thence postulate that the family in which these names occur originated on Danish soil. The Norman or the Anglo-Norman theory, founding etymologically upon the word Grant being identical with the French appellative *Grand*, i.e. great, traces the family from France through England into Scotland. This theory best accords with the known history of the early Grants.

The Rev. James Chapman, A.M., who was minister of Cromdale from 1702 to 1737, wrote a memoir of the family of Grant, which is said to be preserved in ms. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Copies are also preserved in the charter-chests of several families of the name of Grant. It commences with Prince Wodine in the year 600, and brings down the history of the Grants through Wodine and his descendants to James Grant, Laird of Grant, who married Lady Mary Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Murray. Mr. Chapman's compilation is a somewhat strange production, and is a record quite unworthy of the race of Grant.¹

Setting aside, therefore, all the fabled successors of Prince Wodine, whom the family genealogists were wont, in former days, to place in the forefront of the long line of historic Grants, the first persons of the name of Grant who appear in any way connected with the north

¹ Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk, Baronet, printed Mr. Chapman's history for private circula-

tion. The title is "An Account of the Rise and Offspring of the name of Grant," 1876, 8vo. pp. 40.

of Scotland are Sir Laurence and Sir Robert le Grant. They are named among the witnesses to an agreement, dated in 1258, made between Archibald, then Bishop of Moray, and John Bysset, a member of the powerful family of that name, by which the Bishop surrendered certain claims over lands in the Aird in Inverness-shire, and was to receive in return an annual payment of three pounds weight of silver.¹

A person named Gregory le Grant has been claimed by previous historians of the family as their first authentic ancestor, and the father of Laurence and Robert le Grant. In proof of this statement a recent writer has quoted the Chamberlain Rolls, which are said to instruct that "Gregory le Grant was Sheriff of Inverness in 1263."² But this is a misreading, for the page of the Rolls referred to shows that Laurence le Grant, and not Gregory, was Sheriff of Inverness at that time.³

Laurence and Robert le Grant are the first of their name on record in Scotland, and the manner in which their names are written may be adduced as a proof that they, and, by consequence, the family of Grant, are of Anglo-Norman extraction. But this is not the sole evidence on the matter, and the theory of Norman origin is by no means merely conjectural, as in a list of the companions of William Duke of Normandy, in 1066, compiled by a recent writer from authentic sources, there appears, along with Melville, Hay, and other names well known in Scotland, the name of "Robert Grante."⁴ The same writer claims that from the famous Norman family of Grante or Grantemesnil, a name also found among the first Norman invaders of England, came the first Grants in England. The arms of the Norman family of Grant differ from those borne by the Chiefs of Grant in Scotland, but the motto is, by a curious coincidence, nearly identical, "Tenons ferme."⁵ Holingshed, in his history of England, gives the name "Graunt" in the Roll of Battle Abbey.⁶ The name of Grant does not appear in the survey known as Domesday Book, made about 1083, but that of Grantemesnil figures prominently, and at a later date the name of Grant is found in English Records. Thus in 1270, King Henry the

¹ *Registrum Moraviense*, pp. 133-135.

² *History of the Priory of Beaulieu*, p. 55.

³ *Chamberlain Rolls*, vol. i. p. 21.

⁴ *Nobiliaire de Normandie*, by E. de Magny, p. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 171, 172.

⁶ *Holingshed's Chronicle*, Edition 1577, p. 295.

Third gives permission to a number of Anglo-Norman knights to proceed to the Holy Land, among whom is William le Grant.¹ In 1288, Peter le Grant witnessed an obligation made to the English king by Alfonso, King of Arragon, in favour of the Prince of Salerno, dated at the camp of the French in Arragon, on 27th October 1288. He must have been a person of some distinction, as he acts as a substitute for the mayor-domo of the King.² In England the name of Grant appears so early as the year 1228, when Richard le Grant, chancellor of the diocese of Lincoln, was elected Archbishop of Canterbury, and lived only a short time after his consecration.³

In the same diocese, and about the same date, lived William le Grant. He possesses a special interest for the Scottish family of Grant, inasmuch as he was closely connected with the family of Byset, who at that period were powerful both in England and Scotland, possessing in the latter a large portion of the province of Moray. In right of his wife William le Grant held the manor of Athelington, in the county of Lincoln, and also the manor of East Bridgeford, in the county of Nottingham.⁴ The authorities cited show that the wife of this William le Grant was Albreda Byset, one of the heiresses of Henry Byset.⁵ In King Henry the Second's reign the manor of East Bridgeford was possessed by Manassar Byset, sewer (steward) of the royal household, who conveyed it to his brother William. In 1242 John and Walter Byset were forced to leave Scotland, having been accused of the murder of Patrick Earl of Athole at Haddington.⁶ In the following August, 1243, King Henry Third bestowed the manor of East Lowdham, or Ludeham, in Nottinghamshire, upon Walter Byset, who went to England, while John passed over to Ireland. The object of the grant, as set forth in the charter, was to maintain Walter Byset in the king's service as long as the latter pleased.⁷ The manor of East Lowdham adjoined the manor of East Bridgeford, the property of the English Bysets, which was about

¹ Foedera, vol. i. p. 483.

² *Ibid.* p. 692.

³ The name of this Archbishop is somewhat disputed, but see authorities given in Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. i. pp. 266-284, vol. ii. p. 401; compared with the *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 142.

⁴ Thoroton's *Nottinghamshire*, edition 1677, p. 149; *Calendarium Genealogicum*, vol. ii. p. 461.

⁵ A Henry Byset or Bisset, with other nobles, is a party to a league between Richard I. of England and Baldwin Count of Flanders in 1107.—*Foedera*, vol. i. p. 68.

⁶ Fordun & Goodall, *Lib. ix. cap. 59.*

⁷ *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, vol. i. No. 1621.

that time held by William le Grant and his wife Albreda. It is distinctly stated that William le Grant held his manors by right of his wife and in trust for her heirs, but it is an important fact that shortly before the appearance of the Grants in Scotland, in attendance on or as companions of John Bysset, Lord of the Aird, a William le Grant was not only a neighbour of the Bysets in England, but also was allied to that powerful family by marriage.

As an association between the families of Bysset and Grant prior to 1258 is thus indicated, it may not be amiss briefly to show the high position held by the Bysets both in England and Scotland. The earliest member of that family found in English records is Manassar (or Mauncell) Bysset, who, so early as 1152, was sewer or steward of the household to Henry Duke of Normandy, afterwards King Henry Second of England, and held that office for many years after Henry came to the throne.¹ He it was who acquired the manor of East Bridgeford, as already stated. In 1168, as shown by a charter to the priory of Thurgarton, confirmed by King Henry II. in that year, Manassar Bysset's family consisted of himself, his brothers William, Henry, and Ansold, and two of a younger generation, Ernulph and Henry Bysset.² Manassar Bysset's position about the king's person shows that he was of high rank, and the Bysets or "Biseys" are named among those young nobles of England, the Baliols, Bruces, and others, who accompanied King William the Lion to Scotland on his return from captivity in the year 1174.³

At a later date, between 1180 and 1198, a Henry Bysset or Biset witnesses two charters of King William the Lion, both granted at Selkirk.⁴ The Register of the Bishopric of Moray shows that in the time of King Alexander Second, John Bysset was Lord of the Aird, and held large possessions in the north.⁵ He was the founder of Beaully Priory in 1231,⁶ and his uncle Walter was Lord of Aboyne, in Aberdeenshire, and of Stratherrick, in Inverness-shire.⁷ Other members of the family had possessions both in

¹ *Frodera*, vol. i. pp. 16, 18, 23, 41, 42.

² Authorities quoted in "History of Beaully Priory," pp. 20, 209.

³ *Scalaonica*, p. 41.

⁴ *Liber de Melros*, vol. i. pp. 107, 123.

⁵ *Registrum Moraviense*, pp. 15, 27, 50, 77, 82, 97, 332.

⁶ *History of Beaully Priory*, p. 14.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 35; *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 155; Robertson's Index, p. xxv.

the north and south of Scotland, notably Abertarff, in Inverness-shire, and Upsetlington, in Berwickshire.¹ In 1242 Walter Bysset and his nephew John left Scotland, and Walter, as stated, became a neighbour of William le Grant in Nottinghamshire, where the Byssets already held property.

The exile of the Byssets from Scotland was not of long duration, as Walter Bysset appears as a witness to a charter of King Alexander Second to the monks of Dunfermline, dated at Stirling on 13th January 1249.² John Bysset, Walter's nephew, and the founder of the Priory of Beaulieu, died between 1244 and 1258, leaving a son, John Bysset, that Lord of the Aird who, in the last-named year, entered into the agreement with the Bishop of Moray to which Laurence and Robert le Grant were witnesses.

In view of these facts, and as it is in this agreement that the Grants are first named in Scotland, the suggestion is a very probable one, "that the Grants were brought to Scotland from England by John and Walter Bysset on their return from the exile of 1242."³ This remark is qualified by the statement of the same writer, that John Bysset, the exile, did not go to England, or did not remain there, and that no evidence exists of his return to Scotland. But, as has been shown, Walter Bysset of Aboyne, who was the neighbour of William le Grant, the husband of Albreda Bysset, did return to Scotland. Laurence and Robert le Grant may have come to Scotland in his train, and after his death, which took place in 1251,⁴ they probably continued their attachment to his family. Any weight which can be assigned to the traditional accounts of the family of Grant tends to support the above statement, as it is uniformly asserted that at a very early period the Grants possessed lands in Stratherrick, and Walter Bysset was lord of that territory.⁵ Defenders of the theory that the Grants were connected with the north of Scotland at a period anterior to the settlement of the Byssets in Moray, may naturally contend that Walter Bysset merely became overlord of the Grants who originally held the territory. But no proof has been found in favour of such contention, while the presumption in favour of the migration of the Grants from England is very strong.

¹ History of Beaulieu Priory, pp. 33, 37.

² Reg. de Dunfermelyn, p. 44.

³ History of Beaulieu Priory, p. 53.

⁴ Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, vol. i. No. 1836.

⁵ Robertson's Index, p. xxv.

If Laurence and Robert le Grant followed Walter Bysset to Scotland, to push their fortunes there, they only adopted a course which was not uncommon among young chevaliers of that day, many of whom, though Anglo-Normans, became the founders of the proudest families in the northern kingdom. At this period there was much intercourse between England and Scotland, and some of the greatest barons at either Court held estates in both countries, so that they and their retainers were frequently passing to and fro. In 1251, Alexander the Third, the young King of Scotland, was married with great pomp to the Princess Margaret, daughter of King Henry the Third of England. It is not improbable that some of the English chivalry followed the young monarch across the Border. There is proof that at least one person did so by special permission from the English king, either then or when Alexander the Third returned to Scotland, after a visit to England in 1256. In 1261, King Henry the Third, at the King of Scotland's suggestion, pardoned an offence against the forest laws committed by "William le Graunt, who lately, by the king's precept, set out with Alexander King of Scotland for that country," and who was accused of taking venison in Sherwood Forest on the journey.¹ This may have been the crusader already referred to as receiving permission in 1270 to go to the Holy Land, but in any case the fact that a William le Grant was in the train of the King of Scotland is established. It is also worthy of notice that at the time of the Scottish king's marriage in 1251-2, a Thomas le Grant acted in the capacity of his "merchant," and for some reason was, at the king's desire, removed from his office of viewer or keeper of the English king's works in York Castle.²

If Laurence and Robert le Grant were the sons of, or related to William le Grant of East Bridgeford, the neighbour of Walter Bysset, they were excluded from succeeding him in his English manors. From an inquest held in 1292, some time after his decease, it appears that William le Grant had held the manors of Athelington and East Bridgeford only in life, and that the true heirs of the estates, and lawful successors to the Byssets therein, were the three daughters of his wife Albreda (probably by

¹ Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, vol. i. No. 2250.

² *Ibid.* Nos. 1857 and 1863.

a previous marriage). They were the proprietors, and he only held the lands as from them with consent of their husbands.¹ This being so, it is evident that whether William le Grant had sons by his wife Albreda or not, it is doubtful whether he could have provided them in the lands in which he himself was only a liferenter; and if he had sons by another wife, it would be natural that to further their interests he should seek the aid of his powerful neighbour and kinsman Walter Bysset. That the latter was returning to resume the lordship of his extensive domains in Scotland was an excellent opportunity for preferring such a request. The facts known, however, do not warrant the affirmation that Laurence and Robert le Grant were children or relatives of William le Grant of Bridgeford, but the coincidence of names, dates, and other circumstances is certainly worthy of attention.

The history of Laurence and Robert le Grant themselves may now be given so far as it has been ascertained. There is a difficulty in deciding whether they were brothers or not. Family tradition claims Laurence to have been the elder, as he was certainly the more prominent, and also that he was the direct ancestor of the family of Grant. Robert le Grant, however, is the first of the two who can be in any way proved to have actually possessed land in Moray. About 1258, John Prat, a *miles* or knight, bestowed on Sir Robert le Grant the land of Clonmanache, now Coulmony, on the river Findhorn, which had been the subject of dispute between Robert and the father of the granter.² These lands lay on the west bank of the river, and adjoined Daltely or Daltulich, which also belonged to John Prat, and which he gave to Gilbert, the younger of Glencarnie, who had married Marjory Prat, the granter's sister.³ It is not improbable that this contiguity of the properties of Robert le Grant and Gilbert of Glencarnie gave rise to the tradition that a Grant had intermarried with the Glencarnie family at that remote period. Such may have been the case, but the marriage with the heiress of that family did not take place until a hundred and fifty

¹ *Calendarium Genealogicum*, vol. ii, p. 461.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 5.

³ *Ibid.* p. 6. Another lady of the name of Prat intermarried at an early date with the family of

Melville, as between 1180 and 1213 William the Lion confirmed a charter of certain lands in Fife, given to Richard Melville by Roginald Prat with his daughter Margaret.—[Melville Charter-chest.]

years later. It may be noted that Sir John Bysset is a prominent witness to Sir John Prat's charter. The fact that the lands had been in dispute between the elder Prat and Sir Robert le Grant, certainly indicates that the latter had resided some time in Moray, but this in no way disproves the facts above stated. The date of the charter is not given. John Bysset of the Aird died in 1259, but he left a son, who may be the witness here named.¹ The charter of Daltulich is not confirmed until 1267.

But though Robert le Grant was apparently the first to acquire territory in Moray, Laurence le Grant takes the more prominent part in public life. He became, some time prior to the year 1263, the king's Sheriff of Inverness, which sheriffdom at that time comprehended also the present counties of Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness. In this capacity several important matters passed through his hands. He received from the Earls of Sutherland and Caithness, in the year 1263, certain sums of fine or king's silver, which may imply that both these Earls were under age, or that the fines inflicted on the northern districts, which had incurred the royal displeasure, had been converted into an annual payment to the Crown.² It may be gathered also from Laurence le Grant's accounts that the loyalty of the natives of Caithness was deemed precarious at this period, the time of King Haco's descent upon Scotland, for these show that not only was a fine of 200 cows imposed upon them, but certain of them were detained as hostages for a considerable period.³ In his account as Sheriff rendered to the Crown for the year 1266, Laurence le Grant credits himself with a sum for the expenses of certain Friars-preachers or Dominicans, going on a mission to Norway. This was the embassy of Reginald of Roxburgh, a monk of Melrose, which resulted in a treaty by which the King of Norway ceded all rights over the Isles to the King of Scotland.

Laurence le Grant was also bailie of "Inverchoich" (Inverquoych). His account in this capacity has not been preserved, but from an account rendered

¹ History of the Priory of Beaulieu, p. 51; Cædarium Genealogicum, p. 266. It would appear from an entry in the last-named work, p. 265, that a family of the name of Prat also held lands in Nottingham. The Byssets, Prats, and Grants were

thus near neighbours in England as well as in Scotland.

² Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 13, 19.

³ *Ibid.*

in 1264 by G. de Cambusmychel, as bailie of "Inverkoych," it appears there was a castle there, the constable of which was paid two merks of silver yearly.¹ It is difficult to discover precisely where this castle stood. It was probably a small place, and may be represented by the "Entrekoyt Chastelle," where King Edward the First of England passed a night during his progress through Scotland in 1296.² From its position on his route it seems to have been near the junction of the Alyth Burn with the river Isla, and probably is identical with an old castle in the parish of Ruthven in Forfarshire, said to have belonged to the Earls of Crawford, which was demolished in last century.³ This supposition is corroborated by the evidence of a charter under the Great Seal of King Robert the Second to Sir James Lindsay, of date 3d February 1375. In that charter the King grants, in addition to other lands which had been resigned by Lindsay, "also the place of our castle of Inuercuych . . . in the thanage of Alyth and sheriffdom of Perth." This grant is followed by other charters of the same lands.⁴

A further question arises as to Laurence le Grant's connection with Inverquoich. In 1262-3, G. de Cambusmychel was bailie of that place.⁵ A year later he is described as "formerly bailie," having apparently resigned.⁶ Laurence le Grant was bailie of Inverquoich in 1266, and rendered the account for that year.⁷ But between the two dates there is an account rendered by Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, as bailie of "Invery."⁸ He paid a certain sum of money for repair of the house and drawbridge, and for the building of a new hall within the castle; also for the food of eight men who occupied the place for six months during the time of King Haco's attempt on Scotland. Then a question arose in the Exchequer as to whether the Earl of Buchan or Laurence le Grant, the Sheriff of Inverness, ought to answer to the king for the rents of "Invery." From this conjunction of "Invery" and the Sheriff of Inverness, it has been concluded that the copyist of the transcripts, which are all that remain of the earliest Exchequer Rolls, made a mistake, and wrote "Invery"

¹ Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. pp. 3, 33.

² Historical Documents, Scotland, vol. ii. p. 28.

³ Gazetteer of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 628.

⁴ Registrum Magni Sigilli, pp. 137, 141, etc.

⁵ Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. p. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 16.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 33.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 18.

instead of Ulerin or Vlerin, which is said to be the modern Blervie, near Forres, and the only royal castle in that district not elsewhere mentioned in the accounts.¹ But independently of the fact that Blervie is usually known in early documents as "Blare" or "Blarie,"² the fact that though Laurence le Grant was Sheriff of the great sheriffdom of Inverness, he was also appointed bailie of a royal castle, which has been shown to lie on the borders of Forfarshire, indicates that mere locality had little to do with such appointments. It therefore seems probable that "Invery" simply means Inverquoich, which was a royal castle, that it had then changed hands, and that Laurence Grant had been appointed bailie. The Earl of Buchan, as Justiciary of Scotland, may, during the transfer, have paid the money for repairs on the fabric of the castle, but it was to be expected that the new bailie would account for the rents.

It is indeed not improbable, though the deficiency of contemporary record forbids absolute certainty, that the choice of Laurence le Grant, though Sheriff of Inverness, to be bailie of the castle of Inverquoich, may have arisen from his having some influence in the neighbourhood. This point will be referred to in the next memoir.

Nothing further is known of Laurence le Grant than what can be gleaned from the notices of him already quoted. The original possession of Stratherrick is assigned by tradition to the Grants. There is undoubted evidence that, at a later date, the Grants were Lords of Stratherrick, and it may be that from Walter Byset, while Lord of Stratherrick, Laurence le Grant acquired lands there which enabled him to hold the high office of Sheriff of Inverness. This, however, is wholly matter of conjecture, and though he was undoubtedly the first of his name who had authority in the north of Scotland, it is impossible to give further particulars of his history or possessions. The name of his wife is also unknown both to history and tradition. It is usually stated in histories of the Grants that Gregory le Grant, the alleged father of Laurence, married Mary, daughter of Byset of Lovat, and with her got Stratherrick. As shown, however, it is not proved that there was a Gregory le Grant, and Byset of Aboyne, not Byset of

¹ Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. p. xlvi, note.

² Cf. *Registrum Moraviense*; *Statistical Account of Scotland, Elginshire*, p. 248.

Lovat, held Stratherrick. If, as has been suggested, the Grants did acquire that territory by marriage, facts would point to a daughter of Walter Bysset of Aboyne, but no evidence on the subject is known to exist.

In regard to the strong presumption stated in this memoir that there was a family connection between the Byssets and the Grants prior to 1258, a few remarks as to the armorial bearings of the two families may not be out of place. Setting aside the fabulous or romantic theory of the well-known three crowns in the Grant arms, indicating their descent from as many Scandinavian kings, it is somewhat remarkable that no authentic origin has been assigned to them by any genealogist or herald. Unhappily the oldest seals in the family charter-chest date no further back than early in the sixteenth century, and thus afford no evidence as to the earliest period at which the three crowns were used as armorial bearings by the Grants. About the year 1325 John le Grant, the first Lord of Inverallan, affixed his seal to a charter by Sir Patrick Graham of Lovat.¹ It is important to know that the Grants bore arms at so early a date, but though the charter is extant, the seal is gone, and no conclusion can be drawn from it as to the bearings.

On the other hand, a certain amount of evidence is obtained from another source, by comparing the armorial bearings of the Frasers of Lovat at their first acquisition of Lovat, and at a later date, after they acquired Stratherrick. Hugh Fraser became Lord of Lovat in 1367, and in 1377 and 1390 he executed certain charters, to which he affixed his seal. The device upon that seal is described as "Couché, a triangular shield bearing three rosettes or cinquefoils within a border charged with nine stars or mullets." The crest is a stag's head, the supporters two lions rampant regardant, and the legend "Sill H . . . Fraser."²

Such was the Lovat seal in 1390. In 1431, the grandson of the first Hugh Fraser used a seal which is described as "Quarterly: first and fourth, three cinquefoils for Fraser; second and third, three crowns. Crest on helmet, a stag's head. Supporters, two lions sejant."³ Stratherrick was resigned, in 1419, in favour of her son, James Mackintosh, by Elizabeth

¹ Charter quoted in *History of Beaulieu Priory*, p. 78.

Laing's Catalogue of Scottish Seals, vol. i. No. 351.

³ *Laing's Ancient Scottish Seals*, vol. ii. No. 388;

² *The Frasers of Philorth*, vol. ii. pp. 171, 182; *Rose of Kilravock*, p. 120.

le Grant, the then heiress of the Grants, and lady of that territory, as related in a subsequent memoir. Three years thereafter, on 9th August 1422, Thomas Dunbar, Earl of Moray, entered into a contract with Hugh Fraser of Lovat for the marriage of their children, and bestowed upon Lovat the barony of Abertarff, in terms of a charter formerly granted, from which it would appear that Hugh Fraser already held the *dominium utile* of the lands conveyed.¹ The barony of Abertarff at a later period included Stratherrick, and if this was so in 1422, it is remarkable that a few years afterwards, Hugh Fraser is found bearing in addition to his own arms the three crowns assigned by tradition as the cognisance of the Grants from time immemorial, and which were certainly borne by them at a later date. This fact raises a strong presumption that the three crowns were assumed by the second Hugh Fraser as the bearings of the former Lords of Stratherrick. It has been suggested that the first Hugh Fraser in 1390 had adopted the stag's head crest because it was that of his feudal superior the Earl of Moray, whose seal is affixed to the same document.² This suggestion tends to corroborate the presumption that Hugh Fraser's descendant on acquiring Stratherrick also assumed the bearings of his immediate predecessors in that territory, who in this case were Grants.

There is thus, in default of actual proof, a certain amount of presumptive evidence that the three crowns were really the cognisance of the Lords of Stratherrick, and borne by the Grants as such. The question then arises, whence did the Grants derive these armorial bearings? The opinion formerly prevailed that the three crowns quartered in the Fraser of Lovat coat were those of Bysset. Were this clearly established, it would bear out all that has been said about the connection between the Byssets and the Grants. Sir David Lindsay, however, in his Heraldry, gives the cognisance of the Byssets of Beaufort as a simple ordinary, a bend *argent* on a shield *azure*. The same arms are borne on a seal of Elizabeth Bysset, a granddaughter of the founder of Beaully, attached to a Kilravock charter, about 1280.³ The cognisance of the bend may, however, have been confined to one branch of the family, as the seals of the Byssets show a variety of

¹ Spalding Miscellany, vol. v. p. 256.

² The Frasers of Philorth, vol. ii. pp. 174, 182.

³ Rose of Kilravock, pp. 20, 111.

charges. Thus a William Byset bears in 1292 a "bend with a label of five points;" another William Byset bears a peacock passant, not on a shield; a Walter Byset bears "an eagle with wings expanded, not on a shield;" a third William Byset bears "a boar's head coupé, not on a shield, and in the background two mullets." The three seals last mentioned are detached, and the dates are not known, but from their devices they must be of an early period. Later Byset seals are also given, different from the foregoing, but none of them bearing a bend.¹

This variety of cognisances among the Byset family renders it less possible to decide that they bore a particular charge on their shields, and it shows that the bend was not universally adopted by them. On the other hand, there is one Byset cognisance which suggests the arms borne by the Grants. It is found on the seal of a certain Baldred de Bisset, which is appended to an acquittance to a bursar of Durham for £10 arrears of pension, dated in 1288.² It is thus described, "A fleur-de-lis between two roses or cinquefoils, beneath an arched crown, not on a shield, the seal itself being of that shape." Legend, "Sigill. Baldredi de Bisset." Nothing further can be ascertained regarding this Baldred. It is possible he may have been a cleric. But be this as it may, the seal suggests the possibility that a crown may have been borne by some branch of the Bysets, and this may have led to its adoption by the Grants, with a difference.

¹ Laing's Ancient Scottish Seals, vol. i. Nos. 117-120; vol. ii. Nos. 98-102.

² *Ibid.* No. 98. Original *penes* Dean and Chapter of Durham.

II.—JOHN LE GRANT, FIRST OF INVERALLAN, IN STRATHSPEY.

1296-c. 1325.

ACCORDING to the traditional pedigree of the family of Grant, Sir Laurence le Grant had two sons, John and Robert le Grant. But though for the sake of orderly sequence the pedigree handed down by tradition may be followed in the early portion of this work, it is simply to be understood as indicating the chronological order of generations, not as indorsing its statements, except in cases where relationship is definitely proved. Therefore, though John and Robert Grant are here linked together, because they are named together in history, it is to be noted that there is no actual proof of any relationship between them and Sir Laurence, or that they were kin to each other. All that is known of them is that they were present at the battle of Dunbar on 27th April 1296, were taken prisoners, and after a year's imprisonment, were set free on condition of going with King Edward the First to Flanders. These are all the facts which can be ascertained concerning John and Robert le Grant conjointly. One of the two returned to Scotland, and became prominent in the north; the fate of the other is not known. But these salient points of their joint history are rendered interesting by various attendant circumstances, which also throw light on the pedigree of the name of Grant at this period.

If, as has been suggested, Sir Laurence le Grant was in friendly connection with the House of Byset, it seems probable that John and Robert le Grant began their career under the auspices of another powerful northern family, that of the Comyns. When King Edward the First, in 1296, led an army against Berwick, and captured and sacked that town, it was the northern Earls of Buchan, Ross, Athole, Mar, and Menteith, and the great northern barons, John Comyn of Badenoch and his son, who were most prompt in summoning their retainers to retaliate on the English

the wrongs of the Scots. These nobles marched at the head of a large army into England and ravaged Northumberland with fire and sword.¹ A detached party from this large force threw themselves into the castle of Dunbar. On being summoned by the English commander, the Earl of Surrey, who, at the head of 11,000 men, had been sent to besiege the castle, the garrison agreed to capitulate within three days unless relieved by the main army of the Scots. This led to the battle of Dunbar, in which the Scots, chiefly through their own rashness, were wholly defeated, a large number being slain by the English in the pursuit.

The battle of Dunbar was fought on 27th April 1296, and the next day the garrison of the castle, who had been greatly dismayed at the rout of their countrymen, capitulated to King Edward in person, "placing life and limb at his disposal." The king, however, would make no condition nor give any promise of favour. The English historian who thus records the surrender of the castle gives the names of the leaders. He states that the names of those who were taken (in the castle, not in the pursuit) were these:—William Earl of Ross, (John) Earl of Athole, Alexander Earl of Menteith, John son of John Comyn (of Badenoch), William of St. Clair, Richard Syward, John son of Geoffrey Moubray. With these magnates also were found and taken thirty-one knights and one hundred esquires (including, as will be shown, John and Robert le Grant), with two clerics, John Somerville and William St. Clair.² All these the king sent in divisions of twelve or sixteen to various castles in England, to be kept in firm custody.³ In addition to the magnates just named, another English historian enumerates John of Inchmartin, Alexander Moray, and Edmund or Edward Comyn of Kilbride, and makes a slight variation in the number of attendant knights and esquires.⁴

The garrison of Dunbar may therefore be said to have consisted of three earls, some prominent barons, and their immediate and personal followers. They were, as stated, distributed in various castles throughout England. The Earls of Ross, Athole, and Menteith, John Comyn younger,

¹ Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 101.

² Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 105.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 104, 105; William St. Clair afterwards became bishop of Dunkeld.

⁴ Scalacronica, p. 123.

John Mowbray, Richard Siward, John of Inchmartin, and others, were sent to the Tower of London.¹ The warrant of committal and other official papers bearing on their custody are very precise in stating that the prisoners were taken in the castle of Dunbar in Scotland, and that the conflict there had been between the king and them.

The less important prisoners were sent, some to Gloucester, others to Bristol and Corfe Castles. Among those in Gloucester, as appears from an account of Walter de Beauchamp, constable of that place, were Master William St. Clair, one of the clerics above referred to, and John le Grant, with three others, one of them a knight, all of whom are said to have been taken in the Castle of Dunbar.² The account of the constable of Bristol Castle names among the prisoners there Richard Siward, younger, Alexander Comyn, knights; John, son of Alexander of Moray, and Robert le Grant, with two others, also all described as taken in the Castle of Dunbar. The sum charged for the maintenance of the cleric and each knight was 4d. a day, and for each esquire 3d. Their keepers also received 3d. each *per diem*.³

These accounts imply that John le Grant and Robert le Grant were at that date simply esquires, and therefore attached to the train of some knight, that in his service they might win their spurs. In the case of the Grants it is probable that their leader was John Comyn of Badenoch, then the most powerful baron in the immediate neighbourhood of Moray.

On 30th July 1297, after the Scots taken at Dunbar had been rather more than a year in captivity, they were released on condition of serving King Edward in his expedition against France. The Earl of Athole was first released, ample bail being taken for his performing his promise. On the same date, there were liberated among others the following knights:—Alexander Comyn, brother of John Comyn of Badenoch, David Graham, brother of Patrick Graham, David Graham his nephew, Hugh of Erthe, and Robert Comyn, brother of John of Badenoch. The securities for these knights were, with others, the two John Comyns of Badenoch, elder and younger.

Immediately after these knights the following were liberated:—John le Graunte, Alexander Corbet, Robert (or Ralph) le Graunte, Alan

¹ Fordon, vol. i. p. 841.

² Historical Documents, Scotland, vol. ii. p. 54.

³ *Ibid.* p. 55.

Lascelles, and others, for each of whom John Comyn, the elder, of Badenoch, and David Graham, pledged themselves.¹

In regard to the first of these securities, while the fact that John Comyn of Badenoch pledged himself for the Grants raises a certain presumption that John and Robert le Grant were, while at Dunbar, in his following, there exists other evidence of intercourse between the family of Comyn and that of Grant. During the interregnum between the death of the "Maid of Norway" and the accession of King John Balliol to the throne of Scotland, the Scottish fortresses were in the hands of those barons who had been appointed guardians of the kingdom, and the matters relative to these castles were administered partly by the King of England and partly by the guardians of Scotland, of whom John Comyn of Badenoch was one.

In June 1291 the guardians of Scotland yielded the fortresses of Scotland to Edward the First as Lord Paramount, and among those thus given up was the castle of Clunie. From the fact that the salary of the castellan of this fortress continued to be paid by the bailie of Sir John Comyn, it cannot be doubted that the latter was the guardian under whose special charge this castle was, and the custodier of the fortress was Patrick le Grant. The ruins of the castle of Clunie may still be traced on an island in the lake of that name in Perthshire, and must have been of considerable extent, as King Edward himself visited it during his progress through Scotland in 1296, and remained there no fewer than five days, thus proving that the place was commodious.² From Clunie the king passed to Inverquoich, the small castle which has already been shown to have been under Laurence le Grant as bailie.

Patrick le Grant was castellan of Clunie before 24th August 1291, but from that date, until 27th July 1292, his receipts for his salary of two shillings a day have been preserved. These receipts occur at regular intervals, and run in the name of Hugh of Erthe, bailie of Sir John Comyn in the abthanage of Dull, by whom Patrick Grant's salary was paid until 28th July 1292, on which day he delivered over the castle

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 869.

² *Itineraire de Roy Edward en Escoce A.D. MCCXCVI.* Ragman Rolls, p. 178. Bannatyne Club, 1834.

of Clunie to the same Hugh of Erthe, as directed by a precept from the Bishop of Durham [Anthony Beck].¹ This Hugh of Erthe was one of the knights already named as having been taken in the castle of Dunbar, and among those for whom the Comyns of Badenoch became surety on the same day with the Grants. At this date several other Grants are on record whose names may be mentioned, although, as in the case of the castellan of Clunie, there is no documentary evidence to instruct their relationship. In 1295 and 1296 David le Grant was Sheriff of Stirling for King Edward the First,² and in 1296 a Robert le Grant swore fealty to the English king for lands in the county of Fife.³ It is not improbable, however, from the context, that the last named was a churchman.

While so much may be said why John Comyn, the elder lord of Badenoch, should pledge himself for the Grants, the name of his fellow security, Sir David Graham, is even more suggestive of their connection with the north of Scotland, and, in particular, with Stratherrick, the early possession of the Grants.

Sir David of Graham here named, was the husband of Muriel Byset, the youngest daughter and co-heiress of that John Byset who entered into the agreement already referred to with the Bishop of Moray in 1258, to which Laurence and Robert le Grant were witnesses. John Byset died in 1259, leaving a son, who died without issue, and three daughters, who succeeded to his property.⁴ Of these three, Muriel, the youngest, the wife of Sir David Graham, inherited the lands of Lovat, close to the Priory of Beaully, founded by her grandfather. In an agreement with the Bishop of Moray about the land of Kiltarlity and the fishings of the river Farrar, Sir David Graham is styled Lord of Lovat,⁵ and his son, Sir Patrick Graham, before 1325 granted a third part of his lands of Altyre to the Priory of Beaully, for the multures of Lovat, Fingask, and Donaldston.⁶

That Sir David Graham, the successor of the Bysets in a third part of

¹ Historical Documents, Scotland, vol. i. pp. 247-335, *passim*.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 17, 80.

³ Ragman Rolls, p. 142.

⁴ History of the Priory of Beaully, p. 54; Calendarium Genealogicum, vol. i. p. 265.

⁵ Registrum Moraviense, p. 135.

⁶ History of the Priory of Beaully, p. 78.

their large territory, the lordship of Lovat, which lordship afterwards comprehended Stratherrick, should interest himself in John and Robert le Grant, is a fact of considerable importance, tending very strongly to connect them with the northern family of Grant and their territory of Stratherrick. The friendship here shown by Sir David Graham towards the Grants was continued by his son and successor, Sir Patrick Graham, who became Lord of Lovat before December 1298.¹ Sir Patrick Graham appears to have been a prisoner in England for some time after 1304, but between 1315 and 1325 he executed various charters, to one of which, namely, the charter of the third of Altyre, already referred to, John le Grant was a party under special circumstances. To that document Sir Patrick Graham appends, along with his own seal, the seal of John le Grant, a proceeding which infers a high degree of intimacy, or that John le Grant had in some way an interest in the lands conveyed. If this was the case, such interest could have been derived only through connection with the family of Bysset. The lands affected by the charter were Lovat, Fingask, and Donaldston, in the barony of Lovat, part of the possessions of John Bysset, founder of Beaully Priory, which had descended to his granddaughters. These lands lay at some distance from Stratherrick, which was on the south-eastern shore of Loch Ness. Stratherrick is not proved to have belonged to John Bysset, the founder of Beaully Priory, but it certainly belonged to his uncle Walter, in whose train the Grants came from England. If, as has been suggested, a matrimonial connection existed between the Byssets and the Grants, it may have been such as would give the latter family an interest in the Lovat territory.

It may be noted, however, that John le Grant's seal is appended as if he were a party to the deed rather than a witness, and he is not named among the witnesses. The names of these latter are important :—Thomas, Bishop of Ross, Sir William Fenton and John his son, John son of Cristin of the Ard, Harold son of Dofnald, Andrew le Grant, Alexander Corbet, Alan of Lascelles, and others. Sir William Fenton was either the uncle of Sir Patrick Graham by marriage with Cecilia Bysset, or his cousin, probably the latter, as the husband of Cecilia Bysset seems to have died before 1315.

¹ *Registrum Moraviense*, p. 136.

The Fentons therefore were specially interested from their alliance with the Bysets. So also were the de Ards, but Cristin de le Ard is said to have been a comrade of Patrick Graham's father in 1296.¹ Alexander Corbet and Alan de Lascelles, two of the witnesses, are identical in name with two fellow-prisoners of Sir Patrick Graham's father, taken with him in the castle of Dunbar, and liberated on his security. They are named in the same list with John and Robert (Ralph) le Grant as engaging to cross the sea with the English king, and the fact of their now being found in company with Sir Patrick Graham and John le Grant seems to prove what otherwise might have been doubtful, that the John le Grant, whose seal is here used, was the same John le Grant who was liberated in 1297.

The name of Alexander Corbet as a witness to Sir Patrick Graham's charter is further of interest, in that the earliest mention of the family of Corbet in the north of Scotland, like that of le Grant, is in connection with the Bysets. Archibald and Hugh Corbet witness a deed of arrangement in 1221 between Brice, Bishop of Moray, and John Bysset, the founder of Beaully Priory. Hugh is also a witness to several other deeds of the same John Bysset, in one case along with three members of the Bysset family.² Thus in Sir Patrick Graham's charter three persons are named as in company, John le Grant, Alexander Corbet, and Alan Lascelles, comrades in arms, fellow prisoners in 1296, and liberated together in 1297. They had also been fellow-soldiers of Sir Patrick Graham's father, and might on that account claim friendship with the son; but, besides that bond, two of them had another link of connection between their families and that of Graham,—the tie of a prior friendship with the house of Bysset.

From all these circumstances it may be concluded that of the two le Grants on record as present at Dunbar in April 1296, John le Grant at least was connected with Morayshire, and he may therefore have been a son, or more probably a grandson, of Laurence le Grant, the Sheriff of Inverness-shire. Of Robert le Grant, nothing further has been ascertained than what has been stated. He and John le Grant doubtless fulfilled their engagement to go abroad, but the latter alone is proved to have returned to Scotland.

¹ History of the Priory of Beaully, pp. 74, 75, 81.

² Registrum Moraviense, pp. 16, 60, 333.

John le Grant, the subject of this memoir, has the distinction of being the first of his name who is known to have possessed lands in Strathspey. In the romantic history of the family of Grant, already referred to, the Grants are said to have removed at an early period from Stratherrick to Strathspey, under the leadership of Sir Patrick Grant, Lord of Stratherrick. This, however, is mythical, as an early transcript of the charters of Inverallan, the first possession of the Grants in Strathspey, has been preserved, which clearly proves that these lands were first acquired by John le Grant about the same time that he affixed his seal to Sir Patrick Graham's charter.

On 18th October 1316, William of Federeth, younger, a son or grandson of that William of Federeth who, between 1262 and 1294, married Christian of Moravia, a co-heiress of Freskin of Moravia, last of the old Lords of Duffus, acting as superior of the lands of Inverallan, confirmed to John le Grant a charter of sale of these lands. The charter confirmed is undated, but must have been granted in 1316. By it John of Inverallan, son of Gilbert, brother of Augustine, Lord of Inverallan, and heir of his uncle through the decease of Gilbert, alienated to John le Grant his whole land of Inverallan, namely, three davachs of land in all, to be held of the king for forensic service.¹ John le Grant was then infeft in the lands, in which he was succeeded by his son Patrick, as will be shown in the next memoir.

The time at which John le Grant became lord of lands in Strathspey was a period of transition in the history of Moray. King Robert Bruce had secured the independence of the kingdom of Scotland by the victory at Bannockburn. From the first moment of his determination to achieve the liberty of his country, Bruce had waged a deadly feud against the Comyns. Not only, while engaged in his earlier struggles against the English, did he ravage the lands of the Comyns in Galloway, Badenoch, and Buchan, but now, when firmly seated on the throne, he bestowed their territories on his faithful followers. The wide territory of the Earldom of Moray, from the Spey on the east to Glenelg on the west,² including Lochaber, Badenoch, and Glenearnie, was bestowed, about the year 1315, upon Thomas Randolph,

¹ Ancient Transcript of Inverallan Charters at Castle Grant; vol. iii. of this work, pp. 257, 258.

² *Registrum Moravie*, p. 342.

the king's nephew, who became feudal superior of all the smaller barons who had held under the Morays, the Byssets, or the Comyns. It may have been in consequence of this change of overlord that the Augustines, who had been Lords of Inverallan from before 1250, effected the transfer, in 1316, of their lands to John le Grant, who thus became the first of the Grants in Strathspey.

Whether this charter of Inverallan be later in date than the charter of Sir Patrick Graham, cannot readily be ascertained, but the probability is that Sir Patrick Graham's charter was the most recent, though not later than 1325.¹ If so, then it seems to be the latest authentic record of John le Grant, first of Inverallan. A John Grant is stated by an English historian to have been present with Sir Patrick Graham and other "nobiles milites" in the Earl of Moray's division of the Scottish army at Halidon Hill in 1333. At first it appears as if this were John le Grant of Inverallan, who, as a baron of Moray, would naturally follow the standard of his overlord the Earl of Moray, and that he had been made a knight. Probable as this supposition may appear, however, the precise terms of a charter by King Robert the Second in 1371, fully narrated in a subsequent memoir, forbid such a conclusion, and indicate that the John Grant of 1333 is to be identified not with John le Grant of Inverallan, but with another member of the family. The probabilities are indeed very equally balanced, but the evidence and the conclusions to be drawn therefrom will be further discussed in a later memoir.

In former pedigrees of the Grant family, three John Grants are made to follow each other at this period. John Grant who fought at Halidon in 1333 has been assumed to be a son of John Grant who was taken prisoner at Dunbar in 1296, and father of John Grant who in 1346 was appointed custodier of the castle of Tarnaway, and was prominent between 1357 and 1368. Comparison of dates and other circumstances, however, lead to the conclusion indicated in this memoir, that the John Grant of 1297 is identical with John le Grant the first of Inverallan, who survived till about 1325, while a second John le Grant appears at a later date. There were thus only two John Grants in succession.

¹ History of the Priory of Beaulieu, p. 78. Thomas, Bishop of Ross, one of the witnesses, died in 1325.

Some difficulty arises in regard to the posterity of John le Grant of Inverallan. According to one version of the traditional Grant pedigree, Sir John le Grant of 1297 is said to have married Bigla Comyn of Glencarnie, and to have had three sons, Sir John (of 1333), Sir Alan, and Thomas, an ecclesiastic. No authority for this statement can be found, and the marriage with Bigla of Glencarnie belongs to a later date. Who was the wife of John le Grant of Inverallan has not been ascertained, and there is authentic evidence only for one son, Patrick le Grant, Lord of Stratherrick and Inverallan, the subject of the next memoir.

But though the evidence as to John le Grant's posterity is thus imperfect, yet, for reasons which appear in a later chapter, Sir John le Grant, the custodier of Darnaway in 1346, has been in this work admitted to a place in the Grant pedigree. There is good ground for believing him to be a relative, if not a son, of John le Grant of Inverallan.

As to other Grants named at this period, and who may have been members of the same family with the subject of this memoir, there is first Alan Grant, of whom nothing further is known than that he was in the Earl of Moray's division at Halidon, and therefore probably holding land of the Earl. It is only, however, from English historians that this information is obtained, and they may have made a mistake. No Alan Grant appears on record, but an *Andrew* le Grant is named along with the Fontons and others in Sir Patrick Graham's charter, already referred to. He and Sir Patrick Graham are again named together as witnesses to the charter conveying Inverallan to John le Grant in 1316.¹ He must therefore have been a person of some note. In the charter of Inverallan also a name occurs, afterwards allied with the Grants, Alexander Pylche, burghess of Inverness. Andrew le Grant himself was connected with that burgh, as appears from the accounts rendered to Exchequer on the 30th November 1331 and 8th March 1333 respectively, by the Provost of Inverness.² A question arose as to a sum of 15s., the rent of four lands in the said burgh belonging to Andrew le Grant, and it was decided that he was due nothing to the king from them. As the date of these accounts precedes the battle of Halidon

¹ Transcript of Inverallan Charters; vol. iii. of this work, p. 258.

² Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. pp. 354, 417.

by a few weeks, and after that event no mention is found of Andrew le Grant, it is not improbable that he is identical with the Alan Grant of the English historians. If so, his being in company with John le Grant of Inverallan on various important occasions suggests a connection between them. They may, as is traditionally alleged, have been brothers.

Another person who may have been a member of the family is Maurice Grant. He is first named as acting on behalf of the Provosts of Inverness in rendering their accounts to Exchequer, at Berwick, on 16th March 1331, and at Scone, 8th March 1333. He also rendered the account for the regality of the Earl of Moray within the sheriffdom of Inverness, at Aberdeen, on 30th December 1337. In 1340, if not for some time before that date, he filled the important office of Sheriff of Inverness,¹ a post similar to that held by Sir Laurence le Grant. No further trace of this Maurice Grant can be discovered after 1340, and no proof of any relationship to John le Grant of Inverallan can be established. From this date onward, however, as will be shown in later chapters, the name of Grant became prominent in Inverness, though it cannot be proved that the Grants of Inverness had a right to claim kindred with the family of Inverallan.

A Thomas le Grant, who is inserted in pedigrees of the Grants as a son of John le Grant, also appears at this time. All that is known of him is that in 1333 he was one of an assize held at the Hospital Hall of Aberdeen upon a recognition of the possession by Reginald of Rane of certain lands in the shire of Aberdeen.² This Thomas le Grant is claimed as the ancestor of the Grants of Normandy, through two sons ascribed to him, Thomas and William, who are said to have passed over to that country in 1359.³

¹ Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. pp. 310, 417, 440, 465.

² Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, vol. i. p. 53.

³ Memoires de la Maison de Grant, par Charles Grant, Vicomte de Vaux, 1796.

III. 1.—PATRICK LE GRANT, LORD OF STRATHERRICK AND INVERALLAN.

1345-1362.

THE subject of this memoir, who, according to authentic record, succeeded Sir John le Grant in possession of Inverallan, has hitherto in former pedigrees of the Grants either been altogether ignored, or his biography has been misstated.¹ Very little is known of Patrick le Grant's history, but that little is important. It is derived chiefly from charter evidence, which proves clearly, on the one hand, that he was son of, or at least directly descended from Sir John le Grant of Inverallan, and, on the other hand, that he was in actual possession of Stratherrick. In a charter dated between 1357 and 1362, Patrick le Grant, as Lord of Stratherrick, conveyed to his son-in-law part of the lands of Inverallan.² The details of the document will be treated of presently; its bearings on the subject of Stratherrick only need be considered now.

This charter is the first authoritative proof that the Grants possessed Stratherrick, no other document in which the territory is named having been found of any date between the charter to Walter Bysset already referred to and this charter by Patrick le Grant. This dearth of documents concerning Stratherrick is accounted for by their destruction in the time of the troubles with the Islesmen, to which reference has already been made in the Introduction. But not even in the Register of the Bishopric of Moray is any reference made to Stratherrick, except a casual allusion to the king's dues from that district. That Walter Bysset had a charter of the territory at an early period is undoubted, but no document records when the Grants acquired possession. The sole proof of their being lords of the territory rests upon this one charter; and one of two conclusions seems inevitable, either that Patrick le Grant obtained the

¹ Shaw's *Moray*, pp. 25, 26.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 10.

land and was the first of his family there, or that tradition is correct, and Stratherrick was the earliest home of the Grants in the north, and was inherited peacefully from father to son from Sir Laurence le Grant downwards, thus leaving no record of its transference. The latter is the more likely; and if Sir Laurence le Grant is not found to be designated Lord of Stratherrick, it is doubtless because that designation was eclipsed by the higher title of his important position as Sheriff of Inverness.

The history of Patrick le Grant, apart from this important charter, may be told in brief space. He appears on record for the first time about the year 1345, as a witness to a charter by John Randolph, third Earl of Moray, bestowing upon Sir Robert of Chisholm certain lands in Urquhart, Lochletter, etc. The place at which the charter was granted is not stated, but among the witnesses are the Bishops of Dunkeld, Moray, and Ross; William Wiseman, Reginald le Chen, and James of Kerdale, knights; the Earl's Chancellor; Simon Fraser, William of Kerdale, and others.¹ All these barons held lands within the earldom of Moray, and owed military service to the Earl, as did Patrick le Grant by the tenure of his lands of Inverallan and Stratherrick, which were also territorially comprehended in the earldom of Moray.²

The next notice of Patrick le Grant is in the charter of Inverallan, already referred to. The date of this charter is fixed as between 1351 and 1362, because Alexander, Bishop of Ross, one of the witnesses, was promoted to that see in March 1351, and Robert, Prior of Beaulieu, another witness, ceased to be prior before 1362. By that charter Patrick le Grant bestowed upon his son-in-law William, called Pylche, burgess of Inverness, that whole davoch of land of Kykdroke (Dreggie), and the half davoch of Glenbeg, with the pertinents, lying within the granter's lands of Inverallan. These lands were to be held by William Pylche and his spouse Elizabeth, the daughter of Patrick le Grant, and their heirs, as freely as Patrick's predecessor held them of the king, or he himself had held them of Thomas Earl of Moray and his heirs; and failing heirs of William and Elizabeth the lands were to return to Patrick le Grant and his heirs. William

¹ The Familie of Innes, pp. 59, 60.

² Chamberlain Rolls, quoted in the Thaness of Cawdor, p. 24.

Pylche was to render "forensic service" to the king, so far as pertained to Kildreke and Glenbeg, in accordance with the terms of the charter of infestment of Inverallan, granted to Patrick le Grant's father.¹ This last clause is conclusive proof that Patrick le Grant was the son of Sir John Grant of Inverallan, as the above tenure is precisely stated in Sir John le Grant's charter of infestment in 1316.

Nothing more is known, from authentic sources, regarding Patrick le Grant. Tradition, however, supplies the lack with various incidents, one of which is of a romantic character; but, as may be expected, dates and statements are not consistent. One tradition, which may be correct, asserts that Patrick le Grant married a daughter of Wiseman of Mulben; another asserts that Patrick, about 1400, married the famous Bigla Comyn; and a third attributes to Patrick le Grant a remoter antiquity, and states that he sold his lands of Stratherrick to his brother-in-law, Lord Lovat, and with sixteen followers came to Strathspey about the year 1250. All these stories have clustered round the name of Patrick le Grant, Lord of Stratherrick, but, as will be shown, they are the mythical embellishment of one or two facts which happened at a much more recent date. The Grant traditions also relate that after the final settlement of Patrick and his friends in Strathspey, while he was on a visit to the Baron of Kincardine, he was attacked by a party of Cummings,² surrounded by numbers and put to death. The Grants pursued the murderers, who took refuge in the church of Kincardine. This brought the Grants to a stand, as their minds were divided betwixt the desire of revenge and the fear of shedding blood within a sanctuary; but one of their number eased his conscience as to bloodshed, and also satisfied his revenge, by shooting a blazing arrow at the heather-thatched roof of the church. It immediately caught fire, and the church and the Cummings were burnt together, save one man of great stature, who escaped by fleetness of foot, but was overtaken, and lost his head with the blow of a two-edged sword, "which sword," adds the chronicler, "to this day lies in the representative of Clan Cheran's house."³

¹ Vol iii. of this work, p. 10.

² The name Comyn or Cumin, after this date, appears more frequently in its modern form Cumming.

³ Mr. Chapman's Account of the Grants, print of 1876, p. 21.

It is possible the last story may be based on some real event, as more than one massacre of the same kind is recorded by tradition, but there is nothing to fix the date or to prove that Patrick le Grant met his death at the hands of the Cummings, though tribal feuds were sufficiently common to warrant the possibility. The allegations of tradition as to the sale of Stratherrick to Lord Lovat, while evidently based on the fact that Stratherrick did pass into possession of the Frasers of Lovat, who added the arms of Grant to those of Fraser, are altogether erroneous as regards Patrick le Grant. In regard to his family also, tradition errs. It asserts that he left only one daughter and heiress, Marjory or Maud, that in spite of parental opposition, which was latterly overcome, she married an Andrew Stewart, Sheriff of Bute, who changed his name to Grant, and became ancestor of the Grants of Grant, and that afterwards they "lived quietly and comfortably together for many years." But this romantic little episode is disproved by the charter of Inverullan already quoted, and other authentic evidence regarding the descendants of Patrick le Grant of Stratherrick.

In these traditions there may be a certain amount of truth, which, however, bears the same proportion to pure legend as did Falstaff's bread to his gallon of sack. There was such a person as Andrew Grant in the preceding generation, and though the name of Patrick le Grant's only known daughter was Elizabeth, whose husband was William Pyleho, yet it is true that Patrick le Grant's lordship of Stratherrick did pass away from the family through failure of male heirs. On 28th August 1419, Elizabeth le Grant, Lady of Stratherrick, gave to her son, James Mackintosh, the whole right which she had, or could claim, in the lands of Stratherrick. This gift was made with some solemnity at Kildrummy Castle, in Mar, in the presence of Robert, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Alexander (Stewart), Earl of Mar. The lady publicly declared that she had never, in times bygone, made any alienation of the lands other than she then proposed to make, and that the transaction might be more binding, she begged that the Bishop of Dunkeld would append his seal to the instrument narrating her disposition of the lands.¹

There is no indication in the deed of concession as to the parentage of

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 15, 16.

Elizabeth le Grant, and at first sight it might appear probable that she was identical with Elizabeth le Grant, the wife of William Pylche, retaining her maiden name, and that James Mackintosh was the offspring of a second marriage. But a document, preserved in the Grant charter-chest and printed elsewhere, shows that she was the granddaughter of Patrick le Grant, and his nearest heir. On 29th September 1433, as granddaughter and nearer heir of the late Patrick le Grant, Lord of Stratherrick, she conveys to John Seres, her nearest heir, grandson descending in direct line (*recta linea*) from her, all her lands and possessions whatsoever, which she, at the time of granting, held by hereditary right, as well as all other lands and rents belonging to her, but not now in her possession; the lordship and freedom (*libertatem*) of the same, however, remaining as formerly with her during her life.¹

No mention is here made of Stratherrick, which was then probably in the hands of Mackintosh or Fraser of Lovat; nor is any special reference made to Inverallan, though part of it was for a time in the hands of John Seres. But it seems clear from the document last quoted that Patrick le Grant must have left a son, whose only child and heiress was Elizabeth le Grant. The name of this son has not been positively ascertained, but it is not improbable that he was the Malcolm le Grant who appears among other barons of the neighbourhood, in a court held by Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, the "Wolf of Badenoch," on 11th October 1380. On that occasion a dispute which had arisen between the Bishop of Moray and the Earl as to the holding of certain lands was finally adjusted, and the judgment of the Earl affecting the bishop's rights was ordered to be torn from the rolls of the Court, and given to a notary to be burned, which was done with much ceremony in a large fire kindled within the chamber. Among those who stood round that fire in the great chamber behind the hall in the castle of Ruthven, witnessing the destruction of the documents, were a number of clerics and barons, among the latter being Gilbert, Lord of Glencarnie, Andrew Fauconere, Hugh de Ros of Kilravoc, and Malcolm le Grant.²

Malcolm le Grant's name occurs also in an agreement between Thomas (Dunbar), Earl of Moray, and Alexander of the Isles, Lord of

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 259.

² *Registrum Moraviense*, pp. 183-187.

Lochaber, made at Cawdor, in Nairn, on 25th September 1394. It was agreed that Alexander should have under his protection for seven years all lands, church lands and others, of the regality of Moray, except the lands of Hugh Fraser, Thomas de Chisholm, and Sir William of Fodrynbau (the Sheriff of Inverness), and should adhere to the Earl against all persons save the king and certain others named. The Earl in return agreed to pay yearly 80 merks worth of land, namely, le Bonacht (Bona) for £20, the lands of Essy for £20, and 20 merks to be paid in money, until the Earl of Fife should decide as to the 20 merk land held by Malcolm le Grant, whether or not it belonged to the Earl of Moray.¹

In a previous memoir, the probability of a feudal connection between the Comyns and the Grants was pointed out, and, admitting this, the fact that Malcolm le Grant was in attendance on the Lord of Badenoch in 1380, suggests that he was a successor or descendant of John le Grant, for whom John Comyn, elder, of Badenoch was surety in 1297.² Gilbert of Glencarnie is also an attendant on the Lord of Badenoch. Glencarnie was not a part of the lordship of Badenoch, but in 1338 the Earl of Ross granted to Malmoran of Glencarnie two davochs in Badenoch, Dalnavert, and Kinrara,³ which rendered Malmoran and his heirs liable to the usual services to the Lords of Badenoch for the time. These considerations suggest that Gilbert, Lord of Glencarnie, and Malcolm le Grant were both in the audience-chamber of the Lord of Badenoch in the castle of Ruthven for the same reason—feudal service required of both. The fact therefore that Elizabeth le Grant, granddaughter of Patrick le Grant, in 1419 travelled to Kildrumny Castle to make her declaration before the Lord of Badenoch, as if he had an interest in the transfer of her lands, taken in connection with Malcolm le Grant's presence at Ruthven in 1380,

¹ *Registrum Moraviense*, p. 354.

² The lordship of Badenoch was bestowed by King Robert the Second upon his son, the "Wolf of Badenoch," in 1371, and should have reverted to the Crown on the Lord of Badenoch's death, without lawful issue, in 1394. But there is no evidence, in the Exchequer Rolls or elsewhere, of any such reversion, and Badenoch seems to have been retained in possession by the Wolf of Badenoch's eldest son, who became Earl of Mar. After the for-

feiture of the Comyns, Badenoch formed a part of the earldom of Moray, conferred on Sir Thomas Randolph. In 1338, however, it was held by the Earl of Ross, and in 1372, while granting the earldom of Moray to John Dunbar, King Robert the Second specially excepted Lochaber and Badenoch. Alexander, Earl of Mar, and his father, were therefore the successors of the Comyns as Lords of Badenoch.

³ *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. v. p. 125.

seems to suggest that Malcolm was the father of Elizabeth and son of Patrick le Grant. That she was the latter's granddaughter is conclusively proved.

It is possible, however, that the presence of Elizabeth le Grant at Kildrummy Castle was due to some cause peculiar to her husband's family. Who her husband was has not been clearly ascertained; that he was a Mackintosh is proved by the name of her son, but of what family is doubtful. Some light is thrown on the subject by a recent writer on the subject of the Mackintoshes, who, on the authority of *MS. histories* of that family, states that James Mackintosh of Rothiemurchus, son of the Shaw Mackintosh who led the Clan Chattan in the famous conflict on the North Inch of Perth in 1396, married "the daughter of Gregor Grant."¹ From the same source, it would appear that James Mackintosh fell at the battle of Harlaw in 1411, a few years before Elizabeth Grant's charter of 1419. There is no plain statement of the fact, but the lady of Stratherrick's independence of action, without the consent of a husband, seems to imply that she was a widow. There is no evidence of the existence of a Gregor Grant at the period in question, and as the tradition of the Mackintoshes points to a union between James Mackintosh and a lady named Grant at that period, it is not improbable that Elizabeth le Grant is the person referred to, and that she was the wife of James Mackintosh of Rothiemurchus. This probability is so far strengthened by the fact that Rothiemurchus and Inverallan were neighbouring properties. James Mackintosh of Rothiemurchus is said to have left two sons, Alexander, who succeeded to Rothiemurchus, and Adam, ancestor of the Tordarroch family. James is not mentioned, but he may have died young, and without issue; and as Stratherrick soon after passed into the Lovat family, this seems probable.

If Elizabeth le Grant was the wife of James Mackintosh of Rothiemurchus, which was within the bounds of Badenoch, she may have deemed it necessary, although the Bishop of Moray was superior of the lands, to make her declaration before the titular Lord of Badenoch, who probably held Rothiemurchus in feu-farm, in terms of a charter granted to his father in 1383.² But the Lady of Stratherrick does not present herself before

¹ *The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan*, by A. M. Shaw, p. 549.

² *Registrum Moraviense*, pp. 180-101.

the Earl of Mar as if he were *her* overlord. She does not in any way resign her lands into the Earl's hands, as if he were her feudal superior. She simply makes a declaration in his presence that she had bestowed her own lands upon her son James Mackintosh. If the latter were a scion of the Rothiemurchus family, he would, for the reason stated, be liable to the jurisdiction of the Lord of Badenoch, and hence his mother's declaration, which also was doubtless meant to insure the validity of the transaction, by showing that it was done on her part without compulsion.

After 1419 Stratherrick passed away from the Grants, and was never again possessed by them. In the year 1456, the territory is known to have been in possession of Thomas Fraser of Lovat, but there is evidence of an earlier occupation by his family. Hugh Fraser, Lord of Lovat, entered into a contract with Thomas Dunbar, Earl of Moray, for the marriage of his son and heir (the above-named Thomas Fraser) to a daughter of the Earl. The latter, on his part, conveyed to the Lord of Lovat the barony of Abertarff and other subjects.¹ Abertarff, as well as Stratherrick, had belonged to the Bysets, William Byset in 1231 being patron of the parish church of Abertarff.² At a later date Abertarff included Stratherrick, as the modern parish of Boleskine and Abertarff now does. It seems probable that the *dominium utile* of Abertarff had belonged to the Laird of Lovat previous to 1422, as the Earl of Moray's grant refers to a previous charter. After that date, however, in 1431, Hugh Fraser of Lovat is found using a seal in which the three crowns of Grant are quartered with the three rosettes or cinquefoils of Fraser. From this fact, taken in connection with Elizabeth le Grant's charter of 1419, it may be concluded that between 1419 and 1431, Stratherrick had been acquired by Hugh Fraser, though whether these lands were comprehended in the charter of Abertarff by the Earl of Moray in 1422, cannot be conclusively ascertained. From that time Stratherrick came to be known as the country of the Frasers.

The other lands known to have belonged to Patrick le Grant, Lord of Stratherrick, namely, those of Inverullan, in Strathspey, appear to have been the first possessions of the Grants in that district, and, as has

¹ Contract, dated 9th August 1422, printed in *History of Priory of Beaulieu*, p. 305.

² *Ibid.* pp. 33-35.

been shown, were sold by John of Inverallan, the heir of the Augustines, to John le Grant in 1316. They were inherited by Patrick le Grant, and were in part conveyed by him to his son-in-law, William Pylche, on the marriage of the latter with Elizabeth le Grant. The lands given to Pylche were the davach lands of Kildreke (Dreggie) and the half davach lands of Glenbeg; but these seem to have been only the half of Inverallan, as in the charter to John le Grant in 1316 it is described as containing three davachs.¹

William le Pylche, the husband of Elizabeth le Grant, belonged to one of the principal families in the town of Inverness. In 1263, Patrick Pylche was one of the jury on an inquest made as to the age of Patrick of Blantyre, and his succession to his father Stephen.² In 1328, Alexander Pylche was Sheriff of Inverness, and in 1342 he was provost of that burgh,³ while in 1327 and 1330, Alan Pylche (perhaps Alexander's father) also was provost of Inverness.⁴ William Pylche, the husband of Elizabeth le Grant, was probably the son of Alexander Pylche, and seems to have been made a knight. In 1361 he is mentioned as proprietor of lands in Inverness.⁵ In 1376 he is styled Sir William Pylche, knight, and is also a proprietor in Inverness, in which capacity he appears in a charter by King Robert the Second, dated 20th March 1379.⁶

What family was born to William Pylche and Elizabeth le Grant does not appear. In 1482, on 20th May, the lands of Inverallan, including Gaich, Glenbeg, Craggan, and Dreggie, were resigned by Elizabeth and Marjory Pylche, then both in their widowhood, into the hands of the Crown, for new infestment, to be granted to Alexander Hay of Mayne, under reservation of the granters' liferent interest in the subjects.⁷ Elizabeth and Marjory Pylche also at the same time resigned in favour of Hay their lands of Culcabock, Knockintinnel, and the Haugh, near Inverness. This last grant makes it probable that they were the daughters of William Pylche, Lord of Culcabock, who is mentioned in a document con-

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 257, 258.

² Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. i. p. 102.

³ Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. pp. 103, 478.

⁴ Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. pp. 59, 201.

⁵ Registrum Moraviense, p. 306.

⁶ Charters quoted in "Invernessiana," pp. 63, 79.

⁷ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 33.

firmed by the Bishop of Moray in 1508. His widow, Elizabeth Pylche, granted before 1455 certain lands in Inverness to the altar of St. Michael there.¹

Elizabeth and Marjory Pylche were certainly the daughters of William Pylche, Lord of Inverallan, who must have died before 1427, as they were infeft as his heirs in the lands of Inverallan and others by the command of Thomas Dunbar, Earl of Moray, who deceased about that date.² In 1453, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray, directed Duncan le Grant of Freuchie to give sasine to John le Hay of Mayne of the half town (vill) of Inverariane (Inverallan), the half town of Glenbeg, and the half town of Dreggie, which had been resigned by Elizabeth Pylche, then deceased.³ As Elizabeth Pylche, the daughter of William Pylche of Inverallan, was alive in 1482, it is probable that the Elizabeth who was dead before 1453, was the Elizabeth Pylche above referred to as widow of William Pylche of Culcabock. That the latter had also two or more daughters, seems proved by a statement that "in 1458 a deed is granted by a lady styling herself Elizabeth Pylche, daughter, and one of the heiresses of William Pylche, *dominus de Culcabock*."⁴

These facts point to the conclusion that William Pylche, Lord of Culcabock, and William Pylche, Lord of Inverallan, were one and the same. That he was a descendant, probably a son, of William Pylche and Elizabeth le Grant seems also proved from his possession of the lands of Inverallan. Those lands were, as already stated, resigned by Elizabeth and Marjory Pylche in favour of Alexander Hay of Mayne, who received a Crown charter to himself and his heirs, dated 25th October 1482.⁵ The history of the lands is given in the Introduction.

¹ Invernessiana, pp. 186, 188.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 20.

³ *Ibid.* p. 22.

⁴ Invernessiana, p. 47.

⁵ Original Charter at Castle Grant.

III.—2. SIR JOHN LE GRANT, KNIGHT, CASTELLAN OF DARNAWAY.

ELIZABETH HIS WIFE.

1333-c. 1370.

THE subject of this memoir is accepted as a member of the Family of Grant in all hitherto published pedigrees, and it seems probable that from him is descended the present Chief of the Grants. But though he was a man of considerable activity in his day, and one who appears frequently on record, his parentage is uncertain, and it can at the most only be surmised that he was nearly related to the Grants of Stratherrick and Inverallan; while, having regard to the limited number of persons of the name of Grant then in the north, it is possible that tradition may be correct. From the authentic testimony already given, it will be evident that Stratherrick and Inverallan both passed from the Grants through the failure of male heirs, and the probability is that neither John le Grant nor his children could succeed to Patrick le Grant, Lord of Stratherrick, in preference to the heirs-female of Patrick. This, however, in the absence of complete proof, cannot be asserted, for, as already stated, the direct line of the Grant descent cannot at this period be traced with accuracy.

In the hitherto received pedigrees of the Grant family, Sir John le Grant is usually alleged to be the eldest son of the John le Grant, who, as has been shown, was the first Grant of Inverallan; but this is disproved by the facts narrated in the preceding memoir as to Patrick le Grant of Stratherrick, and no proof has been found of a filial relationship betwixt the two John le Grants. It is possible that the younger John le Grant *may* have been a son of the elder, but no evidence of the fact is known to exist. In these circumstances the family historian can only sum up the evidence which has been discovered bearing upon this Grant knight, and assign to him such a place in the family pedigree as he is supposed to have held according to the most probable import of the evidence.

That such uncertainty should exist as to the true descent of an

ancient family at so remote a period is not surprising. In this case the elder, or at least more prominent line, failed of male heirs at an early date, while the cadets of the name of Grant bestirred themselves so actively in public life as not to possess, or at least not to be known by any territorial designation. Add to this the fact, already well known, that the Records of Scotland, which might have given valuable information, are at that period sadly deficient, and the marvel then is, not that so much is uncertain, but that so much should be known regarding a family who have usually preferred to dwell among their own people.

One link which may tend to connect the subject of this memoir with John le Grant of Inverallan consists in the fact that the first appearance of the younger John le Grant is in the train of the Earl of Moray, who was overlord of Inverallan. As already indicated in a previous memoir, there is evidence on the testimony of English historians that a John and Alan (or Andrew) Grant were present in the Earl of Moray's division of the army at the battle of Halidon, on 14th July 1333. That Earl of Moray was John, the second son of the famous Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, the nephew and comrade of King Robert Bruce. The first Earl of Moray died at Musselburgh on 20th July 1332, and was succeeded by his elder son Thomas, who was killed at Dupplin on 12th August in the same year. He was succeeded by his brother John, who thus became third Earl of Moray, in whose train at Halidon were John and Alan Grant.

After the battle of Halidon, John, Earl of Moray, escaped to France, where he remained for a year, and then returned to Scotland. In 1335 he was taken captive and conveyed to England, but obtained his liberty in 1342. By that time Scotland had become more tranquil, and was recovering from the disorders which followed the defeat at Halidon Hill, while King David the Second had returned from his sojourn in France. The Earl of Moray, therefore, being less required in the public service, had more leisure to attend to his own affairs, and was in the north for some time between 1342 and the month of October 1346. At the latter date he again followed King David into England, and fell at the battle of Durham. During his stay in the north the Earl granted to Robert of Chisholm the charter already referred to in a previous memoir, to which

Patrick le Grant was a witness; and on 1st April 1346, he bestowed upon his "beloved and faithful John le Graunt and his heirs," the whole land of Dovely (the valley of the Divie, or Dunphail), together with the custody of the tower and manor place of Darnaway. To these was added the keepership of the Earl's whole forest beyond the park, to be held by John le Grant and his heirs, of the Earl and his heirs, in perpetuity.¹

This charter helps to a solution of the question as to whether it was the elder or the younger John Grant who was present at Halidon. Further evidence on the point is obtained from a charter by King Robert the Second, dated 10th November 1371, bestowing upon Thomas le Grant the lands of Dollynduff and Dovely (Dounduff and Dunphail), with the offices of forester of the royal park and custodier of the manor of Darnaway (then in the hands of the Crown), and other privileges. The king's charter narrates that these lands and others were conferred for the faithful and praiseworthy service of the late John le Grant, father of Thomas le Grant, formerly rendered, carefully and faithfully, to Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, and Thomas and John Randolph, his sons, Earls of Moray, and also for the faithful and careful labours which the same deceased John le Grant manfully and stoutly undertook in the defence of the kingdom, both within and without the realm, in the time of Robert (Bruce) and David, grandfather and uncle of the King. For these reasons, and also for his own services, the charter is given to Thomas le Grant of the subjects in question, which had formerly been his, but had been held by Richard Comyn on a gift from the late king [of date 6th January 1369].² This gift had caused disputes betwixt Comyn and Grant; but these having been amicably arranged, and a formal resignation made in the king's hands, he bestowed the lands on Thomas le Grant.³

This narrative is very important, as indicating that it was the subject of the present memoir, and not John le Grant of Inverallan, who was present under the Earl of Moray's banner at Halidon. This charter leaves no room for doubt that the John le Grant who is there spoken of was the same who received, in 1346, the office of keeper of

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 8.

² Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. i. p. 60.

³ Registrum Moraviense, pp. 473, 474.

Darnaway Castle, as the trustworthy follower not only of John, Earl of Moray, who bestowed that office, but of the first Earl of Moray, who died in 1332, and that his services extended back to the days of King Robert the Bruce. John, Earl of Moray, having been so long a prisoner in England, had no means of showing the value he set upon John le Grant's services, but that the charter of 1346 was intended as a reward to the Earl's "beloved and faithful" follower can scarcely be doubted. That the charter of 1371 traces back John le Grant's services to a date antecedent to the battle of Halidon Hill, renders it most probable that the John Grant who is named as present in that engagement, and the newly appointed custodier of Darnaway, were the same person; while the statement that his services to the Earls of Moray were followed by labours within and without the kingdom during the reign of King David the Second, militates against any probability that the custodier of Darnaway might be identical with John le Grant of Inverallan.

On the other hand, though no filial relationship between John le Grant of Inverallan and his namesake has been established, yet the younger John le Grant may readily be claimed as a collateral relative if not a direct descendant of the Laird of Inverallan. This statement might be assumed on the ground of mere probability, as the number of Grants in Moray was then so limited that they might all be considered as related to each other, but there is more substantial evidence. In the memoir of Sir Laurence le Grant, it has been shown that Sir Robert le Grant, who is named along with Sir Laurence in 1258, received, about the same date, a charter from John Prat, knight, of the lands of Cloumanach. The same John Prat then, or a few years later, bestowed upon his sister Marjory and her husband Gilbert of Glencarnie, younger, the lands of Daltely, in Moray.¹ Cloumanach has been identified with Coulmony on the Findhorn, while Daltely or Daltulich adjoins it on the north, lying between it and the lands of Dounduff.

John Prat narrates in his charter that the lands of Cloumanach or Coulmony had been in dispute between his father and Robert le Grant. The date of John Prat's charter is somewhat doubtful, but a William Prat

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 5, 6.

appears in a charter of John Bysset's so early as 1226,¹ and also as witness to a charter of King Alexander the Second in 1235.² He was apparently Sheriff of Nairn (Invernairn). If, therefore, he were the father of John Prat, the fact that Sir Robert le Grant had a contention with him about Coulmony, seems to imply that the Grants had been resident in Moray for some time before 1258. There is, however, a total want of evidence on the point, and if, as has been suggested, the Grants came from England with Walter Bysset in 1249, they would, in 1258, have completed a ten years' residence in the north.

It is, however, a fact worthy of consideration that Coulmony, the first possession of the Grants in Moray, according to charter evidence, lies close to the lands given in 1346 to John le Grant. Doubtless the lands of Dovely and others were allotted to the castellan of Darnaway as his fee. This suggests that John le Grant may have been selected as castellan not only because of his services, but because of the near neighbourhood of his own lands, and that, though belonging to the family of Grant, he was descended not from Sir Laurence but from Sir Robert le Grant of Coulmony. If so, he would be a collateral relative of the Grants of Inverallan, but not sufficiently near to admit of his lawful male heirs succeeding to their estates in preference to females. At the same time, if he were Laird of Coulmony, he would be bound in military service to the Earl of Moray as overlord.

How long John le Grant enjoyed the office of castellan of Darnaway thus bestowed upon him, there is no evidence to show, as a few months afterwards the earldom of Moray and castle of Darnaway fell into the hands of the Crown by the death of the Earl, who was slain at the battle of Durham on 17th October 1346. King David the Second, on 6th January 1368-9, granted the same lands of Dovely³ to one of his favourites, Richard Comyn, with the office of forester of the forest of Darnaway, but it would appear that they were out of the hands of John le Grant previous to that date.

¹ *Registrum Moraviense*, pp. 77, 78.

² *Ibid.* p. 126.

³ Tradition relates that the fortalice of Dunphail was taken from the Comyns by Randolph, Earl of

Moray, under circumstances of special barbarity. [*The Bruces and the Comyns*, p. 443.] There is, however, no authentic evidence of its existence during his time, as it is not named in any charter of the lands around it.

There is no trace of John le Grant's history between the years 1346 and 1357, but he seems to have attached himself chiefly to the Earl of Mar, though there is also evidence of a connection with the family of Gordon, who had obtained the lands of Strathbogie, on the east side of the Spey, and at no great distance from Inverallan. At some period also between these dates, or it may have been before 1346, John Grant obtained a gift of a pension of £40,¹ but owing to the loss of the Exchequer Rolls, except a fragment, for that period, there is no evidence for how long a term the money was paid.

Before October 1357, John le Grant had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him. On the 24th of that month, as John le Grant, miles, he received a safe-conduct from King Edward the Third, for himself and three domestics, to endure until the following midsummer. The safe-conduct is said to be granted that the bearer may pass beyond seas, but the purpose of the journey is not stated.² It is not improbable, however, that it was made on behalf of or at the instance of Thomas, Earl of Mar, by whose precept a payment was made in the same year to Sir John le Grant of the sum of £13, 6s. 8d. The Earl of Mar was then Chamberlain of Scotland, and became responsible for that sum to the Sheriff of Banff, who had paid the money.³ Sir John le Grant was certainly engaged in the service of the Earl of Mar about that time, as on 24th March 1358-9 he received another safe-conduct, authorising him to pass, with six horsemen of his train, from England to Scotland, there to further certain affairs of the Earl of Mar, and afterwards to return to England.

Some historians, notably Dr. Abercromby in his "Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation," assert that Sir John le Grant was in 1359 appointed ambassador to France, along with Sir Robert Erskine and Norman Leslie, and that he was associated with them in the treaty signed in the new hall of the Palais Royal on 29th June 1359.⁴ But there is a deficiency of proof for this assertion. In a French catalogue of treaties between France and Scotland, Sir Robert Erskine and Norman Leslie alone are named as the ambassadors,⁵

¹ Robertson's Index, p. 45.

² Rotuli Scotie, vol. i. p. 815.

³ Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. p. 550.

⁴ Dr. Abercromby's "Martial Achievements," etc., edit. 1715, vol. ii. p. 124.

⁵ Report on Fœdera, Appendix D, p. 126.

to them only are expenses paid by the Scotch Exchequer;¹ and Fordun names them only as appointed by the king of Scots.² Norman Leslie received a safe-conduct to pass through England to the Continent on 24th March 1359, while, as has been shown, Sir John le Grant was at that date on the eve of a journey to Scotland on the Earl of Mar's affairs. The balance of evidence is therefore against Sir John's taking any part in the embassy to France. It is probable that an event in the history of Robert Grant, the subject of the next memoir, who certainly was an ambassador to France, has been erroneously transferred to the traditional account of Sir John le Grant.

Between the years 1356 and 1362, Sir John le Grant was occasionally at Kildrummy with the Earl of Mar. This is proved by his appearing as a witness to charters by the Earl, one of which must have been executed between these dates, probably about 1357. It is a charter to John Cameron, conveying to him and Ellen de Montealto (or Mouat), his wife, in free marriage, certain lands in Strathdon.³ Alexander, Bishop of Aberdeen, who was promoted to that see in 1356, is one of the witnesses.⁴ The other charter conveys the lands of Auchtererne, in Cromar, to Ego Ferguson.⁵ To the date of this charter there is no precise clue; but as both it and the one above quoted were granted at Kildrummy, they were probably executed before 1361, when that fortress fell into the hands of the Crown.⁶

It is interesting to note that among those who, along with Sir John le Grant, witnessed the two charters cited, there appears another northern knight, who, like Sir John, held lands in the earldom of Moray, and also, like him, was attached to the service of the Earl of Mar. This is proved by the very frequent occurrence of his name as witness to charters of the Earl of Mar, along with others who were local vassals of that nobleman.⁷ This knight was Sir Laurence Gelybrand; and a farther interest attaches to him, as he then possessed certain lands which afterwards descended to the family of Grant.

¹ Exchequer Rolls, vol. ii. p. 50.

² Fordun, edit. 1872, vol. i. p. 378.

³ Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. iv. p. 158.

⁴ Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, vol. i. p. xxx.

⁵ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. i. p. 37.

⁶ Fordun & Goodall, vol. ii. p. 335; *Senlaconica*, p. 202.

⁷ Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff, *passim* in Charters by Earl of Mar.

Sir Laurence Gelybrand died before 1367, as on 18th January in that year King David Second granted to Duncan Fraser and his wife Christian the lands, *inter alia*, of Brounmoldy, Mulben, and Ordichoys [Ordiquish], in the earldom of Moray, resigned in their favour by Christian's mother, Margaret Gelybrand, wife of the deceased Sir Laurence Gelybrand.¹ The lands of Brounmoldy (called also Burnemukty or Birmukty, now Bar-muckity), were in 1434 inherited by Duncan le Grant from his mother, Matilda of Glencarnie;² and in 1493, John Grant, the grandson of Duncan, is said to be heritably possessed of Mulben, Ordiquish, and other lands in that neighbourhood which had belonged to the Glencarnie family, and which were conjoined with the lands of Freuchie, and erected into one barony, called the Barony of Freuchie.³

The history of these lands, as illustrated by documents in the Grant charter-chest, is interesting. Margaret Gelybrand resigned them, with others, in favour of her daughter Christian, and Duncan Fraser, the husband of Christian. How Margaret Gelybrand acquired right to the lands does not directly appear, but Christian Fraser, who is referred to as her daughter, is named in an earlier document as an heir of entail of the lands of Glencarnie. Gilbert of Glencarnie resigned his lands into the hands of King David the Second, and received a charter, dated 18th January 1362, of the lands of the barony of Glencarnie, with a destination to himself and the heirs-male of his body; whom failing, to Duncan Fraser and Christian his spouse, sister of Gilbert of Glencarnie, the longer liver of them two, and the heirs-male of their bodies; whom failing, to the heirs-of-line of Gilbert.⁴

On the evidence of this charter and the one quoted above, Margaret Gelybrand seems to have been the mother of Gilbert of Glencarnie, and must therefore have been the widow of a Lord of Glencarnie when she married Sir Laurence Gelybrand. The lands of Mulben and others were therefore probably her dower from the family of Glencarnie, her right to which she had resigned in favour of her daughter, who was already an heir of entail.

¹ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. i. p. 58.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 12; Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. i.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 18. ³ *Ibid.* p. 41.

p. 24.

The inference that Margaret Gelybrand was the widow of a Lord of Glencarnie, and mother of the Gilbert above referred to, is strengthened by proof that Sir Laurence Gelybrand had improperly intromitted with the Glencarnie lands. A year or so before his death he had, in assertion no doubt of a claim through his wife, usurped a right over the marriage of Gilbert of Glencarnie, who apparently was a minor. In the exercise of this assumed right, Sir Laurence sold the value of it to Duncan of Athole. Robert, the son of Duncan, early in the year 1366, taking advantage of this transaction, and finding probably that his claim was disputed, made a raid upon and ravaged the lands of Glencarnie. Information of these violent proceedings was at once carried to the king, who issued letters of inhibition against the marauder, commanding him to cease from disturbing the lands in question; with a proviso that if he had any claim because of the marriage, either against Gilbert of Glencarnie or Sir Laurence Gelybrand, he should bring it before the king and his council for decision, "for," the letters add, "we specially reserve this cause for our own hearing." The letters of inhibition are dated at Elgin, the 20th of April [1367].¹

It is not clear to what family Duncan Fraser, the husband of Christian of Glencarnie, belonged. In "The Frasers of Philorth" he is identified with Duncan Fraser of Tulifour, mentioned in 1414 as the father of Alexander Fraser who received a grant of land from his cousin, John Fraser dominus de Ardendracht.² In that work reference is made to the charter granted in 1367 on the resignation of Margaret Gelybrand, and it is said that Duncan Fraser, dominus of Tulifour, was the grantee. He is not so designed in the charter, nor yet in the entail of Glencarnie in 1362; and the fact that some, if not the whole, of the Morayshire lands granted to him in 1367, reverted to the family of Glencarnie, to which his wife belonged, suggests the inference that Duncan Fraser and his wife Christian had no issue, or, at least, no male issue.

As already stated, in 1361 the Earl of Mar's castle of Kildrummy fell into the hands of the Crown, the Earl having incurred the royal displeasure. In consequence of this the Earl of Mar left Scotland for a time, and Sir John

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 13.

² "The Frasers of Philorth," by Lord Saltoun, vol. ii. p. 133.

le Grant also seems to have gone to England, for the next reference to him on record is a safe-conduct from King Edward the Third, dated at Westminster, 5th December 1363. From this document may be inferred a connection of Sir John le Grant with the Gordons of Berwickshire and Strathbogie. In the writ King Edward declares that he has taken into his protection John le Grant of Scotland, knight, and his men and tenants of the town of Easter Gordon within "les Merskes" [the Merse] in Scotland. They are permitted to come within the king's "lordship in Scotland" and kingdom of England, with their goods and provisions, to abide and traffic with the same, and thence to return with their goods and chattels.¹

Three days afterwards [8th December] there was granted a separate safe-conduct to Sir John le Grant and his wife Elizabeth, with ten persons, horsemen and footmen. The terms of the passport are not narrated in full, but it seems to have been a permit to enter England.²

There is no evidence to show in what way Sir John Grant came to possess these lands of Easter Gordon in Berwickshire, so far from Moray, in which he held an important office. In 1342 Patrick of Dunbar, Earl of March, confirmed to the monks of Melrose various portions of territory of which he was superior. Among those was a grant made by Adam of Gordon in his land of Easter Gordon, with pasturage there.³ Adam of Gordon had from King Robert Bruce a charter of the lands of Strathbogie,⁴ which were confirmed to his grandson, John of Gordon, by King David the Second, on 20th March 1358.⁵ As Strathbogie lay contiguous to Strathspey and the territories of the Grants, Sir John le Grant may have been on such friendly terms with the new Lords of Strathbogie as to receive lands from them, which he probably held in liferent, as there is no evidence that they descended to his son.

In October 1366, Sir John le Grant received a safe-conduct to pass, with six horsemen, into England, and, if he so desired, to go beyond sea, the passport to last for one year. In May 1368, he was again in the train of the Earl of Mar, who, on the 23d of that month, was at Cavers, and

¹ Rotuli Scotie, vol. i. p. 877.

² *Ibid.*

³ Liber de Melros, vol. ii. pp. 395, 396.

⁴ Robertson's Index, p. 2.

⁵ Original Charter quoted in Douglas' Peerage, vol. i. p. 642.

affixed his seal to a charter by Thomas Baliol, resigning certain lands of the barony of Cavers to William, Earl of Douglas, which deed was executed in presence of Sir John le Grant, and others, chiefly vassals of the Douglasses.¹

This is the last appearance on record of Sir John le Grant. In King Robert the Second's charter of 10th December 1371, already referred to, John le Grant is mentioned as deceased, and his son Thomas receives his office of castellan of Darnaway. Sir John le Grant probably died between May 1368 and January 1369, when the lands of Dovely and the office of castellan were bestowed on Richard Comyn.

Of Sir John le Grant's son Thomas little is known, unless he be identical with the Thomas le Grant who, with other burgesses of Inverness, witnessed several charters there between 1361 and 1363. The first is a charter by Edua, one of the heiresses of Old Castle, near Inverness, granting two acres of land for the use of the altar of the holy cross in the parish church of Inverness, of date 4th March 1361. On 14th September 1362, Sir Robert de Chisholm granted to the same altar six acres of land near Inverness, and on 4th February 1363, Nicholas of Forays (Forres) sold one acre, also for the use of the altar in question.² The witnesses to these charters are nearly the same in each case,—John Scot, Thomas le Grant, Welland de Chisholm, John de Coule, and others, described as burgesses of Inverness.

A Thomas le Grant also, between the years 1361 and 1369, renders to Exchequer various accounts connected with the burghs of Inverness and Elgin. Thus, on 11th August 1362, the account of Thomas Bysset, Thomas le Grant, and another, "custumars" of Inverness and Elgin, is rendered at Perth.³ On 10th March 1367 and 17th January 1369, he and John Scot, as custumars of Inverness, render their accounts at Perth,⁴ Thomas le Grant also acting on behalf of the bailies of Inverness, on 12th January 1367, and 18th January 1369.⁵

The last date corresponds in modern computation to January 1370. The royal charter to Thomas le Grant, appointing him castellan of Darn-

¹ Liber de Melros, vol. ii. pp. 435, 436.

² Charters quoted in "Invernessiana," pp. 58, 62, 64.

³ Exchequer Rolls, vol. ii. p. 97.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 269, 320.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 278, 328, 338.

away, is dated 10th November 1371. The names of the custumars of Inverness rendering accounts to Exchequer in 1370-1 are not given, but the custumars for the year from February 1371-2 to February 1372-3 are Alexander Williamson and Thomas Byset for Inverness and Elgin.¹ Alexander Williamson and Alexander Bell act as custumars for Inverness down to 1379,² and no farther mention is made in the Exchequer Rolls of Thomas le Grant after January 1370. It is not improbable, therefore, that the custumar of Inverness between January 1370 and November 1371 became castellan of Darnaway, and ceased to act in the former capacity.

The probability that such was the case is strengthened not only by the coincidence of names and dates, but also by the fact formerly referred to, that in a preceding generation, and during the captivity of John Randolph, Earl of Moray, in England, Maurice Grant had already, in 1337, intromitted with the revenues of the regality. A few years previous he acted for the Provosts of the burgh of Inverness, and in 1340, or between 1334 and that date, he was Sheriff of the county.³ It may be remembered also that William Pylche, the husband of Elizabeth le Grant, daughter of Patrick le Grant of Stratherrick, was a burghess of Inverness. He was knighted about 1370. One of his ancestors, Alexander Pylche, is described both as a burghess of Inverness and as Sheriff of the county.⁴ These facts, with others which might be adduced, show that at that period many who possessed land in the burgh of Inverness and had burghess rights there, were also county magnates or closely related to such, and give good ground for the presumption that Thomas le Grant of Inverness and the castellan of Darnaway was the same person.

¹ Exchequer Rolls, vol. ii, p. 380.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 408-615.

³ Exchequer Rolls, vol. i, pp. 310, 417, 440, 465.

⁴ "Invernessiana," pp. 46, 47.

IV.—ROBERT GRANT, THE AMBASSADOR.

1380–1394.

HITHERTO in dealing with the memoirs of the earlier members of the family of Grant, their own muniments and the public records of the time have afforded more or less evidence for linking the various generations together. But at this point there is an utter dearth of authentic proof, an equal lack of evidence prevailing both as to the ancestry and as to the descendants of Robert Grant. Yet his name has been inserted in former pedigrees of the Grant family, showing that tradition at least claimed him as a cadet of the house, and the position commonly assigned to him is that of a son of Sir John Grant. As stated in the previous memoir, Sir John Grant had a son Thomas, who in 1371 received from King Robert the Second a charter of the lands of Dovely and the custody of the king's castle of Darnaway, which had been in his father's hands, and for a time in possession of Richard Comyn.¹ Robert Grant may have been a younger brother of this Thomas Grant.

But, whatever his parentage, Robert Grant took an active part in public affairs, and became prominent in the service of his country. He is first mentioned in record as the recipient of a safe-conduct from King Edward the Third of England, dated 11th February 1380, giving him permission to come into and pass through England, with one companion and an attendant.² Robert Grant himself is designed simply as an "armiger" or esquire, and does not appear ever to have been knighted. The word "armiger," however, not only identifies this Robert Grant as the same who was afterwards an Ambassador to France, but also distinguishes him from another Robert Grant, who, about the same date, received a safe-conduct permitting him, as a merchant, to trade in England.

At this period, though there was no open war between Scotland and

¹ Registrum Moravienſe, p. 473; Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. i. p. 60.

² Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 20.

England, but, on the contrary, a truce between the two countries, which each had bound itself to respect, there existed on the Borders a constant succession of petty hostilities, which for many years harassed both nations. "These hostilities are to be regarded," writes a recent historian, "as the outbreakings of the spirit of national rivalry engendered by a long war, and the effects of that love of chivalrous adventure which was then at its height in Europe."¹ This remark is just, and the following incident is corroborative of the passion for chivalry here referred to. A special letter, issued by the English king and Council on 18th October 1380, directs John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, called also, in right of his wife, King of Castile and Leon, the English King's Lieutenant on the Marches, to fix a day for a chivalric contest, to be engaged in at Liliot or Liliattecrosse, a favourite meeting-place on the Borders. As Robert Grant was one of the heroes in the proposed duel, the document narrating the preliminaries is here given in a translation:—

"The King to all and singular, Dukes, Earls, Wardens of the Marches of our kingdom of England adjoining the Marches of Scotland, constables, castellans, etc., greeting: Know ye that forasmuch as a certain duel is to be waged and begun at Liliattecrosse on Monday, the morrow after St. Martin's day next to come, between our beloved Thomas de l' Strother, Englishman, and Robert Grant, a Scot, and that as our beloved and faithful cousin Henry of Percy, Earl of Northumberland, has testified by his letters in our Chancellary, the said parties are bound and obliged by great sums of money to procure each for the other letters of safe-conduct, namely, the said Thomas to procure our letters of safe-conduct for his adversary, and the said Robert to obtain for his opponent, from Robert our cousin of Scotland, letters of safe-conduct for coming, day and place foresaid, there abiding and thence returning; we for the above cause have taken Robert [Grant] himself, and any other Scots of whatever rank they may be, armed or unarmed, coming to the day and place foresaid for the above purpose, there abiding and thence returning to their own country, under our special protection and defence, and into our safe and sure conduct: And therefore we command you that upon the same Robert [Grant] or other Scots coming, etc., their persons or goods, ye neither inflict nor, so far as in you lies, permit others to inflict injury, hurt, damage, violence, or grievance; and if any forfeit or injury be done to them, or any of them, ye shall without delay cause it to be amended to them and duly reformed. . . . To endure from a day to be fixed and assigned thereupon on our part by our dearest uncle John King of Castile and Leon, Duke of Lancaster, to the sun rising on the morrow of the day of the duel."²

The Manuscript History of the Grants relates that Robert Grant

¹ Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 336.

² Rotuli Scotie, vol. ii. p. 29.

“fought and vanquished an English champion of undaunted courage and great strength of body, in the beginning of the reign of King Robert II.,” and so far the family tradition in this instance is borne out by the document quoted, but as to the sequel of the duel there is no information. In the following February, however, there is a protection extended by the English King to “Robert le Graunt of Scotland,” permitting him to pass into England to speak and treat with the King’s treasurer, Robert of Hales, prior in England of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, regarding certain affairs of the Hospital, and, though there is no distinct evidence to connect the subject of this memoir with the Robert le Grant named in the protection, it is probable they were the same. This prior soon afterwards fell a victim to the rage of the populace, and their hatred against the Duke of Lancaster, to whose party he was attached.¹

There is no record of Robert Grant’s history between the years 1380 and 1385, but in the latter year he is named among the Scottish nobles and knights who received shares of the 40,000 francs of gold brought from France by John de Vienne, Admiral of France, to be paid to the King of Scotland and his barons.² It has been asserted that the proportion in which the French money was distributed amongst the Scottish nobles gives a pretty correct idea of the comparative consequence and power of the various members of the Scottish aristocracy.³ If this be accepted as true, and the fact be considered that the money was shared among very few, only twenty-two Scots barons in all, and those chiefly of the highest rank, receiving any portion of the French gold, then the sum of 40 francs d’or, the share which fell to Robert Grant, though apparently small, will be enhanced in value. The Earl of Carrick received 5500 francs, the Earl of Fife and Menteith 3000, the Earl of Douglas 7500, the Earl of March 4000, Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway 5500, James of Lindsay 2000, and other barons various sums. The negotiators of the treaty on the Scotch side, Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir William Lindsay, and Sir William Cunningham, received 500 francs each, and the Chancellor of Scotland received 600. The Earl of Moray, who received 1000 francs, and Robert

¹ On 14th June 1381. Walsingham, p. 263.

² *Fœdera*, vol. vii. pp. 484, 485.

³ Tytler’s *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 348.

Grant, were the only barons from the north who shared in the distribution; and the fact that the latter, who is described only as "escuier" or esquire, received the sum of 40 francs, implies either that he was a person of consideration, or that his talents had brought him into favourable notice.

The latter is the more probable supposition, and is further warranted by the fact that he was sent to France in 1389 as one of the Scots ambassadors to renew the ancient alliance of Scotland with France. This is shown by an entry in the Exchequer Rolls rendered on 14th February 1389 [1390], to the effect that Robert Grant was paid £6, 13s. 4d. as his extra expenses in his passage to France on the king's affairs.¹ His companions on this embassy were John [Peebles], Bishop of Dunkeld, Chancellor of Scotland, and John Ramorgny. As the result of their efforts, on the 18th June 1389, a truce was concluded between England, France, and their allies, to last until 16th August 1392,² which truce was afterwards ratified by the oaths of the English and Scottish sovereigns.³

In the years between 1389 and 1391, the relations between Scotland and France were drawn closer by frequent embassies from the former country, who also extended their missions to the Roman Court.⁴ In 1391 Robert Grant accompanied the Bishop of St. Andrews (Walter Trail) on a special mission to the French Court, and for their expenses was paid the large sum of £468, 10s. 4d.⁵ Wyntoun says that Bishop Trail was "a twelf moneth" in France,⁶ and it is probable, from the amount of their expenses, that Robert Grant was with him during the same time. The dignity of their mission is shown by the fact that they were attended by a herald, and the importance of the result is shown in the solemn treaty signed by the French king, Charles the Sixth, on 30th March 1391, in presence of Mr. Duncan Petit, Archdeacon of Glasgow, and Robert Grant.⁷ Wyntoun states that this treaty was under consideration at Amiens, where, he says, "a gret counsale haldyn wes of Frankis, Scottis, and Inglis men," and as the historian also implies that Bishop Trail was of their number, Robert Grant may have been with him there, and may have

¹ Exchequer Rolls, vol. iii. p. 701.

² *Fœdera*, vol. vii. p. 622.

³ *Ibid.* p. 630.

⁴ Exchequer Rolls, vol. iii. pp. 238, 200.

⁵ Exchequer Rolls, vol. iii. pp. 248, 275.

⁶ Wyntoun's *Cronykil*, B. ix. C. 13.

⁷ Original Treaty in Register House, Edinburgh.

Printed in Exchequer Rolls, vol. iii. pp. xcvi, *et seq.*

heard the sharp reply made to a boasting Englishman, by the Duke of Orleans, in defence of Scotland and its people.¹

The treaty referred to, at the signing of which Archdeacon Petit and Robert Grant were present, was a highly important document, and, as they are described as "Maistre Donquen Petit et Robert Grant, escuier, ambassadeurs et messages" of the King of Scots, it is probable that their exertions, added to the friendly feeling towards the Scots already existing in France, greatly aided the happy conclusion of the league. It is true that no new clauses were added to the treaty concluded in 1371, between King Charles the Fifth of France and King Robert the Second of Scotland, but that treaty was embodied in and solemnly ratified in all points by the new agreement. The provisions of the league thus renewed probably conduced to the prolongation of the truce with England, which lasted till 1399, though the pacific characters of the monarchs of Scotland and England may also have contributed to the same result.

Robert Grant was not left unrewarded for his public services. In 1391 he received as a fee the sum of £20.² The Depute-Chamberlain of Scotland, in his account for the year 1392, credits himself with a payment made to Robert Grant, who was to receive £20 sterling annually for the time of his life, from the great customs of the burgh of Edinburgh, for his service done and to be done to the king, in France or elsewhere, which sum was duly paid. The same sum was paid during the year 1394 by way of pension,³ after which Robert le Grant drops out of the ken of history, and no further information can be obtained regarding him.

¹ Wyntoun's Cronykil, B. ix. C. 13.

² Exchequer Rolls, vol. iii. p. 275.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 312, 344.

V.—MATILDA OF GLENCARNIE
AND
JOHN GRANT ROY, HER REPUTED HUSBAND.

c. 1410—c. 1434.

THE preceding memoirs labour throughout under the disadvantage of a dearth of materials on the early history of the family, but at this period the family muniments become sufficiently abundant to afford evidence regarding each of the Chiefs of Grant. In addition, however, to these contemporary historical documents there exist local traditions and legendary tales, which, to find place in an authentic chronicle must be sifted with careful scrutiny, and adopted or discarded, according as they stand the test of strict investigation.

It is at this period that the alliance of the Grants with the powerful family of Comyn, connecting together the two houses and putting an end to a long feud between them, is said to have taken place. The heiress of the Comyns is stated to have been the mother of Sir Duncan Grant, first of Freuchie, the subject of the next memoir. It is true that different dates have been assigned to this marriage, which, according to tradition, secured to the Grants their possessions in Strathspey. One account of the family states that Matilda or Bigla Comyn married John le Grant, who fought at Dunbar in 1296, and that with her he acquired the lands and baronies of Glencarnie, etc. It is usual to assert that these were the first possessions of the Grants in Strathspey. But it has been shown that though John le Grant was indeed the first of his name who obtained lands in Strathspey, these lands were not Glencarnie, but Inverallan. Neither did he acquire them from the Comyns by a romantic marriage with the heiress of that family, but from the Augustines, the old Lords of Inverallan, by the more prosaic method of purchase.

According to another account, the alliance in question was effected, "without consent of friends," between Patrick Grant and the daughter of the Lord of Glencarnie.¹ The same account further states that Patrick by his wife had only one daughter, Marjory, "whom he left heiress of his fortune," and that she formed a clandestine union with an Andrew Stewart, Sheriff of Bute, who, on their marriage being openly acknowledged, changed his name to Grant. Their son, it is alleged, was also called Patrick. The traditional story of Andrew Stewart of Bute may have arisen from the desire of the family historian to exalt his chief to an alliance with royal blood. But the story of Patrick and his heiress Marjory is evidently an erroneous version of the history of Patrick Grant, Lord of Stratherrick, narrated in a previous memoir, whose male line failed, and he was represented by a granddaughter and heiress.

Another version of the alliance with the heiress of Glencarnie is given by Lachlan Shaw, who says that Patrick Grant, Lord of Stratherrick, negotiated a marriage for his son John with "Matilda, the heiress of Gilbert Cumming of Glenchernick," and that John Grant and Matilda had a son, Duncan, afterwards Sir Duncan Grant.² Although nearer the truth, the author of this statement entirely misdates the period at which Patrick Grant, the Lord of Stratherrick, lived, and he is also mistaken in regard to his succession.

There are other variations of the story of this alleged intermarriage between the Grants and the Comyns, but the above will suffice to show the inconsistencies of local tradition, and to illustrate the statement as to the obscurity added to the Grant history by such legends. Passing from these to the testimony of authentic records, there is proof indeed of an alliance between the Grants and a descendant of the ancient family of Glencarnie, but divested of the many romantic accessories assigned by tradition. In the muniments of the Grant family, the first mention of Matilda of Glencarnie, the reputed heiress, is found in a precept from the Chancery of King James the First, bearing date 31st January 1434. This document narrates that the deceased Matilda of Glencarnie, mother of Duncan le Grant, died last vested as of fee in the fifth part of the barony

¹ Mr. Chapman's Account of the Grants, print of 1876, p. 16.

² Shaw's Moray, p. 26.

of Rothes Wiseman, and Burnmukty [Barmuckity], the two Fochabers, a half of Surestown [Sheriffston], and an annualrent of two marks from the town of Thornhill, all in the sheriffdom of Elgin. In these lands and others the precept directs the Sheriff of Elgin to infest Duncan le Grant as nearest and lawful heir of Matilda his mother.¹

On 3d March 1469 another precept was issued by King James the Third, directing the Sheriffs of Inverness to infest in the lands of Cunygais (Congash) Sir Duncan le Grant, knight, who had been duly retoured nearest and lawful heir to Gilbert of Glencarnie his grandfather. The retour itself, which is dated 7th February 1469, states that Gilbert of Glencarnie, grandfather of Sir Duncan Grant, had died about thirty years before, that is, about 1438.²

These documents furnish authentic proof that Matilda of Glencarnie was the mother of Sir Duncan Grant, and that her father was Gilbert of Glencarnie, who during his life may have divested himself of certain lands in favour of his daughter, unless she inherited the lands of Rothes and others through her mother. It is clear in any case that these lands were held by Matilda of Glencarnie in her own right, and were directly inherited by her son. Further, if, as stated in the retour of 1434, Matilda's son Duncan was at that date of "lawful age," this would fix the date of her marriage and probable independent possession of the lands as early as 1413, if not earlier. In passing it may be noted that Matilda of Glencarnie deceased at least four years before her father, Gilbert of Glencarnie,—a fact which corrects the statement that "after her father's death, about the year 1434, Bigla (of Glencarnie) married Sir John Grant."³ This statement, however, it is right to add, is given as merely traditional, and not as authoritative, by the learned and accurate writer of the article in which it is quoted.

It will be observed that in the documents above referred to, Sir Duncan Grant's mother and grandfather are designed simply Matilda of Glencarnie and Gilbert of Glencarnie. There is no mention of them as

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 18.

² *Ibid.* pp. 28, 29.

³ Vacation Notes in Cromar and Strathspey, by

Arthur Mitchell, M.D., V.P.S.A. Scot. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. x. p. 675.

Comyns, and the statement that they were so is purely traditional and legendary. The compiler of the Statistical Account of the parish of Duthil in the year 1838, states that the "ancient name of the parish was *Gleann a cheathernich*, the Heroes' Glen." He also says, "Tradition ascribes the possession not only of this parish, but of almost all the lands adjoining the Spey between Inverlochy and Fochabers, to the Cummings, whose principal residence was in this parish."¹ And again he adds, "Be this as it may, it is evident they were in possession of the greater part of the said district many years before 1280, as appears by a charter granted in that year by Gilbert, the third Lord of that name, or as he is called in the charter, *tertius Dominus de Glencherny*, knight," etc. This charter has been already referred to in the Introduction, but the writer of the account in question adduces it as a proof that the Comyns were in possession of Glencarnie at that date.

Tradition, indeed, assigns to the Comyns the possession of large portions of the province of Moray, though probably with doubtful truth. The fact that the Comyns, who were of Norman descent, and held large tracts of land in Badenoch, Lochaber, and Buchan, as well as in the south of Scotland, ruled over their vassals, especially those of Celtic race, with a high hand, seems to have impressed their name so thoroughly on the legendary history of Moray, that tradition ascribes to them many actions the real actors in which have altogether been forgotten, or connects their names with places or events, the true stories of which are now untraceable.

Of this tendency in the local traditions to connect half-forgotten events with the well-known name of Comyn, the following instances may be given:—Lachlan Shaw says that, according to "unvaried tradition," Shaw of Rothiemurchus was leader of the Clan Chattan in the memorable fight on the North Inch of Perth in 1396, and "that the Shaws possessed Rothiemurchus long before that time."² In proof of this latter statement, he adduces the fact that "about the year 1350, Cummine of Strathdallas having a lease of these lands (Rothiemurchus), and unwilling to yield to the Shaws, it came to be decided by the sword, and James Shaw, chief of the clan, was killed in the conflict," etc. To the "unvaried

¹ Statistical Account of Scotland, 1845, vol. xiii.

² Shaw's Moray, p. 66.

tradition" of Shaw as to the occupancy of Rothiemurchus, a recent writer opposes another tradition, that the leader of the Clan Chattan, in 1396, was a kinsman of the chief of Mackintosh, named Shaw "Mor," and that he received for his services a grant of Rothiemurchus, being the *first* Shaw who possessed these lands, which had belonged to the Mackintoshes.¹ This writer further indicates his belief that the "unvaried tradition" as to a James Shaw, "said to have been killed in a conflict with the Comyns about the year 1350, no doubt really refers to James, son of Shaw Mor, who was killed at Harlaw,"² which battle took place in 1411, upwards of sixty years later, betwixt Donald, Lord of the Isles, and Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar.

In a note in Lachlan Shaw's History of Moray it is stated, in reference to the conflict of 1396, that it was fought "betwixt the Clan Chattan and the Cummings (particularly that branch of them which was called the Clankay)," and it is asserted that "twenty-nine of the Cumings were killed on the spot."³ Here the name of the Cummings is substituted for that of the Camerons, believed, on good grounds, to have been the opponents of Clan Chattan, and well known as a powerful clan long at feud with the latter. It does not appear that the Cummings ever were a clan or sept.

A third instance which may be cited is the so-called "Bigla's key stone," referred to in the Introduction to this work, which is alleged to be the stone under which Bigla or Matilda Comyn hid the keys of her castle while she was in church. It is also termed "Bigla's stone of the hole," as it has a round perforation in the centre. The writer who describes it speaks of it in such a way as implies a Scandinavian origin, and he concludes that "only by accident does it now get the name of Bigla's key stone."⁴

So is it with regard to the alleged possession of Glencarnie by the Comyns, and the various traditions of the feuds between them and the Grants. These legends may have arisen from the memory of real events, occurring while the Grants were not yet powerful, and their territories were liable to constant invasion by neighbouring septs, the names of which are now

¹ The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, by A. M. Shaw, p. 111.

² *Ibid.* p. 26.

³ History of Moray, p. 122, note.

⁴ Vacation Notes, by Arthur Mitchell, M.D., V.P.S.A., Edinburgh.

untraceable, or they may be vague traditions of incidents in the early history of Moray.

It can, however, be proved that the Comyns had no possessions at all in Glencarnie until a date nearly contemporaneous with Sir Duncan Grant, and it is doubtful if they ever had actual property of the lands. To show this, it is only necessary to refer to the history of the barony of Glencarnie, as given in the Introduction to this work. From the sketch there given it will be seen that the Lords of Glencarnie were descended from a branch of the ancient Celtic Earls of Strathern, and adopted the territorial name of their lands as their own surname. Tradition, therefore, in assigning the Comyns as the ancestors of Matilda of Glencarnie and her son, Sir Duncan Grant, is not only erroneous as to fact, but has overlooked the true and much more splendid pedigree of Sir Duncan, who, by his mother, inherited the blood of Malise, Earl of Strathern, the proud noble who claimed the foremost place in the battle of the Standard on 22d August 1138. By this alliance of the family of Grant with Matilda of Glencarnie, the present Chief of the Grants is lineally descended from the great race of Strathern, whose origin is lost in the mists of antiquity, but which is known as one of the noblest in Scotland in the earliest historic times.

In 1408, seventeen years after the last Lord of Glencarnie sold his estate to Thomas of Dunbar, Earl of Moray, the son of the latter, Thomas, third Earl, made an agreement with Alexander Cumyn, in which Glencarnie is referred to. This agreement was a contract of marriage, in which the Earl obliges himself to "giff his gude will to the mariage of his sister Euffame, and xx markis worth of land within his landis of Glencharny" to Alexander Cumyn, who, on the other hand, promises "to be lole man and trew" to the Earl for life, after the expiry of the term of his service to Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar. It was further agreed that while the Lord of the Isles had a louse of Glencarnie from the Earl of Moray, the latter should provide Alexander Cumyn in twenty merks of land within the sheriffdom of Elgin.¹ There is reason to believe that the lands of Glencarnie never came into the possession of Alexander Cumyn, but that

¹ Shaw's History of Moray, Appendix, p. 475.



DOMINVS • IGNAVVS • GRANT • NIBES • VICECHES DE • INTERVENS • TEGIT • IN • GERMANIA • ANNO • 37

OLD GUN AT CASTLE GRANT.

he received the warrandice lands, which are said to have been Logie, Sluie, and other lands in the sheriffdom of Elgin, afterwards held by the family of Cumming of Altyre from the Earls of Moray.¹ This slender connection is all that the Comyns can be proved to have had with Glencarnie, and it is of comparatively recent date.

On the other hand, the transactions affecting that territory, as related in the Introduction, bear out the statements of tradition that the Lords of Glencarnie had declined in power about the time that Matilda of Glencarnie married the father of Sir Duncan Grant. The romantic legends which have been connected with this lady's name, usually assert that she was a great heiress,—heiress to the name of Comyn and the rich estate of Glencarnie or Duthil. This has been shown to be a mistake, and Matilda's father, though still bearing the name of Glencarnie, had no possession of his family inheritance, and apparently was little more than a tacksman of the lands he latterly held.² The stories of the rich and powerful Gibbon Mor Cumin refusing his daughter to the young Laird of Grant, the consequent private marriage, and all the feuds and calamities which ensued, must therefore be treated as doubtful, and, so far as they are at variance with ascertained facts, deemed the light play of an exuberant imagination substituting its own fancies for the realities of history.

While, however, there is no doubt as to the pedigree of Matilda of Glencarnie, the mother of Sir Duncan Grant, there is little evidence as to who was her husband. Lachlan Shaw states that he was Sir John Grant, Sheriff-principal of Inverness. The proof adduced is, that "among the arms at Castle Grant there is a musquet with this inscription on the barrel, 'Dominus Johannes Grant, miles, vicecomes de Inverness, anno 1434,' accompanied by the three antique crowns of the family arms."³

¹ Shaw's History of Moray, Appendix, p. 475, note.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 15.

³ History of Moray, p. 26. This musket is still preserved at Castle Grant. Mr. Shaw's quotation is not complete, the full inscription, which is engraved on a silver plate inlaid in the barrel near the stock, being, "Dominus Johannes Grant, miles, Vicecomes de Inverness, me fecit in Germania, anno 1434." On another silver plate on the barrel are engraved the Grant arms, three antique crowns.

Above the crowns are the initials S. I. G. (for Sir John Grant), and over them the words "of Frevchy, K." (for knight). The musket is five feet four inches in length, the stock fluted and inlaid with silver figures emblematical of hunting and fishing. The lock is a flint one of antique form. The barrel is also inlaid with other silver plates, bearing various devices, as a thistle, a rose, and figures of birds, and is finished with an ornamental muzzle. The whole workmanship of the musket is very fine.

The only evidence of a trustworthy nature for the name of the husband of Matilda is to be found in a ms. family history of the Mackintoshes, called the Kinrara ms., preserved by the Laird of Mackintosh. The ms. is thus described by a recent writer, who lays considerable weight upon the accuracy of its statements, and has used it largely in a work devoted to the history of the Mackintoshes. He states that the "ms. History of the Mackintoshes, by Lachlan Mackintosh of Kinrara, . . . was written in Latin about the year 1670, and was partly founded on three earlier mss., the matter of which it embodied. These were, 1st, a history of the family from the Earl of Fife to Duncan, eleventh chief, who died in 1496, written by Ferquhard, twelfth chief, during his imprisonment at Dunbar for sixteen years before 1513; 2d, a similar history by Andrew MacPhail, parson of Croy, from the Earl of Fife to William, fifteenth chief, murdered in 1550; and 3d, a history by George Munro of Davochgartie, of Forquhard, twelfth chief, and his three successors."¹ In the notice of Malcolm, the tenth chief of Mackintosh, who is said to have died in 1457, the writer records that he had five daughters, and that of these, "Muriel married John Mor Grant of Freuchie; Morn married Hucheon Rose of Kilravock; Janet married Patrick Mac Ian Roy, brother of Sir Duncan Grant," etc.,² thus implying that a John Roy Grant was the father both of Sir Duncan and Patrick.

Apart from tradition, this is all the testimony for the statement that John Grant Roy was the husband of Matilda of Glencarnie, and the father of Sir Duncan Grant. But if the information thus afforded be taken from the earliest ms., written before 1513, it may almost be considered contemporary history. There is a local tradition that John Grant Roy, soon after his marriage, and therefore while comparatively young, was slain in a tribal quarrel or raid with the Comyns and Macleans. If he was thus cut off in early life, it affords an explanation why he is not named in the muniments of his own family, or as taking part in any public transaction with neighbouring lairds. The precept of 1434, in favour of Duncan le Grant as heir of his mother Matilda, shows that her husband must have had, in right of his wife, a

¹ The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, by A. M. Shaw, p. 26, note, and p. 163.

² *Ibid.* p. 153.

fair amount of property to administer, and it is to be presumed that by virtue of this property he would have taken some part, more or less prominent, amongst his fellows, unless prevented by some special fact, of which the tradition of his slaughter supplies a probable explanation.

No record exists to prove the date of John Grant Roy's death. Matilda of Glencarnie died before 31st January 1434, leaving by her husband one son, Duncan Grant, afterwards Sir Duncan Grant of Freuchie, the subject of the next memoir. How long before that date her death occurred has not been ascertained. The retour of her son as heir to her does not state that the lands were in the hands of the king for any lengthened period of time.

The testimony of the "Kinrara Manuscript" regarding the parentage of "Patrick M'Ian Roy" is interesting in view of the fact that in 1473 Marjory Lude, a widow, styling herself "Lady of half the barony of Freuchie," alienated her lands of Auchnarrows, Downan, Port, and Dalfour to her "carnal son," Patrick Grant.¹ This Patrick was surnamed Reoch or Roy, and died before 2d December 1508, without male issue, as his heir in 1565 is stated to be a grandson, Nicolas Cumming.²

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 30.

² Gift of Non-entries and Charter at Castle Grant.

VI.—SIR DUNCAN GRANT, KNIGHT, FIRST CALLED OF FREUCHIE.
MURIEL MACKINTOSH (OF MACKINTOSH), HIS WIFE.

1434-1485.

IN the previous memoir the authoritative evidence which, apart from tradition, can be adduced as to the alliance of the family of Grant with the ancient possessors of Glencarnie, was fully stated, while the subject was divested of much that is purely legendary. There was also indicated the probable correctness of that tradition which assigns John Grant Roy as father to Sir Duncan Grant of Freuchie. Upon the history of this Grant knight no uncertainty rests, and from this point of the pedigree down to the present day all is clear, each link in the long chain of ancestors being attested by authentic evidence.

As already shown, Duncan Grant was in 1434 retoured heir to his mother, Matilda of Glencarnie, in the lands possessed by that lady which were situated in the neighbourhood of Rothes and Elgin. The date of this retour fixes the date of his birth in or before the year 1413. As "Duncan the Graunt" he witnesses a contract between Robert, Lord of Keith, and Sir Alexander Seton, Lord of Gordon, in which the latter renounces to the former various lands in Fifeshire, which contract is dated at Cluny on 1st August 1442, and confirmed at Stirling 30th October 1444.¹ Nothing further is known of Duncan Grant's history at this period. This may be because for some time after the death of King James the First, in 1437, and as the result of his determined policy of suppression, the Highlands were more tranquil than usual, notwithstanding the violent proceedings against the Clan Cameron by the Earl of Ross, who, about 1438, was Justiciar of Scotland north of the Forth.² It is not improbable that then, as later, the Grants took the side of the

¹ Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 278. This document has been repeatedly quoted as a proof that Duncan le Grant was designed "dominus de codom et de Freuchie, in a charter under the

Great Seal in 1442," but his designation is simply that given in the text.

² The Familie of Innes, p. 73.

Government, and so secured the safety of their possessions, or added to their number. There is some evidence to this effect in the case of Duncan le Grant.

The Earl of Ross, in 1445, joined with the Earl of Douglas and the "Tiger" Earl of Crawford in a league against the king. The death of the Earl of Ross in 1449 frustrated his treasonable designs, but his son broke out into rebellion, probably at the instigation of Douglas. The commotions in Scotland thus begun, ended in the assassination, by King James the Second, of the seventh Earl of Douglas, while he was the guest of the king in Stirling Castle, and the open rebellion of his relations, which was temporarily settled by a bond granted in 1452 to King James the Second, by the eighth Earl of Douglas and his brothers, Archibald, Earl of Moray, and Hugh, Earl of Ormond, upon which their estates, which had been forfeited, were restored. During this turmoil, which by the forfeiture of the Earl of Moray had come near to his own doors, Duncan le Grant seems to have remained quietly within his own bounds, if he did not contrive to enlarge their borders. On 31st August 1453, he received a precept addressed to him as "Duncan le Graunte of Fruychy," in which Archibald, Earl of Moray and Master of Douglas, directed him to infest John le Hay of Mayne in a half of the town (ville) of Inverariane or Inverallan, a half of the town of Glenbeg, and a half of the town of Dreggie, in the earldom of Moray.¹

These lands, though formerly the property of the Grants, had passed for a time altogether out of their hands, and came again into their possession only by purchase, in the year 1587, after a series of disputes, the history of which has already been given in the Introduction while treating of Inverallan. The chief point of interest in the document of 1453 lies in the fact that in it Duncan Grant is for the first time designed of Freuchie. Among the lands inherited by him in 1434 from his mother, Matilda of Glencarnie, there is no mention of Freuchie. The lands in question were a fifth part of Rothes Wiseman, the two Fochabers, and other lands which lie further down the Spey.²

There is no information as to how Freuchie came into the possession of Duncan Grant. It may have been acquired by purchase, though no

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 22.

² *Ibid.* p. 18.

evidence remains of the fact, or he may have originally obtained the lands in lease from the Crown. The latter conjecture is not unwarranted, as there is proof that, perhaps at this time, and certainly a few years later, he held in lease other crown lands which his family did not acquire as property until after his death. In 1473 a portion of Freuchie belonged to Marjory Lude, who designs herself "Lady of half the barony of Freuchie,"¹ but with regard to her relationship to Duncan Grant, or the nature of her tenure, there is absolutely no information. It may therefore have been only the half of the barony of Freuchie which Duncan Grant held; but, at any rate, it was between 1434 and 1453 that he first received the designation of "Freuchie," which gave title to his descendants for many generations afterwards.

In 1457, William, Thane of Cawdor, and Thomas of Carmichael, a Canon of Moray, as Chamberlains north of the Spey, rendered to Exchequer their account of intrusions with the Crown rents for the previous year. The accounters were allowed reimbursement of certain sums stated in their account, but not realised by them, among others "the rents (firmis) of the lands of Ballyndalach, which are one davoch, and are situated in Strathown, and belong to the property of Moray, which (lands) Duncan Grant holds, he being hindered in the enjoyment of the same by Sir Walter Stewart."² This was the reason why the rents, amounting for the half-yearly term to £3, 6s. 8d. Scots, were left unpaid. Sir Walter Stewart of Strathown or Strathavon was a son or descendant of Sir Andrew Stewart of Sandhulch, a natural son of the "Wolf of Badenoch," and seems to have inherited the annexation policy of his ancestors. The principal castle of the lordship of Strathavon was Drummin, a stronghold which, at a later period, the Laird of Freuchie held for the Crown.³

Between 1457 and 1464 Duncan Grant received the rank of knight-hood. This appears from a retour dated 25th February 1464 [1465], in which, as Duncan Grant, knight, he is declared to be heir of his grandfather, Gilbert of Glencarnie, in the lands of Cunygais or Congash. No sasine was given upon this retour, because no answer had been given to the inquiry from what date and for what time the lands had been in the hands

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 30. ² The Thanes of Cawdor, p. 31. ³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 127.

of the Crown.¹ A second inquest was therefore made on 7th February 1468 [1469], when it was found that Gilbert of Glencarnie, Sir Duncan Grant's grandfather, had died about thirty years before; and in the precept of sasine which followed upon the retour, the Sheriffs of Inverness were directed to take security for £60 of rents due to the Crown, which had remained unpaid for that period, the rental of the lands being 40s. annually.²

This authoritative statement that Gilbert of Glencarnie died about thirty years before 1468, or in 1438, proves the inaccuracy of the traditional assertion that Gilbert of Glencarnie, or Gibbon Mor, as he is called, was alive in 1464, and in that year "ceded his lordship of Glenchernich, not to his son-in-law, Sir John Grant, but to his grandson, Sir Duncan Grant of Fruchy."³ It has already been shown that Gilbert of Glencarnie had exchanged his property in that lordship, that the lands inherited by Sir Duncan Grant from his mother were hers in her own right, and now it is proved that Gilbert of Glencarnie was dead thirty years before his alleged cession to his grandson.

There is, however, some probability that Sir Duncan Grant really had a modified possession of Glencarnie about this time, though not from the source assigned by tradition. There is evidence that he held it in 1478, at least twenty years before his family received a charter of the lands from the Crown. It is stated on the authority of the Exchequer Rolls, that in 1478 the lands of Glencarnie, which were then in the king's hands, were set in lease by the Crown to Duncan Grant, knight.⁴ But though in that year Sir Duncan Grant first became a tacksman of the Crown in these lands, he may have previously rented them from the Earl of Moray, and thus afforded some basis for the tradition that he was earlier in possession of Glencarnie.

In 1473 a royal messenger was sent north with letters to "Schire Duncan the Grant in Murray."⁵ There is no clue to the subject of the royal epistle, but it may have had reference to the general council of the Estates of Parliament, which was called to deliberate on the proceedings

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 26. ² *Ibid.* pp. 28, 29.

³ Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xiii. Elginshire, p. 129.

⁴ Shaw's Moray, p. 475, note.

⁵ Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, vol. i. p. 46.

of Patrick Graham, who claimed the archbishopric of St. Andrews, the result of which was Graham's suspension from office.

In 1495 Sir Duncan Grant, with consent of John Grant, his son and apparent heir, executed a charter of his fifth part of the half land of Surastoun (Sheriffston), in the shire of Elgin, in favour of James Douglas of Pittendreich, for his lifetime. A recent writer claims for the family of Douglas of Pittendreich that they settled in the north while Brice Douglas was Bishop of Moray, from 1203 to 1222.¹ The same writer gives in full the earliest charter from the Crown to James Douglas of Pittendreich of part of the lands of Duffus, dated at Edinburgh 14th August 1472. James Douglas of Pittendreich is also said to have possessed part of Sheriffmill, near Elgin, and "an extensive property in the parish of St. Andrews," part of which he held of Sir Duncan Grant, as appears from the document above referred to. It may be noted that in the next century Margaret Douglas, the heiress of Pittendreich, by her marriage with Sir George Douglas brother of the sixth Earl of Angus, became the ancestress of the later Earls of Angus, the Duke of Douglas, and the Earl of Home, the present possessor of the estates of Douglas.

The charter of Sheriffston to James Douglas is not in the Grant charter-chest, but the original precept for his infeftment is preserved there. It was signed at Elgin, whither apparently Sir Duncan Grant had gone. A sentence in the document implies that he had neglected to take his seal of arms with him. He desires his bailies, in token of the delivery of sasine, to append their seals to the precept, after the seal of John Falconer of Murrestoun, "procured by me with due urgency, in default of my own seal [sigilli proprii] not had."

In 1479, Sir Duncan Grant, no doubt on account of his connection with the family of Mackintosh, figures in an important transaction in which the chiefs of that clan took part. The subject is interesting, not only as affecting lands which at a later period came into possession of the Grants, but also as illustrating an occurrence not very common among Highland chiefs of that period,—a settlement of their difference by arbitration, instead of by litigation or the sword.

¹ The Parish of Spynie, by Robert Young, 1871, p. 236.

The subject for arbitration arose out of a dispute between the Chief of Mackintosh and Hugh Rose of Kilravock in regard to the *duchus* of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, on the northern shore of Loch Ness. The transaction and its sequel are narrated in a notary's instrument, drawn up in presence of George, second Earl of Huntly, whose family had lately become Lords of Badenoch, in which territory the lands in dispute were accounted to lie. The Earl held his court within the walls of the Castle of Inverness, and there heard the decret-arbitral pronounced by Alexander Gordon of Megmar, Sir Duncan Grant of Freuchie, Sir James Ogilvie of Deskford, knights, John Grant, son and heir-apparent of Sir Duncan Grant, Alexander Mackintosh of Rothiemurchus, and David Ogilvie of Thomade, judges-arbiters, chosen by Duncan Mackintosh, captain of the Clan Chattan, Allan and Lachlan, his brothers-german, and Hugh Rose of Kilravock, upon many and divers quarrels, debates, and controversies betwixt the parties. Of this decree, one article was that Hugh Rose of Kilravock should not intromit with the setting or letting of the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, because of certain unkindnesses done by him to Duncan Mackintosh, without the consent and goodwill of Duncan and his brothers, regard being had to former agreements betwixt them. This article being read and discussed and understood by the Earl, the arbiters and the parties, Duncan Mackintosh and his brothers submitted themselves to the will of the Earl in regard to the subject of the article, for letting the lands in dispute to Hugh Rose, and for appointing at his pleasure that the deliverance of the arbiters should not prejudice the said Hugh in the lease of the lands. Whereupon the Earl of Huntly, by the advice of the arbiters, and with consent of Duncan Mackintosh and his two brothers, let the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston to Hugh Rose of Kilravock, and desired he would intromit with them as formerly.¹ The date of this transaction was 26th March 1479.

Some breach of the above compact seems to have taken place two years later, as on 25th July 1481, at Perth, Duncan Mackintosh bound himself to underlie the judgment of his superior, the Earl of Huntly, if any breach of contract had been made, and to amend the same if such were proved.

¹ Rose of Kilravock, p. 139.

To that end he appointed Sir Alexander Dunbar on his behalf in the room of Sir Duncan Grant, who was not present on this occasion.

Sir Duncan Grant died in the year 1485. One account of the family of Grant implies that Sir Duncan was with a body of his clan, on their march to join King James the Third during the conflict between the king and his son, the prince, in 1488. This statement, however, is erroneous as regards Sir Duncan Grant, for a nearly contemporary chronicle records that he lived three years after his eldest son, John Grant, who died in 1482.¹ The grandson of Sir Duncan, John Grant, who succeeded to him in Freuchie, three years before the battle of Sauchieburn, may have been the laird who marched to meet King James the Third.

Sir Duncan Grant is said to have married Muriel Mackintosh, daughter of Malcolm, tenth chief of the Mackintoshes; but as she is also said to have married John Mor Grant of Freuchie, whose existence cannot be traced, no definite statement can be made on this point. That a daughter of Malcolm or "Gyllichallum" Mackintosh did marry a Laird of Grant, is asserted by a document, dated 20th February 1568, and signed by Lachlan, the then chief of the Mackintoshes; but no name is given either to the Laird or the lady. The same document, however, corroborates the evidence of other authorities as to the marriage of Sir Duncan Grant's daughter, Catherine.² Sir Duncan Grant had one son—

John Grant, younger of Freuchie, who predeceased him.

Sir Duncan had also two daughters—

1. Catherine, who became the third wife of Lachlan Mackintosh, called "Badenoch," and was the ancestress of the chiefs of Mackintosh. She is also said to have married Alexander Baillie of Dunain and Sheuglie.³
2. Muriel, who married Patrick Leslie of Balquhain,⁴ and had issue.

¹ Short Latin Chronicle relating to the Highlands, by James M'Gregor, Dean of Lismore, who died in 1542.

² Original Paper at Castle Grant.

³ Invernessiana, p. 128.

⁴ Antiquities of Aberdeenshire, vol. i. p. 530.

VII.—JOHN GRANT, YOUNGER OF FREUCHIE.

1475–1482.

JOHN GRANT was the son and apparent heir of Sir Duncan Grant, first of Freuchie. But owing to his having predeceased his father without inheriting the family estates, his name does not frequently occur in the family muniments. Of his own personal history little is known beyond the fact that in published pedigrees of the family he is stated to have been a man of distinguished honour and integrity.

The name of this young Laird of Freuchie first appears as a consenting party to the precept issued by Sir Duncan Grant for infesting James Douglas of Pittendreich in the lands of Sheriffston.¹ Three years later, John Grant, as son and heir of Sir Duncan Grant, received from George, second Earl of Huntly, a charter of the lands of Fermestoun, in the sheriffdom of Aberdeen, with Kinrara, Gergask, and others in the shire of Inverness, in liferent for manrent service to the Earl.² In the year 1479 John Grant acted with his father and others as an arbiter in the dispute between the Mackintoshes and Hugh Rose of Kilravock, which was finally decided by the Earl of Huntly at Inverness, as narrated in the previous memoir.

John Grant, younger of Freuchie, is traditionally said to have headed the Clan Grant in their march southward to the assistance of King James the Third in 1488, but he is proved to have died before that year.³ In a Chronicle of the Highlands compiled previous to the year 1542, he is said to have died at Kindrochat, in Mar, on 30th August 1482, and according to the same authority he was buried in the Cathedral Church of Moray.⁴

The tradition, however, though at fault as to dates, may be true as to the fact of the march southward, which would account for John Grant's

¹ Dated 25th September 1475. Vol. iii. of this work, p. 32.

² Original Sasine, dated 8th September 1478, at Castle Grant.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 34.

⁴ Short Latin Chronicle relating to the Highlands, by James M'Gregor, Dean of Lismore.

death so far from home as Kindrochat, in Mar. In consequence of the declaration of war between Scotland and England in 1481, special messengers were authorised by Parliament in March 1481-2 to proceed to the furthest parts of the kingdom to summon the lieges from a distance before those nearer at hand were called.¹ The result of these measures was the assembling on the Boroughmuir of Edinburgh of one of the largest armies ever raised in Scotland, at the head of which King James the Third placed himself, and a march was begun towards the Border. But the progress of the army was arrested at Lauder, where Robert Cochrane, the architect, and other royal favourites, were hanged by the Scottish nobles, and the king himself carried a virtual captive to Edinburgh. This took place some time during the month of July 1482.² The nobles then disbanded the army, the separate portions of which, especially those who lived in the remoter districts, would at once make their way homewards. The men of Freuchie also, who, under their young chief, had answered the call of their sovereign, would again seek their native Morayshire, and the tradition in question, combined with the historical events of the time, gives much probability to the supposition that as they marched northward their leader sickened, and as they neared Kindrochat he sank and died. The fact, otherwise somewhat remarkable, that this young Laird did die there, so far away from his own Grant country, may thus be explained.

The name of the wife of John Grant, younger of Freuchie, has not been ascertained; but he left two sons—

1. John, who succeeded his grandfather as Laird of Freuchie.
2. William, who is named in a Royal remission, dated 13th February 1527, and is said to be the ancestor of the Grants of Blairfindy.

A third son, Patrick, is also assigned to John Grant, younger of Freuchie. He is stated to have been a twin brother of John Grant, second of Freuchie, and is claimed as the ancestor of the older family of the Grants of Ballindalloch, whose pedigree is given in this work.

¹ Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 130.

² Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 390, note.

VIII.—JOHN GRANT, SECOND OF FREUCHIE.
MARGARET OGILVIE (OF DESKFORD), HIS WIFE.

1485–1528.

THIS second Laird of Freuchie held his inherited estates for the long period of forty-three years. As during that time he acquired the lands of Tullochgorm, Mulben, Urquhart, Glencarnie, Ballindalloch, and others, and also took an active part in public affairs, many notices of him are found in documents both of a public and private nature. These illustrate both the personal history of this Laird and the history of the time in which he lived.

Sir Duncan Grant, the first of Freuchie, died, as has been shown, in 1485, and was succeeded by his grandson, the subject of the present memoir. This Laird of Freuchie was on intimate terms with George, second Earl of Huntly, as his father had also been, and received from him, on 16th September 1483, the lands or davochs of Kinrara, Rait, and others in the lordship of Badenoch, to be held for manrent service during his life, as his father had held them.¹

A year later the Laird was at the "Bog of Geith," the then recently erected residence of the Earl of Huntly, and now known as Gordon Castle. While there, the Laird entered into a matrimonial contract, which bears date 15th September 1484, with Sir James Ogilvie of Deskford. The contract provided that John Grant should marry Margaret Ogilvie, daughter of Sir James, and should be ready to complete the marriage, whenever required to do so, on eight days' warning. The lady's dower was fixed at 300 merks Scots, payable by instalments of £40 at the next term of Whitsunday, and £20 at each half-yearly term thereafter, till the whole sum was discharged. John Grant was to infest his wife in 20 merks worth of land, with provision for the children of the marriage, while he and his father-in-law bound themselves to each other to "stand anefald, leyl, and kind" in all matters,

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 25.

and to "manteine, keip, and diffend ilkain uthiris rowmis, takis, and bailzeoriis fra sorning, thigging, oppressione, and stouth, truly at thair gudly powaris, and speciale sal rewell thair kine, freindis, and servandis fra all sic injuris." To this agreement, which was executed in duplicate, Sir James Ogilvie affixed his seal, while John Grant procured the seal of "his singular lord," George, Earl of Huntly, to be affixed on his behalf, and thus completed the first of the alliances between the Chiefs of Grant and the Ogilvies—alliances which were renewed by more than one generation, and ultimately led to the inheritance by the Laird of Grant of the Ogilvie titles and estates.

Although this Laird succeeded to his grandfather, Sir Duncan, in 1485, his feudal title to Freuchie was not completed till 1489. This delay probably arose out of the troubled state of the kingdom immediately following the death of King James the Third. But on 31st March 1489 a precept was issued for infesting John Grant as heir to his grandfather in the half of Freuchie, the two Culfoichs, the two Congashes, and Glenloch, all in the shire of Inverness.¹ The infestment in favour of the Laird was expedite on 17th June 1489, at the foresaid lands of Freuchie and Congashes, which are on opposite sides of the Spey, upon the soil and messuages of the same. Messuages imply that there were mansions or principal residences on these lands, although no mention has been found of a castle of Freuchie until some years later.

Following out the friendship between the Earl of Huntly and the Laird of Freuchie, the Earl in 1491 exchanged with him the lands of Corroo (Curr), Tullochgorm,² and Clurie,³ for the lands of Fodderletter, Innerloquies, and the two Innerrowries in Strathavon. The lands given by the Earl formed parts of the ancient lordship of Badenoch, and lay to the south of Freuchie, between that barony and the lordship of Glencarnie. These acquisitions tended to consolidate the Laird of Freuchie's lands in these districts, while the lands in Strathavon formed a convenient adjunct to the estates of Huntly.

But even before he made this consolidation of his estates, John

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 37.

² *Ibid.* p. 39.

³ Original Charter, dated 4th February 1491, at Castle Grant.

Grant of Freuchie is found taking a prominent part in public affairs with his neighbours, and in the civil history of his district. The state of the Highlands was at all times a matter of anxiety to the Government of that period, and more especially under the circumstances of the change of government caused by the death of King James the Third. The north of Scotland was therefore a favourite resort for refugees from the south, or others who had been in arms against the Prince of Scotland, now King James the Fourth. One of these refugees seems to have fallen into the hands of John Grant of Freuchie, and by him been delivered up, as, in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, there is an entry in the year 1488, "Item, The xxth day of Nouember, till ane man to pas to the Lard of Frauche for a traytoure he tuke, x s̄."¹

Other matters of the same kind, but nearer home, also engaged the Laird's attention. Mackintosh and Rose of Kilravock had entered, as narrated in a previous memoir, into a friendly agreement in the year 1479. This contract bound the chiefs of the Clan Chattan not to molest the Baron of Kilravock in his possessions, but their friendly feeling was not shared by others of the Clan. On 15th May 1482, a contract was concluded at Inverness between Lachlan Mackintosh of Gellovie, and Donald, Angus M'Yntossich sone, which need not be rehearsed here, but in terms of which Donald Angusson attacked and despoiled the Castle of Kilravock.² A royal summons was obtained by Rose of Kilravock against Donald Angusson and his accomplices in 1498, but before that date a new alliance was made with the chief of the Clan Chattan, who, however, may not have been a consenting party to the raid on the castle.

The old mode of healing family feuds by matrimony was resorted to. Duncan Mackintosh, captain of the Clan Chattan, and Ferquhard, his son and apparent heir, entered into a bond of mutual alliance and defence with Hugh Rose, Baron of Kilravock, and Hugh Rose, his son and apparent heir, in which, *inter alia*, it was agreed that Hugh Rose the younger should espouse a daughter of Ferquhard Mackintosh. The marriage was to be made and arranged by the advice of certain friends, of whom John Grant of Freuchie was one, the others being Sir James Ogilvie of Desk-

¹ Treasurer's Accounts, vol. i. p. 98.

² Rose of Kilravock, pp. 52, 146.

ford, Walter Ogilvie of Achlevyn, his brother-german, Lachlan Mackintosh of Gellovie, Alexander Mackintosh of Rothiemurchus, and Alexander Rose, brother to the Baron of Kilravock.¹

The Laird of Freuchie, owing, it may be, to his kinship with the Mackintoshes, but perhaps also from his recognised prudence and force of character, is again found acting as an arbiter in another important contract in which the chiefs of Clan Chattan were interested. This was a contract of friendship drawn up at Darnaway, 18th September 1492, betwixt Alexander Dunbar of Westfield, knight, with James Dunbar of Cumnock, knight, on one side, and Ferquhard Mackintosh, son and apparent heir of Duncan Mackintosh, captain of the Clan Chattan, having authority from his father, who promises to affix his seal to the bond, on the other part. This agreement is evidently one of those by which it was sought to secure the friendship of the Clan Chattan, and thus save the property of landowners in the lowlands of Moray. It was agreed that Sir Alexander Dunbar and Duncan Mackintosh "sall obserf and keip kyndness and brethirheid to utheris as carnale brethire suld do, for all the dayis of thair lyffis." Ferquhard Mackintosh is to become "son and man" to Sir Alexander Dunbar for his lifetime, and "bruther" to Sir James, with other conditions, matrimonial and other.² To adjust the questions regarding the proposed union between a son of Sir James Dunbar and a daughter of Ferquhard Mackintosh, four arbiters were appointed—Mr. Gavin Dunbar, Dean of Moray, and Mr. Alexander Sutherland, vicar of Inverness, on behalf of Sir James Dunbar; and Alexander Isles of Lochalsh, and John Grant of Freuchie, on behalf of Ferquhard Mackintosh. These four persons were to sit at Forres, within a year from the date, to deliberate and give their opinion in the matter, the Bishop of Moray to act as oversman in case of a difference of opinion.

From a clause in this contract it would appear that both parties were bound by a separate agreement to live peaceably with John Grant of Freuchie himself, while Sir James Dunbar and Alexander Innes of that Ilk were also sworn to each other, the whole thus forming a confederation for mutual defence and assistance. Further, the Laird of Freuchie was

¹ Rose of Kilravock, pp. 151-153. Contract dated 17th September 1490.

² Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, Iona Club, 1847, pp. 83-86.

conjoined with Alexander of Lochalsh, Sir James Ogilvie of Deskford, and others, including William, Lord Crichton, as a judge in any controversy or breach of obligation by any of the above contracting parties, which shows very conclusively the esteem in which this Laird was held.¹ The contract was renewed between Sir James Dunbar and Ferquhard Mackintosh on 20th June 1499, and John Grant of Freuchie was again named among the arbiters;² but it does not appear that its conditions were ever implemented.

Farther transactions between the Huntly family and the Laird of Freuchie about landed estates led to a misunderstanding as to their mutual rights. In the end of 1492 the Laird of Freuchie and Alexander, Lord Gordon, eldest son of the Earl of Huntly, disputed about the rents of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, which were four years in arrear. These lands, as narrated in the memoir of Sir Duncan Grant, were, in 1481, the subject of a compromise between the Mackintoshes and the Baron of Kilravock. A year later, on 24th June 1482, the Earl of Huntly appointed Hugh Rose of Kilravock governor of the Redcastle, and also discharged him of all rents of the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, together with the lease of the same lands.³ Whether Hugh Rose, in 1482, yielded up all possession of these lands does not appear. But as early as 1488, the Laird of Freuchie appears to have acquired right to Urquhart and Glenmoriston, apparently under a lease by the Earl of Huntly, the dispute with whose son almost assumed the proportions of litigation. On 28th January 1492-3, in presence of the Lords of Council, Alexander, Lord Gordon, and John Grant of Freuchie, through Alexander Farquharson, chaplain, his procurator, bound themselves to submit to the deliverance and ordinance of George, Earl of Huntly, and his Council, in regard to the sum of 270 merks, being four years' rental of the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston.⁴ No record remains of the sequel of this matter, nor of what compromise was made. The incident, however, furnishes proof that the Laird of Freuchie was beginning to hold his own even with his powerful neighbour, the Earl of Huntly, and, also, that he was gradually

¹ *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, Iona Club, p. 85.

² *Invernessiana*, by Mr. Fraser Mackintosh, p. 179.

³ *Rose of Kilravock*, p. 150.

⁴ *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, p. 267.

but surely extending his influence, and acquiring those lands which, if then only temporarily held, were at a later period firmly secured to his family.

Another dispute between the Laird of Freuchie and Alexander, Lord Gordon, had reference to the lands of Inverury and Inverlochy, within the sheriffdom of Banff, and the lands of Fodderletter, within the sheriffdom of Inverness, which had been ceded to Huntly by the Laird in 1491, in return for Tullochgorm and other lands. The nature and origin of the difference does not appear, but these lands were the subject of a decree of the Lords of Council on 22d October 1495. The Laird of Freuchie, it would appear, had become bound to infest Lord Gordon in these lands before Martinmas 1494, and had not only failed to do so, but had refused to pay the 600 merks of penalty attached to non-performance. Lord Gordon therefore brought an action to recover this sum, because the defender had failed to infest him in the lands, to hold them as freely as John the Narne had held them. The Laird of Freuchie failed to appear, and the Lords of Council decreed that, within forty days after being charged to do so, he should infest the pursuer, as desired, in the lands in question, and in default of obedience, that his goods should be distrained for the 600 merks.¹

In the end of the year 1493 John Grant was in Edinburgh, apparently in attendance at Court. Ever since his accession King James the Fourth had made the condition of the Highlands a matter of attention. His principal policy, besides overawing the chiefs in the Highlands and Islands who affected independence, and striving to introduce a regular and rapid, if severe, administration of justice, was to attach to his interest the chiefs of clans and prominent men in the Highlands. This was done by keeping up constant communication with them,² bestowing grants of land and securing their services against those of their fellows who were rebellious, as in a commission which will be afterwards noted, where Mackintosh and Grant were conjoined against the Mackenzies.

John Grant of Freuchie was doubtless not unwilling to press any claims he might have upon the government for loyalty in that or similar matters, and he took advantage of his attendance in Edinburgh to consoli-

¹ Acta Dominorum Concilii, p. 308.

128, 170, for correspondence with the Earl of

² See Treasurer's Accounts, vol. i. pp. 120, 121,

Huntly, Mackintosh, and other northern chiefs.

date his scattered property by a Royal charter erecting all his lands into one barony. Accordingly, on the 4th of January 1493-4, in the royal chamber at the monastery of Holyrood, he formally resigned all his possessions into the king's hands, who regranted them to him and his heirs, uniting them all into one barony, to be called the BARONY OF FREUCHIE.¹ The lands thus resigned, which are also enumerated in the Royal charter, were the lands of Freuchie and the mill of the same, the two Culfoichs, Dalfour, Auchnagall, the two Congashes, the mill of the same, and Glenloch, with the pertinents, lying within the sheriffdom of Inverness; also a fifth part of the lands of Lincauwode (Linkwood), and a fifth part of the mill of the same, a fifth part of the lands of Birmukty (Barmuckity), a fifth part of the lands of Garboty; a half of the lands of Inchebary, a half of the lands of Ordyquish, a half of the lands of Mulben, and 6s. 8d. worth of the lands of Suraston (Sheriffston), with pertinents, lying in the sheriffdom of Elgin. The lands thus erected into the new and enlarged barony of Freuchie, were to be held by the ancient feudal forms of ward and relief. The barony of Freuchie, which was thus erected in 1493, continued till the year 1694, when with other baronies it was absorbed into the regality of Grant. No records of the court of the barony of Freuchie are known to exist; but the records of the courts of the barony and regality of Grant are preserved in five volumes, embracing the period from 1690 to 1729.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century certain freebooters infested Braemar. In 1498 John Grant of Freuchie rendered signal service to the Crown by seizing and bringing to justice Alan Mor M'Kewin, with his accomplices, and Finlay Gibbonson. For this service Freuchie received a remission of the sums of money in which he had been fined for non-appearance at the justiciary courts held at Inverness, Elgin, and Forres.² From memoranda on the back of the charge to the Sheriffs to desist from levying the fines, it would appear that pledges to the amount of £333, 6s. 8d. Scots had been given on behalf of John Grant to the Sheriff of Inverness, and £300 to the Sheriff of Banff, Walter Ogilvie and Alexander, Lord Gordon, being cautioners in the latter case. From the burden of these

¹ Original Instrument of Resignation at Castle Grant.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 43.

sums, and from all distraint of his goods, the Laird of Freuchie was to be freed by a present payment of £400; but more substantial rewards were also made to Freuchie for his important services to King James the Fourth.

Reference has already been made to the legends connecting the Grants with Glencarnie through the supposed heiress of the Comyns. It has been shown that the Comyns had no connection with the territory of Glencarnie, that the heiress who took her name from that district was not a Comyn, nor did she bring her ancestral inheritance into the family of Grant. On the other hand, it was stated in the memoir of Sir Duncan Grant that there was evidence of an earlier holding of Glencarnie by the Grants than was instructed by the charters. That holding, whatever form it took, as a Crown lease or otherwise, was now converted into a heritable right by a charter from King James the Fourth. On 4th February 1498, by which time the Earl of Huntly had been made High Chancellor of Scotland, the king, for the good and faithful service done by John Grant of Freuchie, bestowed upon him the lands of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch, with the mills of the same, within the shire of Elgin and Forres. The lands were to be held of the king in fee and heritage for an annual payment of £71 Scots, with a proviso that if one term's rent was unpaid ere the expiry of a second term or half-year, the infestment should be null and void.

It is to be noted that no special boundaries are assigned to the lands, as if these were well known both to John Grant of Freuchie and the officers of the Crown. The latter had collected the rents of the earldom of Moray after it was forfeited in the person of Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray, in 1455. John Grant of Freuchie was infest in Glencarnie on 8th April 1499, in terms of a precept of the same date as the charter, which assigned Mullochard as the principal messuage of the lands of Glencarnie.¹

In the charter the lands of Ballindalloch were conjoined with those of Glencarnie, and, like the latter, only at this time became the property of the Grants. Sasine of the lands was given at the place of Ballindalloch as the principal messuage.² A story is related in the old *ms.* History of

¹ Original Instrument of Sasine at Castle Grant.

² Original Instrument of Sasine, dated 4th April 1499, *ibid.*

the Grants how John Grant of Ballachastell, when a minor, and fatherless, was under the tutory of his uncle, Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch, and educated by his grandfather, the Laird of Mackintosh. Ballindalloch being factor, and "having his encouragers," went and resided in Ballachastell, and was unwilling to be disturbed. But after the young Laird had reached his majority, he and his grandfather were, on a hunting day, invited by the factor to Ballachastell, and when there, was hailed as the righteous heir. The factor was thereupon first civilly desired to remove, but objecting, was removed by force and discharged from ever after entering therein.

An embellished version of the story is told by a recent writer, apparently on the authority of a MS. History of the Mackintoshes, but the statement may be merely traditional. This latest version is that William, then tutor, afterwards thirteenth Laird of Mackintosh, who "seems to have been a special foe to oppression and injustice," employed his authority on two occasions to secure the estates of neighbouring chiefs from the intromission of traitors. The first occasion was to send two hundred men to the aid of "the young Grant, his foster son, and grandson of Duncan Grant of Freuchie and Muriel, daughter of Malcolm Beg Mackintosh. Grant's uncle of Ballindalloch, having possession of his estate, asserted a right to it and his intention of retaining it." But by the vigorous interposition of the tutor of Mackintosh he was forced to give up his claims.¹

Whatever foundation there may be for this story, it will be seen that it cannot refer to the period to which it is assigned. The use of the word Ballachastell, as applied to Castle Grant, suggests a comparatively modern date for the authorship of the tradition; but the facts narrated in this memoir, which show that John Grant, the second of Freuchie, grandson of Sir Duncan Grant, was in peaceable possession of Freuchie many years before he acquired Ballindalloch, throw discredit on the whole story.

Shortly after his acquisition of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch, John Grant of Freuchie was appointed one of the king's Sheriffs, specially deputed to see that the king's writ ran against certain refractory Highland subjects. The royal letters are dated at Inverness, 26th October

¹ The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, by A. M. Shaw, p. 177.

1499,¹ but the events alluded to occurred some years before, and the whole proceedings give a vivid picture of the state of the Highlands at that period. The king's writ is directed against William Forbes of Strathglass, Welland Chisholm of Comar, and a number of others with Celtic names, for having taken certain goods from Hugh Rose of Kilravock out of the lands of Ardmanoch and the Redcastle while he was captain thereof. A document preserved in the Kilravock charter-chest shows that Hugh Rose was relieved from his office of captain of Redcastle by Alexander, Lord Gordon, in the year 1492,² and the spoliation in question must therefore have occurred before that date.

A full investigation of the events in order of date, compared with original documents, proves that the royal letters now issued in 1499, refer back to a period so early as 1491, when the Islesmen made a great raid across the north of Scotland in a vain attempt to recover for their chief the ancient earldom of Ross. What part, if any, the Laird of Freuchie played at that time cannot clearly be ascertained, but as certain kinsmen and allies of his were deeply concerned, and as he himself was one of those commissioned at a later date to punish offenders, a detailed narrative in order of dates may here be given.

It has already been stated that the Laird of Freuchie, on 17th September 1490, was chosen one of the advisers in a contract betwixt his own kinsmen, the chiefs of Clan Chattan and the Baron of Kilravock and his son, Hugh Rose, the latter of whom at that date held Redcastle and Ardmanoch for the Earl of Huntly. Ferquhard Mackintosh, the younger Laird of Mackintosh, and Hugh Rose the younger, seem to have been kindred spirits, and of a stirring temperament, which only lacked opportunity to be troublesome to their neighbours.

That opportunity came in the year following this contract. In 1476, John, the last Earl of Ross, the friend and adherent of the rebellious Douglases, after being pardoned and restored to his forfeited estates, made a formal resignation of the earldom of Ross, his lands and castles. Upon this the earldom of Ross was annexed to the Crown, and the Earl was created a Peer of Parliament, with the title of Lord of the Isles. This

¹ *Rose of Kilravock*, pp. 168-170.

² *Ibid.* p. 158.

resignation was very unpopular, and led in many ways, specially through the turbulent character of the late Earl's sons, to much disturbance and bloodshed. Some time before 1490, the now aged Lord of the Isles had resumed possession of his estates, from which he had been excluded by the violence of his eldest son Angus, now deceased. His nearest heir in the lordship of the Isles was Alexander of Lochalsh, his nephew, a son of his brother Celestine of the Isles. Alexander of Lochalsh inherited from his father the districts of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and Lochbroom, all lying in the earldom of Ross, and as his influence there was considerable, he resolved to recover, if possible, the ancient earldom. In 1491 he placed himself at the head of his uncle's vassals, and with a large following advanced from Lochaber into Badenoch.¹

In the latter district the invader was joined by a portion of the Clan Mackintosh, under Ferquhard Mackintosh, much against the will of his father, Duncan Mackintosh, who was a prudent chief. The confederates then marched to Inverness, where Ferquhard Mackintosh stormed the castle, by the aid, it is said, of an "engine called a sow." The young baron of Kilravock also joined the insurgents, probably while they were at Inverness, and was the only Crown vassal in the earldom of Ross who took part with them. From Inverness Alexander of Lochalsh and his followers passed to the Black Isle of Ross, where they ravaged and carried off much booty from that fertile territory, for which at a later date the Baron of Kilravock had to refund heavily. The invaders then proceeded towards Strathconan with the purpose of ravaging the lands of the Mackenzies, between whom and the Macdonalds of the Isles there had been a feud. It has been suggested that ere reaching Strathconan, Lochalsh divided his force into two parts, sending one portion home with the booty, while he advanced with the other against the Mackenzies. Whether this were so or not, the latter clan, under their chief Kenneth, met the confederate forces at a place called Park, near the river Conan, and gained a complete victory.²

According to a MS. History of the Mackenzies, Alexander of Lochalsh himself was taken prisoner, but was liberated at the end of six months. He

¹ Gregory's *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, pp. 50-56.
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² *Ibid.* pp. 56, 57.
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certainly was a party to the agreement between the Dunbars and Mackintoshes on 18th September 1492, already narrated in this memoir. The Mackenzies, however, were not satisfied with having quelled the rebellion, but proceeded to measures of retaliation. They ravaged the lands of Ardmanoch, and those of William Munro of Foulis, the former especially, because the young Baron of Kilravock, who held the Redcastle with the lands of Ardmanoch, had joined the invading party. In consequence of this and other excesses, the Earl of Huntly, as lieutenant of the north, was compelled to issue a commission against the Mackenzies, to punish their "hershships, slaughters, and spulzies."

In this commission the Laird of Freuchie was specially named, though there is some doubt as to the exact date at which it was issued. A recent writer places the date of the battle between the Mackenzies and the Islesmen before the year 1488,¹ but this seems inconsistent with other facts. The statement is founded on the history of the first Earl of Cromartie, who was an accurate writer on the events of his own time, but may possibly be mistaken as to a few years when relating affairs which happened two centuries before his day. Another recent writer on the history of the Mackintoshes fixes the date of the commission against the Mackenzies in 1492.² Of this precise date there is no clear evidence, as the document which supplies the chief information is only dated in 1499, but the commission was probably issued at an early date after the spoliation of Ardmanoch. The Earl of Huntly, who granted the commission, wrote a "testemonyal" on the subject, which is worth quoting, though, unhappily, he gives no precise clue to the date of issue. He writes, "Sene it is meide and meritabill to beir leill and suthfast witnessing in the things that ar trow, that may kep innysentis fra skath, I, George Erll off Huntly, luftanand tyll our souerane lord the kyng, quhome God assowlle, and sherra of Endernes for the tyme, schargit and gerit pas be the commande of our souerane lordis lettres, Duncan Makynthois, captane of the Clynyatane, Jhone the Grant of Fruchy, Huchowne the Ros of Kylrawok, Alexander Crome of Inyerothnac, Alexander Keir of Ratamorkos, Lachlan Makintows of Galawe, with thair complisis, men, and freindis, to the

¹ History of the Clan Mackenzie, 1879, p. 74.

² The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, p. 160.

nowmer of thre thosand apone Canoth Makcanche and his kyne and freindis duelland in Ros, for thai war the kingis rabellis at his horne in that tyme, and put to his horne be Sir Alexander Dunbar, our sherra deput for the tyme of Endernes, for the sclachter of Harrald of Schescheme, duelland in Straglas, and for diuerse otheris hershippis, sclacteris, and spowlleis maide be the forsaid Kanoth Makkanchy and his kyne and complissis of the Clankanye, apone the kyngis pur legis and tenandis in the lordschip of the Ardmanoch; for the quhilkis we causit thir forsaid personis tyll birne, harry, and sla, for thair demerittis; declarand quhat skat that was done at that tyme to the saidis Clyn-Kane and thair complissis was be the kyngis commande, and ouris as luftanande, and eftir the forme off oure souerane lordis lettres derikit tyll ws and our deputis proportis at mair lyntht," etc.¹

This document is dated at Newark-on-Spey, 15th December 1499, and seems to have been intended as an exoneration for those who executed the Sheriff's letters against the Clan Mackenzie, who, especially the Mackintoshes and the Baron of Kilravock, are said to have exceeded their commission, and ravaged the lands of Urquhart, Sheriff of Cromartie, which had already been harried by the Macdonalds.² For this offence decree was given by the Lords of Council on 5th February 1492-3;³ but as the spoliation is said to have been committed by Hugh Rose the younger, it is probable that this first decree really refers to the ravages committed by the Islesmen, and that the whole burden of restitution fell upon the Roses, simply because they were more easily reached by the King's writ than their Highland neighbours. In 1497 it would appear that a fine of 800 merks was exacted from the Baron of Kilravock, at the instance of the Sheriff of Cromartie, which may have arisen from the excess of zeal above referred to. In passing, however, it may be noted that the debt was finally arranged, and a matrimonial alliance concluded between the Urquharts and the Roses, to which, in 1510, John Grant of Freuchie was made a party as arbiter.⁴

It is not clearly known what was the real result of the commission

¹ Rose of Kilravock, p. 170.

² The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, p. 160.

³ Acta Dominorum Concilii, p. 273.

⁴ Rose of Kilravock, p. 163.

against the Clan Mackenzie. John Grant and his comrades would no doubt do their best to "birne, harry, and sla," as they were empowered to do, but with what success does not appear. The chief of the Mackenzies who defeated the Islesmen at Park was named Kenneth, and he died and was buried in Beaully Priory in February 1491-2.¹ As the Earl of Huntly's commission mentions this chief by name, the writ may have been issued before his death. He left a son, also named Kenneth, but he was a minor, and his uncle, known as Hector Roy Mackenzie, was appointed his tutor, and led the clan. It has been said that Hector Roy and his followers met the three thousand thus sent against them, and "gave a good account of them, and soon defeated and dispersed them."² This statement, however, which is otherwise unsupported by evidence, is made on the ground that the commission was issued so late as 1499, whereas the probability is that it was dated much earlier, as the document of 1499 is retrospective.

Some explanation of the lack of evidence on the subject is found in the king's writ of 26th October 1499, already referred to. The writ is addressed to Alexander, Lord Gordon, Thomas Fraser, Master of Lovat, and John the Grant of Freuchie, with a number of others, as sheriffs in that part. It would appear that the king's letters had been twice directed to David Ross of Balnagown, as Sheriff of Ross. On the first occasion he was charged to distrain Donald Corbett, Hugh Munro, and others, "to the avale of certane ky, oxin, hors, schepe, gayt, and vtheris gudis," named in a decree of the Lords of Council, at the instance of certain parties for whom Hugh Rose of Kilravock was procurator. This apparently refers to some private foray, but the second occasion is more important. The Sheriff was charged to distrain William Forbes in Strathglass, Welland Chisholm of Comar, and others, "to the avale of certane oxin, ky, hors, schepe, gait, caponis, hennis, geis, vittale, swine, sovmez of money, and vtheris gudis takin be thaim fra [Hucheon Rose] out of the landis of Ardmanach and the Redecastell, the tyme that he wes capitane therof." These royal letters were, however, utterly disregarded by the Sheriff, and notwithstanding other letters directed by the Council "in the first, secund, and thrid

¹ History of Beaully Priory, p. 105.

² History of the Clan Mackenzie, 1879, p. 90.

formez," remained wholly unexecuted by him. For due execution therefore the king's writ was issued to John Grant of Freuchie and others, as narrated. It is not improbable, judging from the fate of the former letters, that no great results followed from the later commission.

For some years after this the Laird of Freuchie seems to have remained quietly at home, engaged in gradually adding to his estate, and disposing of his children in marriage. He purchased the lands of Nether Auchroisk in 1505 from John Nairn, the Baron of Cromdale,¹ and by his infestment therein² obtained a footing in the barony of Cromdale, which at a later period became entirely the property of the family. He was employed also in 1507 by George, Earl of Rothes, as his assignee and agent, to pay to Alexander Gordon of Brekowcht, at the "chymmyce" or manor-house of Muldares, or failing that, at the parish church of Rothes, on any Sunday or "othir solempnyt day," in time of high mass, the sum of £106, 13s. 4d. Scots, for redemption of the lands of Muldares, which had been under mortgage.³

On 10th May 1508 the Laird of Freuchie entered into a contract with John Cumming of Ernside, providing for the marriage of Thomas Cumming, his son and heir-apparent, or failing him, his brother Alexander, to Margaret Grant, the Laird's daughter, or failing her, the elder of his other daughters.⁴ Another contract was entered into six months later, on 8th November 1508, at Altyre, in which the final arrangements were made as to payment of certain sums of money and settlement of lands.⁵ Some delay, however, seems to have taken place in implementing the contract, as on 8th May 1509 John Grant, within the Cathedral Church of Moray, made a protest against John Cumming of Ernside, requiring the latter to fulfil his engagements.⁶ Shortly after this date, on 29th June 1509, the half lands of Mulben and others in the sheriffdom of Elgin were conveyed by John Cumming, in terms of the contract, to John Grant, who was duly infest, and his title completed by a confirmation from the Crown, dated 31st July 1509.⁷

¹ Original Charter at Castle Grant.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 44.

³ *Ibid.* p. 46.

⁴ Original Instrument at Castle Grant.

⁵ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 47.

⁶ Original Instrument at Castle Grant.

⁷ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 49-51.

While the Laird of Freuchie was thus peacefully engaged, the Highlands were in a greatly disturbed condition. The relations between King James the Fourth and his subjects of the Isles had ended in 1499 in an open rupture. The lands belonging to the Lords of the Isles were distributed between the powerful families of Argyll and Huntly, with acknowledgments to others of services done to the king. The rebellion which these and other measures caused was sternly suppressed, though not until, in 1503, the district of Badenoch had been wasted with fire and sword by the Islesmen. Two years were required to put down this insurrection, and to establish more thoroughly the new arrangements for jurisdiction in the Highlands and Isles. In all the measures used to that end the Earl of Huntly was one of the most active of the Royal agents.¹ John Grant of Freuchie and the Mackintoshes were bound to him in manrent service. That the latter clan aided the Earl in carrying out the king's plans may be understood from the fact that the first fierce assault of the Islesmen was directed against them and their country of Badenoch; but what part the Laird of Freuchie took, or whether he was actively engaged at all, does not appear.

It may be, however, that the steadiness with which the Laird devoted himself to his own affairs commended him to King James the Fourth as a law-abiding subject, and one to whom a position of influence could be safely intrusted. It was the king's policy to place those well affected to good government in posts where their influence could best co-operate with his own efforts to secure peace in the disturbed districts. This, indeed, is the reason assigned by the king himself for granting at this time the barony of Urquhart in favour of the Laird of Freuchie.

It has already been noticed that the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston were in the hands of John Grant so early as 1488. At that time he held them in lease from the Earl of Huntly, to whom he paid a yearly rent for the possession, although the Earl himself had only a temporary right to the lands, as Lieutenant of the Crown in the North, the barony of Urquhart being one of those inalienably annexed to the royal patrimony by Act of Parliament on 4th August 1455.² It has been asserted that the Grant family prior to 1509 obtained possession of

¹ Gregory's Highlands and Isles, pp. 94-104.

² Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 42.

most of the lands round Urquhart, constituting the domains of the castle, as the king's chamberlains.¹ There is no clear proof that the Grants acted as chamberlains, but it may have been so, and it may also have been the good influence they exercised in that capacity which induced the king in 1509 to grant the lands of Urquhart, Corriemony, and Glenmoriston to John Grant of Freuchie, his second son John, and his natural son John, called More.²

In the charter of the barony of Urquhart given to the Laird of Freuchie on 8th December 1509, King James the Fourth declares the purpose of the grant to be, *inter alia*, to secure government and stability (*policia et edificatione*) and good rule, in the lands granted, among the inhabitants of the same, and for making those obedient to the laws who in times past had been refractory and disobedient. The same reasons and conditions accompanied the grant of the lands of Corriemony, which were bestowed upon John Grant's second lawful son, John, and the lands of Glenmoriston, which were assigned to John More Grant, a natural son of the Laird. The provisions of these feu-charters, which have been already noticed in the Introduction to this work, are very minute and remarkable, as showing the king's anxious desire for the welfare of his Highland subjects, which he trusted to his vassals to carry out.

The last provision in the charters of Urquhart and Corriemony is to the effect that if the vassals or their heirs-male be convicted of treason, murder, or common theft, they shall in that case lose the feu-farm of the lands, a clause, however, providing that they might compound for their lives. And thereafter, it is added, their heirs-male shall not enter to the lands without the consent and goodwill of the king or his successors. But this provision does not seem to have acted as a special deterrent, for in July 1510, John Grant of Freuchie, John Grant More, his natural son, and a number of indwellers in Urquhart, Moray, Knockando, Inverlochy, and others, made a composition with the Government for the crime of intercommuning with, and giving supply and assistance to rebels.³

¹ Statistical Account of Inverness, p. 45.

² Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 51-54; Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. Nos. 3390-2.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 56, 57.

From the time of John Grant's formal infeftment in the barony of Urquhart, which took place within the castle or fortalice there, on 24th January 1510,¹ to the date of the battle of Flodden, the state of the Highlands was comparatively peaceful. Indeed, so impressed were the chiefs of the Highlands and Isles by the firm rule of King James the Fourth, that when he mustered his army before Flodden, they gathered to his standard in great force.² But the king's death and the loss of so many Scottish nobles, who might have held the northern chiefs in check, threw the whole of Scotland, but especially the Highlands, into confusion and anarchy.

This was soon visible, and John Grant of Freuchie was one of the earliest sufferers. There is no evidence to show whether he or his son James, who had now come to man's estate, were present with the king at Flodden. But whether they were so or not, the tide of rebellion which broke out in the Highlands soon reached them in their own neighbourhood. Immediately after the return of the northern chiefs from the south, a new insurrection was raised for proclaiming a Lord of the Isles, in the person of Sir Donald Macdonald of Lochalsh,³ the eldest son of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Lochalsh, who had formerly claimed that title. Sir Donald himself, with a large force of Highlanders, among whom were William Chisholm of Comar, Alexander Macranald or "Alexander John M^cAlister-sone" in Glengarry, and others, invaded the territory of Urquhart. There they seized the castle, expelled the garrison, and plundered the neighbourhood, carrying off a somewhat miscellaneous booty, as described in the decree of the Lords of Council obtained at the instance of the aggrieved Laird of Freuchie in 1518.⁴ The raid itself took place on All Saints' Day in the year 1513. Pots, pans, kettles, "nops" (napery?), beds, sheets, blankets, coverings, pillows, fish, flesh, bread, ale, cheese, butter, and other household stuff valued at upwards of £100, were among the spoil. Large quantities of grain also were carried off, the proportions of which attest the values of the lands ravaged. From the town and grange of Kil St. Ninian were taken 300 bolls of bear, 200 bolls of oats;

¹ Original Instrument of Sasine at Castle Grant.

² Gregory's Highlands and Isles, p. 113.

³ Gregory's Highlands and Isles, p. 114.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 62.

from Corriemony, 100 bolls of bear, 200 of oats; from Achmony, 60 bolls of bear, 120 bolls of oats; from Petcarilmore and Delshangie, 100 bolls of bear, 200 of oats; from Mekely, 120 bolls of oats, and 60 bolls of bear; from Carrogar, 120 bolls of oats, 60 of bear; from Tulaichla, 120 bolls of oats and 60 bolls of bear, the boll of oats being valued at 4s. and the boll of bear at 8s. Scots. Three hundred cows, valued at 26s. 8d. each, 1000 sheep, ewes, and wedders, valued on an average at 4s. each, fell a prey to the invaders. Moreover, the latter were not content with the one foray, but seized upon and occupied the lands, to the injury of the proprietor, for nearly three years. The profits, after deducting working expenses, were estimated at 300 bolls of bear and 200 bolls of oats yearly, valued at the above price per boll. To this was added the grass and pasture of 600 cows and oxen, 1000 sheep and goats, 200 horses and mares, 200 swine, each "solum" of grass being valued at 18d. The "maillis, cariage service, proffettis, and dewiteis" of the remainder of the lands and lordship of Urquhart, yearly, were estimated for the three years, at 120 merks of money, with "14 score bollis victuale, beir, and meill; price of the boll, viij s̄."

The extent and value of the damage done was referred to the oath of the Laird of Freuchie, who appeared personally before the Lords of Council, and he estimated the amount at £2000 of Scots money, which sum was accordingly decerned for against the defenders. It may well be doubted if it was ever paid, as at the date of the decree, 26th February 1517-18, Donald of the Isles was an outlaw, and though the Earls of Huntly and Argyll were directed to proceed against him as a rebel, little was done, and his death in the end of the year 1519 brought the rebellion of which he had been the head to a sudden close.¹

While the Islesmen thus held rude possession of the Laird of

¹ Acts of the Lords of Council, quoted in Gregory's *Highlands and Isles*, pp. 125, 126. The sum decerned for was certainly still due on 6th May 1549, as at that date letters were issued under the signet of Queen Mary, at the instance of James Grant of Freuchie, son, heir, and executor of the deceased John Grant, for distraining the goods of "Margaret Iles, one of the tua sisters and airts of the said

vmquhill Donald Iles [of Lochalsh], Thomas Dinwell of Kilduna, sone and air of vmquhill Jonet Iles, the vther sister, and airts of the said vmquhill Donald, and successure to him," and of others named, in payment of the sum of £2000, for which decree was given in 1517. [Letters at Castle Grant.]

Freuchie's lately acquired territory, from 1513 to 1516, he himself steadily turned his attention to matters of more peaceful interest. During the early half of 1514, James the Grant, son and apparent heir to John the Grant of Freuchie, entered into a bond of manrent service to his uncle, Alexander Ogilvie of Deskford;¹ and later in the same year his father entered into a contract with the Earl of Huntly. The latter agreement referred to the non-entries of the lands of "Auchynnisse," in the sheriffdom of Banff, which Alexander, Earl of Huntly, made over to the Laird of Freuchie in liquidation of a loan of 200 merks, and it was stipulated that if the latter desired to have these non-entries he was to pay an additional sum of 100 merks. On the 16th October following, the transaction was completed by the Laird's acceptance and payment of the 100 merks, on which the non-entries in question were made over to him.²

In the year 1512, Anne Grant, second daughter of John Grant of Freuchie, married Hugh Fraser, Master of Lovat, son of Thomas, Lord Fraser of Lovat,³ and in 1520, the Laird entered into a contract for the marriage of Agnes Grant, his third daughter, to the young chief of the Clan Cameron. The contract, which was made at Urquhart, bore special reference to the possibility of future irruptions into that territory and the territory of Lochaber possessed by the Camerons, which was also exposed to the attacks of the Islesmen. The Laird of Freuchie, James Grant, his son and apparent heir, on one side, and Ewen Allanson, captain of Clan Cameron, with Donald, his son and apparent heir, on the other side, bound themselves and their heirs "to stand til vder in leil, trew, anefald kyndes, manteinans and defendoris of vderis for all the dais of thair lieffis, . . . and in speciall to defend vderis lik Johne the Grant in Vrquhart and Glenmorestone, and his ayris, and John the Grant to defend the said Ewin Allanson and his ayris in Lochabbir, agane all thame at levis or dee ma," etc. A former bond betwixt Lachlan Mackintosh of Mackintosh and Ewin Allanson, who were brothers-in-law, was to remain unbroken without prejudice to the present agreement. To cement their goodwill and mutual alliance,

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 59.

² *Ibid.* pp. 59, 60.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 58. The name of this daughter is not discoverable from the Grant Muni-ments, but it is said to have been Anne.

Donald Cameron was to marry, "in faice of haly kyrk," Agnes Grant, daughter to the Laird of Freuchie, and that as soon as possible after the procuring of a papal dispensation between the date of the contract and fifteen days after Martinmas next. But should the dispensation not come within the time specified, "the said John the Grant is bundin and oblist to caus thame be handfast and put togiddir, his said dochtir Agnes and the said Donald, for mariage to be completit in the defalt of the dispensacion."¹ Thomas, Lord Fraser of the Lovat, Alexander Cumming, son and apparent heir to Alexander Cumming of Altyre, and Patrick Grant in Ballindalloch, were sureties that the marriage should be duly completed on the arrival of the dispensation, under the penalty of 1000 merks.

Another curious contract of this date is preserved in the Grant charter-chest, and may be noted here, although the Laird of Freuchie was not a party to it. It is an agreement betwixt Donald Ewin Allansone, or Cameron of Lochiel, on one side, and Alexander John Alexanderson, or Macranald of Glengarry, on the other. They bind themselves to each other in mutual friendship, and to an amicable arrangement as to the fourteen merk lands of Invergarry, should either of them acquire these lands. If Donald Cameron was the first to obtain possession, he agreed to lease to Macranald so much, namely, the Lagane, a quarter land extending yearly to three merks of penny mail, Maldelle, one merk land, Dellecharne and Badintawag, one merk land. On the other hand, should Macranald become the first possessor, he agreed to lease to Cameron, Invergarry, a three merk land, and Killeane, extending to five merks yearly.²

The Laird of Freuchie and his clan appear to have been summoned to muster under the Duke of Albany, as regent, on 20th October 1523, to march against England. But owing, no doubt, to advanced age, and probably also to the example of the Earl of Huntly, neither the Laird of Freuchie, nor any of his name, responded to the summons, as appears from a remission under the Great Seal, dated 13th February 1527-8.³

The Laird of Freuchie's last public act, as ascertained from the family muniments, was to take part in a curious tribal agreement, denominated a "Letter of Skains," in which the Clan Grant and the inhabitants of

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 64.

² *Ibid.* p. 66.

³ *Ibid.* p. 72.

Strathdee, or the Farquharsons, bewailed their mutual raids on each other's property, and resolved henceforth to live and die in concord. This contract is drawn up in solemn form by a notary, and is so remarkable as to be worthy of translation in full, omitting the formal portions.

On the 8th of October 1527, in presence of the subscribing notary and other witnesses, appeared the honourable and worthy men and good women, John Grant of Freuchie, James Grant, his son and apparent heir, Robert Grant, John Grant More, and Patrick Grant in Ballindalloch, in their own name, and that of the whole community, and "Iye Clan de Grantis," their kinsmen, friends, and adherents, on one part, and Finlay Farquharson and others,¹ tenants of the lands of our sovereign lord the king, of Strathdee, within the diocese of Aberdeen, for themselves, their children, orphans, kinsmen, friends, adherents, and others whom it concerns or may concern in future, on the other part; wholly deploring and taking ill the cutting off (truncacionem) and plundering of the men of Strathdee, and the carrying off of their cattle, grain, and other goods by the said Grants, their kinsmen, friends, and adherents; and on the other hand the cutting off and plundering of the men of Strathspey and Strathdon, their cattle, grain, and goods by Finlay Farquharson, his confederates and accomplices, their kinsmen, friends, and adherents; and desiring, so far as human weakness can, to redeem, satisfy, and amend these most disgraceful crimes towards God in the highest, the Three and One, our sovereign lord the king, and the injured party, and for the rest to live and end their days in concord and friendship, quietly and peacefully among themselves; for these reasons the said parties for themselves, and in name as above, induced neither by force nor fear, un-compelled and unconstrained, but of their own mere and free wills, having regard to their utility and quiet, and after much long and matured consideration, have asserted, by their great oath separately sworn before me, the notary-public underwritten, the holy gospels of God being touched, and have affirmed that they have mutually laid aside towards each other all rancour and displeasure of mind for the said men killed, slain, maimed, and mutilated, and with the most impartial and cordial minds, proclaim and

¹ Then follows a long array of names, male and female more or less Celtic, for which reference may be made to the document itself, vol. iii. of this work, p. 68.

acquit them quiet and peaceable in judgment and without, for all time to come, and that for themselves and any others whomsoever in their name, a fit satisfaction being first considered, and on each side actually completed : Also they have to each other mutually made real, actual, and full contentment, recompence, and compensation of animals, grain, and whatever other things, losses, expenses, and injuries and interest taken away on either side, carried off and destroyed, a diligent inquiry being first made as to the number and value of the same ; concerning which matters in all and sundry they have in more ample form exonerated and acquitted themselves for ever, promising that no further agreement shall be sought by them or others in their name. The parties are also willing that the premises in all their clauses be extended in more ample form, and that this present instrument, in absence of their seals, shall be accepted in lieu of a final exoneration and remission, or letters " lye slaynys," of wives, children, kinsmen, and adherents slain, according to the custom of the country, as if it were confirmed by the seals of parties or by any other security : And the said parties have on both sides bound and obliged themselves to me, the notary-public underwritten, in the stead and name of all and sundry whom it now concerns, has concerned, or may in any way concern in future, to observe the premises unbroken, their great oath intervening, and under pain of perjury, inability, and infamy. Upon which things the parties required instruments, etc.¹

This instrument was drawn up at " Dilmorar, within the parish of Straithawin," and was succeeded a few months later by one of precisely similar tenor between the Grants and the tenants of the Earl of Huntly and others in Strathdee. It is not clear whether John Grant of Freuchie took part in the latter agreement : probably not, as it was made on 4th January 1527-8, while he died in the following May, and he is not mentioned in the notary's instrument of a year later.²

The agreements just narrated do not seem to have been immediately acted upon. The first one, that of October 1527, apparently followed on a raid by the Farquharsons, which affected the king's property as well as that of the Grants. The latter invoked the aid of the law in the affair, and in 1532, four years after John Grant's decease, a summons was issued

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 68, 69.

² *Ibid.* p. 70.

against the Farquharsons by King James the Fifth. This document, which is unhappily somewhat mutilated, narrates that in the year 1527,¹ the Farquharsons took from the lands of the Brae of Mar eighty-six cows, valued at 50s. each, sent by the deceased John Grant "with his servandis to have bene brought to ws (the king) for payment of oure malis and dewiteis of oure landis of Urquhard and Glenfarnych (Glencarnie) liand within our sheriffdomes of Inuernes and Elgin, in the yeir of God j^mv^cxxvij zeris." It will thus be seen that the Farquharsons were impartial in exacting toll from his Majesty as well as from his subjects. This incident also shows that the Laird of Freuchie paid at least part of his Crown rents or feu-farm duties in kind.

In somewhat amusing contrast to the levy upon the king's rental, the summons refers to another foray of the Farquharsons, this time against a son of the church, one of their own name, who appears in various Grant documents as a notary attendant on the Laird. In December 1527, just two months *after* the first agreement narrated above, the Farquharsons seized from the lands of "Vry, beside Cowe in Mvrenes," in the sheriffdom of Kincardine, goods belonging to Sir Alexander Farquharson, chaplain, servant to the deceased Laird, the inventory of which is curious as affording a glimpse of certain clerical properties. The spoil consisted of one black and one brown horse, valued at about £10 each; a doublet of double worsted, price 48s.; three "sarkis," price 6s. each; "tua suerdis," price 58s. each; "tua paris of hois of blak and quhit claitht," at 14s. the pair; one pound of pepper, value 10s.; four ounces of "cannell" [cinnamon], valued at 16s.; half a pound of ginger, price 4s.; two ounces of saffron, valued at 12s.² For the cows and the spices, of which they had thus taken forcible possession, the Farquharsons were, in the justice ayre of Aberdeen, adjudged to pay value, which, although the Earl of Huntly and James Crichton of Frendraught were cautioners, they delayed to do, and therefore the summons was raised by John Grant's executor.

Although the second Laird of Freuchie got his lands erected into a barony, there is no evidence, until a later period, of the existence of a castle

¹ The precise date cannot be ascertained, owing to the injured condition of the original paper.

² Original Summons at Castle Grant.

of Freuchie. In the High Treasurer's acknowledgment of the Laird's composition in 1510 for intercommuning with rebels, he is described as dwelling within the sheriffdom of Elgin. Freuchie was situated in the shire of Inverness.

After a long and laborious life, spent in the service of three sovereigns, in the preservation of tranquillity in the Highlands, acquiring new estates and consolidating them with the old, John Grant, second Laird of Freuchie, quietly departed this life in May 1528.

As already shown, he married, in 1484, Margaret Ogilvie, daughter of Sir James Ogilvie of Deskford. He is also said to have married Elizabeth Forbes, daughter of John, Lord Forbes, but this is evidently a mistake, as she was the wife of his son James. John Grant of Freuchie had two sons:—

1. James, who succeeded him; and
2. John, who received, on 8th December 1509, a charter from King James the Fourth of the lands and barony of Corriemony. In that charter he is designed younger son of John Grant of Freuchie. From him the Grants of Sheuglie are descended, of which family Charles Grant, Lord Glenelg, was a cadet.

He had also, so far as can be ascertained, five daughters:—

1. Margaret, who married, about 1508, Thomas Cumming, son and apparent heir of John Cumming of Ernside.
2. Anne, who married, about 1512, Hugh Fraser, Master of Lovat, and was the mother of Hugh, Master of Lovat, killed with his father, in a fight with the Clan Ranald, in 1544.
3. Agnes, married, in 1520, Donald Cameron, the younger chief of Clan Cameron.
4. Elizabeth, said to have married John Mackenzie of Kintail. They had a charter from the Crown in 1543.¹
5. Christina, mentioned as a creditor of her brother James in the testament of the latter, dated 1st June 1553.

John Grant, second of Freuchie, had also a natural son, John Grant, surnamed More, who was the ancestor of the Grants of Glenmoriston, of whom a pedigree is given in this work.

¹ History of the Mackenzies, p. 116.

IX.—JAMES GRANT, THIRD OF FREUCHIE.

ELIZABETH FORBES, HIS FIRST WIFE.

CHRISTINA BARCLAY, HIS SECOND WIFE.

1528-1553.

ON the death of John Grant, second of Freuchie, in 1528, the baronies of Freuchie, Urquhart, and the other now widely-spread territories of his family, were inherited by his son and heir, James Grant, who became the third Laird of Freuchie. Like his father, this Laird added to the family estates, although some of his new acquisitions could not be maintained. Indeed, he had difficulty in retaining peaceful possession of the barony of Urquhart, as will be seen in the course of his memoir. He was also closely associated with the Earl of Huntly in reference to his rule in the northern counties, and they had many transactions about the exchange of estates and the pacification of the Highlands.

During the lifetime of his father, James Grant does not appear to have come very prominently forward. His first transaction, as gathered from the muniments, was a bond of manrent, already casually referred to, given by him to his uncle, Alexander Ogilvie of Deskford, on 19th April 1514.¹ The general terms of this bond were those common to bonds of that character, but contained a special clause of some interest. James Grant bound himself "specialie aganis the Clanquhattane gif thair invayd or puttis at his (Ogilvie's) landis, hous of Dawe (Daviot), himself or ony of his seruandis," to resist and defend the lands and others with his full power. This obligation may have been dictated by the ties of near kinship to Ogilvie, but the more immediate cause of such a special bond was no doubt the raid made by the Mackintoshes upon the Ogilvies, known as "the second hership of Petty." This raid was headed by Dougal Mackintosh, called Dougal Mor, and his son, and was made to regain for

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 59.

their clan their original possession of Petty, which, since the annexation of the earldom of Moray to the Crown, in 1455, had been held from 1495 by the Gordons, and afterwards by Sir William Ogilvie of Banff.¹ In the royal letters of summons, issued in 1516, against the Mackintoshes, he is called Sir William Ogilvie of Stratherne [Strathnairn]. He had only held Petty for about two years, when his place of Halhill or Petty was attacked, and a large booty carried off.

Between 1514 and 1527 nothing can be learned regarding James Grant, but in the latter year, as the future chief of the Grants, he was a party to the agreement of 8th October 1527 with the Farquharsons and Crown tenants of Strathdee, narrated at length in the memoir of his father. During the same year, James Grant, younger of Freuchie, is named in another agreement of the same nature made with the tenants in Strathdee of the king, the Earl of Huntly, and of James Gordon of Abergeldie.² At a later date, on 19th January 1538, another agreement was made, by which James Grant of Freuchie and others made payment to the Farquharsons of a sum of 800 merks as compensation for spoiliations.³

In these tribal agreements the names of the tenants of Strathdee, and those who may be presumed to be the Clan Farquharson, are given at some length, but only the Laird of Freuchie and three or four other Grants are named as representing "Iye Clan de Grauntis," as it is called. As this is the first occurrence in the Grant muniments of the word "Clan" as applied to the Grant family, it is a matter of interest to know how it was composed.

As the territories of Stratherrick and Inverallan, the tenants of which might have come in Highland fashion to be accounted a clan, passed into the hands of female heirs, and were lost to the name of Grant, there was no opportunity for the formation of a patriarchal or clannish relation between the Grants and their followers until the time of Sir Duncan Grant of Freuchie. Under him the Grants first acquired lands which remained permanently in their possession. But as the family territory increased, and was consolidated into various baronies in the hands of John Grant the second of Freuchie, his grandson and successor, it was

¹ The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, by A. M. Shaw, p. 182.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 70.

³ Original Instrument at Castle Grant.

more probably during the long life of this laird that the "clan" properly so called became fully formed. Surrounded, as was Sir Duncan Grant, and still more his grandson, with his larger possessions, by Highland clans or septs, each member of which was ready to follow the chief of his name, and avenge his quarrels with any neighbouring proprietor by harrying cattle and corn, it was natural that though not themselves of Celtic descent, the Grants should yet be gradually induced to adopt the Celtic customs, and encourage their tenants and vassals to look up to them as chieftains. To this the tenants and vassals, being in many cases Celts, would readily conform, and thus would arise the Clan Grant, which, from the extent of the family territory, soon grew powerful enough to cope with the older Highland clans in its neighbourhood.

In support of this theory, it may be shown that the minor members of the clan were at first not Grants, but natives bearing names of Celtic origin. That this was so in Urquhart is proved by a letter of composition issued by the High Treasurer of Scotland, dated 10th July 1510, shortly after the Laird of Freuchie received these lands in feu from the Crown, in which a number of the tenants in the lands of Urquhart are specially mentioned by name, and their patronymics are wholly Celtic.¹ Further, on 13th February 1527, letters under the Great Seal were issued by King James the Fifth, remitting to John Grant of Freuchie and others their offence in not mustering with the Scots army which marched in 1523 against England, under the command of John, Duke of Albany. These letters are of a date contemporary with the tribal agreements in which the Clan Grant is named for the first time. The persons named in the letters are John Grant of Freuchie, James Grant, his son and apparent heir, William Grant, brother of John of Freuchie, John Grant, natural son of the Laird of Freuchie, Malcolm Grant, Patrick Grant in Ballindalloch, and John Grant, the younger son of the Laird. These are all the Grants properly so called, but besides these are a number of names more or less Celtic in form, one or two of which suggest that the name of Grant was being used as a patronymic.² This fact is noteworthy when these letters are compared with another document dated ten years

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 57.

² *Ibid.* p. 72.

later, an instrument narrating the induction of a minister to the parish of Duthil or Glencarnie in 1537, in which the parishioners are named to the number of fifty-nine, all of whom have Celtic names.¹ Thirty years later, on 9th July 1569, a Remission by King James the Sixth to the Clan Grant enumerates forty-seven names of persons, all named Grant, and all, with three exceptions, residing in Duthil, or near Freuchie, on the north bank of the Spey.² This seems to prove either that the Grants, properly so called, had multiplied greatly between 1527 and 1569, or else that the Celtic tenants had, in some cases, adopted the name of their chief. This last statement is so far warranted by the terms of a document, dated 19th July 1537, in which the granter is designed "John M'Conquhy, in Garthrynbeg," his seal also bearing the legend, "S. Joannis Makconoch . . ."; and in 1581, in a writ indorsed on the same document, his son describes himself as "Duncane Grant in Gartinbeg, sone and air to vmquhill John Makconachie Grant in Gartinbeg."³ Here the name of Grant seems to have been adopted as a surname in addition to the patronymic of M'Conquhy previously used, and no doubt there were other cases of the same kind. There is in the muniments of the family no mention of a Clan Grant prior to the documents of 1527 and 1528 above referred to.

James Grant of Freuchie received from King James the Fifth, on 24th December 1529, a gift of the non-entry duties payable from the Crown lands of Glencarnie, Ballindalloch, and Urquhart.⁴ Confirmations of the feu-charters of these lands were also given in due form, but a question arose betwixt the Crown and the feuar as to payment of the feu-duties of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch. As already related in the Introduction, for sixteen years previous to 1529, or from the death of King James the Fourth, the Crown rents of these lands had been paid not to the Crown, to whom they were due, but to James Stewart, a natural brother of King James the Fifth, who, in 1501, was created Earl of Moray. After the king's death at Flodden, when the kingdom fell into confusion, the Crown lands came into the hands of those nobles who had charge of the young king. They used the Crown patrimony to support their own party, and

¹ Original Instrument at Castle Grant.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 137.

³ Original Document at Castle Grant.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 73.

in such wise, no doubt, the Earl of Moray claimed and received payment of feus from lands nominally within his earldom, which ought to have been paid into the Royal Treasury.

When King James the Fifth assumed the reins of government in 1528, he took measures to repair the dilapidations of the Crown patrimony, and to recover the non-entries, feu-duties, and other casualties due to the Crown. Among these were the feu-duties of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch, in regard to which the king brought an action before the Lords of Council for the recovery of arrears, and for declaring the lands forfeited. Decree was given on 30th March 1530, when James Grant of Freuchie was decerned to pay £71 of yearly rent for each of the sixteen years preceding the year 1529, and £71 for the rent of the year 1529. In consideration, however, of a writ under the Privy Seal, providing that the Laird of Freuchie should suffer no prejudice in regard to payment of arrears, but that he should pay a composition,¹ the defender in the action was assoilzied from the petition of the summons as to forfeiture, and action was reserved to him against the Earl of Moray. This decree was confirmed by the king on 2d April 1532.²

The Laird of Freuchie went to Edinburgh to plead his cause in person, a fact to which no doubt the royal permission refers, in which liberty was given to him, in 1530, to go to any part of the realm on his lawful business.³ He paid the sum in which he had been found liable, in the August following the decret, and received a discharge from the High Treasurer for 1700 merks, in full of the amount at his debit in "the checker rollis."⁴

The accounting with the Earl of Moray had next to be arranged. On 28th March 1530, in reference to the king's claim and the proceedings following thereon, the Laird of Freuchie had made a solemn protest against the Earl of Moray, demanding redress and relief for the arrears of feu-duty improperly paid to the Earl, in response to which the latter, on 21st June 1530, entered into a bond with the Laird of Freuchie. From this document it appears that the Laird had bound himself to be "man and servand" to the Earl for life, in return for which the Earl obliged himself, with all

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 74.

² *Ibid.* p. 75.

⁴ Original Instrument at Castle Grant, dated 23d August 1530.

³ *Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, vol. viii, fol. 149.

“possibill power and diligens,” to aid the Laird in enjoying the lands of Glencarnie. The Earl agreed to solicit the king to give to James Grant all right or title he might have to the lands of Glencarnie, owing to non-payment of the feu-duties, and to renounce all right the Crown might have to the lands over and above the annual feu. The Earl of Moray also renounced all claim he himself might have to the lands in question, excepting to the annual feu-duty, and further obliged himself to procure from the Crown a discharge of the arrears of rent “intromettit be vs sen the feld of Flovden.” This bond is signed at Elgin.¹

In the end of the year 1528, the Clan Chattan, then under the leadership of Hector Mackintosh, had become so troublesome to their neighbours in the lowlands of Moray, that a royal mandate was issued for their extermination. It was directed to the Earls of Sutherland and Caithness, Lords Forbes and Fraser of Lovat, the captain of the Clan Cameron, and others, who were commanded to pass “all at anys . . . upon the said Clanquhattane, and invaid thame to thair vter destruction, be slauchtir, byrning, drowning and vther wayis; and leif na creatur levand of that clann except preistis, wemen and barnis.” The women and children were to be shipped to Norway.² John Grant of Freuchie is named as one of the executors of this sanguinary commission, but as he had died before it was granted, the office fell to his son. Had the commission been acted upon to the letter, the Clan Chattan would have been exterminated, but the chiefs and barons, to whom it was intrusted, were slow to execute it. Notwithstanding that this commission was still hanging *in terrorem* over their heads, the Mackintoshes had, in 1531, a second time attacked and despoiled the tower of Halhill, in Petty, belonging to Ogilvie of Strathmairn, and three years later, in 1534, the same clan destroyed the castle and place of Daviot, also belonging to the Ogilvies. The Laird of Freuchie, during his father's lifetime, had, as already stated, given a bond of manrent to assist in defending Daviot against the Clan Chattan, but it would seem that he had not only failed to do this, but had aided and abetted the aggressors. For this crime he, with John Grant of Ballindalloch and John Grant of Culcabock, found surety for the sum of 1000 merks to underlie the law at Inverness. This

¹ Original Bond at Castle Grant.

² Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. pp. 83, 84.

surety was granted at Inverness, on 11th May 1536, and the crime charged was that they were art and part in the assistance given to Hector Mackintosh and others at the besieging of the house of Daviot; the treasonable burning of the buildings; the slaughter of twenty persons, men, women, and children; the "herschip" of the grain, cattle, etc., to the value of £12,000 Scots; and the resetting and assisting Hector and his accomplices after they were denounced rebels.¹

It does not, however, follow, nor is there much evidence to show, that the Laird of Freuchie himself had any active share in this raid; but no doubt some of his tenants or others, for whom as chief he was responsible, were guilty, and he was thus made their surety in the eye of the law. Another explanation is that he had failed in his duty as laid down in a warrant, signed by King James the Fifth on 13th May 1534. The king charges the Laird of Freuchie to aid the Earl of Huntly, Lieutenant-General, against Hector Mackintosh and his accomplices, and to invade them "be slauchtir, heirschip and fyir," taking their goods as a reward.² Hector Mackintosh is said to have married a daughter of James Grant.³ No evidence has been found as to this; but as there was an old kinship with the Mackintoshes, the Laird of Freuchie was probably not very active in carrying out the royal warrant. That his tenants abetted the marauders may, however, readily be surmised, and in this case some Urquhart men seem to have been among the defaulters, as on 26th November 1534 a composition was granted to certain parties residing there, for the old offence of absence from the host at Solway (in 1523), and for other crimes, supply and assistance given to Hector Mackintosh being excepted from the remission.⁴ The offence of remaining absent from the army, which, under the Duke of Albany, besieged for a short time the Castle of Wark, seems to have been more than once used as a plea for exacting fines. The army was mustered in October 1523, and was only a few weeks in the field, yet in 1527 a remission was issued to the Laird of Freuchie and others; and again, on 22d July 1535,⁵ the Laird had remitted

¹ *Invernessiana*, by Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh, p. 206.

² Vol. ii. of this work, p. 1.

³ *The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan*, by A. M. Shaw, p. 197.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 77.

⁵ *Ibid.*

to him the same, as well as later offences. This later document, however, was more ample, in that it not only pardoned the Laird's own misdeeds, but inhibited others from annoying him. Yet the royal pardon was not granted without a clause hinting at sufficient satisfaction, which was duly made in the substantial form of £1000 Scots, for which the king granted a discharge on 3d January 1535-6.¹ Between the date of the ample remission referred to and that of the payment of the money, the Laird of Freuchie received a letter under the king's Privy Seal, granting to the Laird for his lifetime, and to his "kynnismen, freyndis, houshold men, tenentis, seruandis and inhabitantis of his landis of Strathspey, Strathovne, Mulben, Urquhard, and all vtheris his landis," the privilege of exemption from appearing in any court, except the Court of Session in civil actions, and the Lords of Justiciary in criminal causes, and discharging the judges and officers of all inferior courts from summoning the Laird or his kinsmen for any reason whatever.²

Probably owing to the question as to payment of the feu of Glencarnie, James Grant was not formally infeft as heir of his father in any of his lands for nearly five years after his father's death in 1528. The lands of Tullochgorm, Curr, Clurie, Tulloch, and a half of Dalfour, in the lordship of Badenoch and shire of Inverness, were held of the Earl of Huntly. Margaret Lady Gordon became the superior of these lands for her jointure or terce. As Lady of Gordon and Badenoch she granted a precept of *clare constat* for infefting James Grant as heir to his father, which bears date at Bog o' Gight, 20th March 1532.³ Infeftment in other lands was even longer postponed. On 1st August 1535, by an agreement between him and John Grant in Ballindalloch, the Laird of Freuchie became bound to make up his title to the lands of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch before the following Easter, and thereafter to infeft John Grant and his heirs in Ballindalloch in the usual form.⁴ This contract was eventually fulfilled, though not within the period named. James Grant was retoured as heir to his father in the lands of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch. The retour is not preserved, but the king's precept of sasine following upon it is dated 27th February 1537, and

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 80.

² Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 1, 2.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 76.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 78.

infestment was given at both places—at Ballindalloch on 24th, and at the principal messuage of Glencarnie on 26th April the same year.¹ On 3d October 1536, by an Inquest held at Inverness, the Laird of Freuchie was duly retoured heir to his father in the lands of Freuchie, with the castle and fortalice of the same, and other lands of the barony of Freuchie; also in the castle and lands of the lordship of Urquhart, both Urquhart and Freuchie lying in the sheriffdom of Inverness.² Some delay, however, took place in completing the title, as infestment was given so late as 1538, at the castle and fortalice of Urquhart on 4th June, and at the castle and fortalice of Freuchie on 7th June in that year.³ The lands of Freuchie were held by the old tenure of ward and relief, and the lordship of Urquhart by paying a yearly feu-farm of £46, 6s. 8d. Scots. On 7th July 1537, the Laird of Freuchie was infest in Nether Auchroisk in Cromdale, on a precept of *clare constat* from Thomas Nairn, baron of Cromdale; and on 28th July 1539, at Elgin, the Laird was retoured heir to his father in the half-town and lands of Mulben and others, lying in the sheriffdom of Elgin.

No reference to a castle or fortalice at Freuchie is found in the muniments of the family prior to the retour of 1536. When John Grant, the second of Freuchie, was infest as heir to his grandfather, Sir Duncan Grant, in 1489, the sasine was given upon the soil of the lands.⁴ In the Crown charter erecting Freuchie into a barony, no allusion is made to a castle, of which, had such existed, special mention would have been made.⁵ Further, Freuchie lay in Inverness-shire, while in 1510 the then Laird of Freuchie is described as residing in Elginshire.⁶ This may mean that he resided on some part of Glencarnie, which was in the shire of Elgin, but of this no evidence exists; and it is also worthy of note that no document extant, executed by the Lairds of Freuchie as principals prior to 1536, or indeed for some time after that date, is dated at Freuchie, or anywhere in Glencarnie.

The precept by Sir Duncan Grant of Freuchie for infesting Douglas of Pittendreich in the lands of Sheriffston, is dated on 25th September 1475,

¹ Original Instruments of Sasine at Castle Grant.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 80.

³ Original Instruments of Sasine at Castle Grant.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 38.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 41.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 57.

at Elgin.¹ The contract of marriage in 1484 between John Grant, second of Freuchie, and Sir James Ogilvie, was made at Huntly's residence of Bog o' Gight.² The contract for the marriage of the Laird of Freuchie's daughter with Thomas Cumming, younger of Ernside, in 1508, is dated at Altyre.³ The contract between Alexander, Earl of Huntly, and the Laird of Freuchie in 1514 as to the lands of Auchinness is dated at Huntly.⁴ The indenture between the Laird of Freuchie and the chief of Clan Cameron in 1520 is dated at Urquhart,⁵ then in the hands of the former, and this is the first document executed by any Laird of Freuchie at any residence which is known to be his own. It is probable, therefore, that the castle of Freuchie was only being built, and not quite finished in 1536, as, although sasine was given at it in 1538, there is no evidence of residence until 1551, all documents signed by the Lairds of Freuchie in the interval being dated at Elgin, Kinloss, Inverness, or Conwent (Convint). This Laird of Freuchie was the first who resided in the castle. He dates a bond of maintenance to John Grant of Ballindalloch from Freuchie on 1st May 1551;⁶ he made his will there at "his castle of Freuchie," also called "his place of Ballacastell," on 1st June 1553,⁷ and he died there on 26th August the same year.⁸

In the retour of 1536 the valued rental of the lands round Freuchie, that is, Freuchie, the two Culfoichs, Auchmagall, Dalfour, the two Congashes, Glenlochy, etc., is first stated. It was estimated at the time of the retour as £48 yearly, and in time of peace at £24 yearly of Scots money. Considering the proportionate value of money in those days as compared with the present, and that Urquhart was in 1517 valued by its proprietor at a free rental yearly of about £160 of victual alone;⁹ estimating further the value of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch in proportion to the feu paid to the Crown, as about £200 Scots yearly, and adding the valued rental of

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 32.

² *Ibid.* p. 35.

³ *Ibid.* p. 47.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 59.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 64.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 103.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 108, 110.

⁸ As a specimen of Mr. Chapman's compilation on the history of the Grants, his account of Ballacastell and Freuchie may be noted. He states that the barony was acquired by And Law or Allan Grant, representative of Henning Grant's family, as a "tochar" on his marriage with Mora Macgregor, daughter of

Neil Macgregor, who was lineally descended from Gregorius Magnus, King of Scotland. It is added that Patrick Grant of Freuchie and Ballacastell was the representative of that marriage, that he was born about the year 1020, and that his eldest daughter Wi-hella married Duncan II., 88th King of Scotland, in the eleventh century. [Print of 1876, pp. 10, 11.]

⁹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 63.

Freuchie and Mulben as above, it will be seen that the Laird of Freuchie must have been one of the wealthiest proprietors of his time, and able to wield no inconsiderable influence.

Questions between churchmen and their vassals were of frequent occurrence in the time of this Laird. Although it will be presently shown that he was in favour with churchmen, he had a dispute in the year 1539 with his neighbours the Black Friars, Dominicans or Preaching Friars, of Elgin, but what the precise point was cannot now be ascertained. To enforce the matter the friars had obtained letters from the Crown, and on 5th December 1539 the Laird of Freuchie went to Elgin, and formally requested from John Forsyth, the king's macer, a copy of the royal letters, that "he might be able duly to obey the said letters in all points." He further declared his readiness, as "an obedient son and servant" of the king, to obey the force and effect of the letters to the utmost. He utterly denied that he had any personal interest with the dwellers and tenants labouring and occupying the kirk lands belonging to the friars; and with regard to anything the friars might justly and duly require of him, he was prepared to obey and submit to the letters, according to their tenor, to the utmost of his capacity, and to be charged with the execution of the affair at any time. The Laird of Freuchie further asserted, that for this very end he had come to Elgin after the publication of the king's letters, and with no other business in view, and he solemnly made protest that the publication of the king's mandate should be no prejudice to him in the future, because he had not been able to have a copy of the letters themselves.¹

The Laird of Freuchie's growing influence cannot be better estimated than by observing his relation to the clergy on other occasions than the one now noticed. He was about this period appointed by Robert Reid, afterwards Bishop of Orkney, bailie of the abbey of Kinloss, an office usually conferred on men who could defend the church and protect its revenues. For a similar reason the Bishop of Moray entered into a contract with the Laird of Freuchie as to the church lands of Strathspey. As the terms of this agreement have been fully detailed in the Introduction in con-

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 82.

nection with the lands to which it relates, they need not be referred to here, unless where bearing on the personal relations of the Laird of Freuchie to the church.

At this period the clergy in general throughout the country were beginning to intrust their lands to such lay barons as were able in return not only to protect the lands of the church, but to pay a high feu-duty for the lands. The practice became more common at a later date, when the clergy found their power over the vassals of the church lands declining. But even so early as 1512, while the power of ecclesiasticism was still strong, the privileges of the clergy were invaded by powerful and turbulent lay barons, who made application to Rome and elsewhere for grants of abbacies, etc., for their own creatures or kinsmen, that they might have a control over the administration of ecclesiastical revenues. This was specially the case during the minority of King James the Fifth, and while Henry the Eighth of England and Cardinal Wolsey interfered in Scottish affairs. In self-defence, therefore, and for the security of the church lands, the clergy resorted to the expedient of appointing some powerful baron as bailie of their territory, with special privileges; and by feu-farming to him a large portion of the kirk lands, at a high rental, a steady income from the lands was secured. Thus the Laird of Freuchie was made, as stated, bailie of Kinloss, Ogilvie of Dunlugas was bailie of the territory of Cupar Priory, Scott of Buccleuch was bailie of the lands of the Abbey of Melrose, and the third Earl of Eglinton was made justiciar and chamberlain of the Abbey of Kilwinning.¹

There is indeed no special indication in the contract now under review of a disturbed condition of the church lands in Strathspey, but it would appear that these lands had already been let on a terminable lease to the Laird of Freuchie, and the pecuniary result had been so satisfactory that the Bishop resolved to give the new tenant a more stable interest in the lands. The advantageous result to be gained by the church is frankly stated in fixing the rental to be paid, which was the sum of £93, 10s. yearly according to the old rental, and £31, 3s. 4d. "to be paid yeirlie in augmentation of the said reverend fadir rentale, extending to the thrid penny mair

¹ Registrum Magni Sigilli, Lib. xxxi. No. 77.

thane the said reverende fader rentale beris or euir gaif to the said reverende fadir predecessouris of befoir." In consideration of this large accession of income the Bishop of Moray agreed to infest the Laird of Freuchie, his heirs, and seven of his surname, in the lands, fishings, etc., of the barony of Strathspey, as detailed in the contract and enumerated in the Introduction to this work, to hold the lands in feu-farm heritably. The rental was to be as above, with the addition of so much to be paid yearly, in kind, for the mill of Dalvey. The Laird of Freuchie was also to pay to the bishop a sum of ready money, amounting to 4000 merks, by instalments as stipulated, and to give the usual vassal's service in the Bishop's courts.¹

A certain amount of opposition seems to have been made to this contract, and that from a somewhat unexpected quarter. The Bishop, it is true, entered into the contract at first without the formal consent of the Dean and Chapter of Moray, but it was not from them that opposition arose, nor was it from other prelates as representing the church. The opposition came from John Grant of Ballindalloch and his brother-german, Patrick Grant of Dalvey, who insisted that they should have charters to themselves of certain lands named in the Bishop's agreement. It had been arranged between the Bishop and the Laird that the latter should choose the seven of his friends who were to share the barony of Strathspey among them. Whether Ballindalloch and Dalvey thought they were likely to be excluded does not appear, but they seem to have gained the ear of King James the Fifth, and a few days after the signing of the contract, a curious occurrence took place, in which the Bishop figured somewhat awkwardly. It is graphically described by the notary who was present, to whom the Bishop made his protest.

The agreement had been signed on 24th February 1539. On the last day of that month, within the house of the famous Cardinal Beaton, situated in the Cowgate of Edinburgh, the bishop professed his readiness to rescind from the contract, if the Laird of Freuchie would consent, and would also withdraw. No definite reason is given for this change of purpose; but on the 5th of March following, while the Bishop of Moray was in the lodging (hospicium) of one Robert Leslie in Edinburgh, about

¹ Original Contract, dated 24th February 1539, at Castle Grant.

three o'clock in the afternoon, there entered James Learmonth of Dairsie, the master of the king's household, and David Wood of Craig, the king's comptroller, with a message in the name of His Majesty. They told the reverend father that the king required and commanded him, notwithstanding the contract with the Laird of Freuchie, to feu to John Grant of Ballindalloch the lands of Advie and others, and to Patrick Grant of Dalvey the lands of that name and others in Strathspey. The Bishop "ansuerit and prayit thame to schaw the kingis grace that he wes contractit, oblist, and moneist" to feu the whole barony of Strathspey to James Grant, and he exhibited the contract signed and sealed, with the admonition of the official of Lothian. To this the messengers replied, that "it was the kingis grace mynde" that the lands in question should be let to John and Patrick Grant, "for sic causis as tha wald nocht schaw at that tyme," and that they would do diligence to cause the Laird of Freuchie renounce the contract, and would keep the bishop scatheless. The bishop then said he would sign the charter at the king's command, but under protest, that he would not renounce the contract except with the Laird's consent, and not otherwise, "becaus he wald nocht put his conscience and faith in na mannis credyte." Still the good bishop felt himself coerced by the civil power, which in his particular case was stronger than the ecclesiastical; for immediately after the exit of the royal messengers, the perplexed prelate relieved his feelings to the notary and witnesses, by solemnly protesting that though he was to sign charters to John and Patrick Grant, he made faith he did so "be compulsion and dredour, quhilk may fall on ane constant man be the seuerite of the kingis grace," and for no other reason, being already pledged to the Laird of Freuchie "under panis of cursing."¹

Ballindalloch and Dalvey thus carried their point, the Laird of Freuchie probably thinking it vain to contest the matter, though no formal evidence exists that he renounced the contract. The latter was in the end fulfilled in the greater part of its conditions, and the barony of Strathspey was apportioned among the Grants, as narrated in the Introduction, and a large accession of territory thus secured to the family. The completion of the various feu-charters, and sealing of them, seems to have been carried out

¹ Original Instrument of Protest at Castle Grant.

with special care, as among the papers at Castle Grant is a formal discharge by the collector of the Cathedral Church of Moray, for no less a sum than £10 Scots, for the sealing of the charters of the Laird of Freuchie and his friends, with the common seal of the chapter.¹ This document is dated 3d January 1541; and about two years later, on 7th May 1544, the Bishop of Moray acknowledges receipt of 260 merks, the last instalment of 2800 merks, agreed to be paid on behalf of the Laird of Freuchie and his friends.² As the articles of agreement are said to be dated at Elgin on 8th May 1541, and as the original contract of 1539 bound the Laird to pay 4000 merks, it would appear that though the proceedings of Ballindalloch and Dalvey did not lead to a breach of the original agreement, yet the terms of it were so far modified.

After the death of King James the Fifth at Falkland, on 14th December 1542, and during the earlier years of the minority of his daughter, Queen Mary, the Highlands, which had been quiet for a time, were again thrown into anarchy and confusion. Among the chiefs most prominent in causing disturbance were Ewin Allanson of Lochiel, the veteran leader of the Clan Cameron, and the heads of the Clan Ranald, Moidart and Glengarry. In 1544 the Earl of Huntly, as Lieutenant of the North, ordered a force to proceed against and punish the Clan Ranald of Moidart, and the Mackenzies of Kintail, who were also refractory. The Earl's army, however, composed as it was of Grants, Rosses, Mackintoshes, and Clisholms, clans all more or less allied to the delinquents, was slow to move.³ The Frasers were more active, being related to Ranald, the young chief of Moidart, who had been expelled by his clan; and their chief, Lord Lovat, with his brother-in-law, the Laird of Freuchie, joined the Earl of Huntly in marching against the insurgents, with the special intention of reinstating young Ranald. It is said that the insurgent Highlanders retreated before Huntly's army, which marched as far as Inverlochy, and without opposition achieved the object of the expedition. Huntly and his forces then returned homewards, and on arriving at Glen Spean a separation took place, the Earl himself, the Laird of Freuchie, and others proceeding towards Strathspey by the

¹ Original Discharge at Castle Grant.

² *Ibid.*

³ History of the Mackenzies, p. 111.

Braes of Lochaber and Badenoch, while Lovat, in spite of remonstrances, detached his party to march to his own country by the shore of Loch Lochy.¹ One account states that the Lairds of Freuchie and Mackintosh accompanied him with their followers as far as the water of Gloy,² and there parted from him. In any case the result was the same. Lovat's party was intercepted at the head of Loch Lochy by the Clan Ranald, who had followed in the rear of the royal forces, and after a sanguinary conflict. Lord Lovat, his son the Master, and the greater number of their followers were slain. This contest received the name of "Blair-nan-leine," or "The field of shirts," as the day, in the month of July 1544, being very hot, the combatants stripped to their shirts during the battle.³

The Laird of Freuchie, no doubt, on account of the part he acted in marching with the Earl of Huntly, suffered considerably from the retaliations of the Clan Ranald and the other insurgent chiefs. His lands of Urquhart, and those of the Laird of Glenmoriston, were overrun by Macranald of Glengury and by Cameron of Lochiel, and a large booty carried off. It is usually stated that Huntly's expedition was to crush the insurrection and to drive the marauders from these lands, and from those of Abertarff and Stratherrick, which they had also overrun.⁴ But a comparison of dates and documents shows that this view is slightly erroneous. Whatever was the real object of Huntly's march, there is evidence from various sources that it took place between May and July 1544, the battle of "Blair-nan-leine" being fought about the middle of July. On the other hand, the inroads on Glenmoriston and Urquhart are said to have taken place in October 1544 and April 1545 respectively, and if this be so, were, as suggested, made in revenge for the part taken by the Laird of Freuchie in reinstating the young chief of Moidart. The latter was killed at Blair-nan-leine, and though accounts on the subject are somewhat conflicting, it is not clear that immediate measures were taken to enforce further the royal authority, of which fact the insurgent clans seem to have taken advantage. The original summonses, under the royal signet, against the spoilers of

¹ Gregory's Highlands and Islands, pp. 159, 160. As will be noted later on, it is doubtful if the Laird of Freuchie himself accompanied this expedition, but his son may have led the Clan Grant.

² The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, p. 203.

³ Gregory's Highlands and Islands, p. 161.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 159.

Urquhart are dated on 3d August 1546, and are still preserved at Castle Grant. As stated there, the first raid on Glenmoriston took place in October 1544; the second attack on it, and the harrying of Urquhart, in the following April. The raiders in both cases were led by Alaster M'Cane M'Allaster of Glengarry, chief of a branch of the Clan Ranald, Angus, his son and apparent heir, Ewin Allanson of Lochiel, and his grandson and heir, Ewin Donaldson, as he was called, also a nephew of the Laird of Freuchie. The summons against these chiefs, so far as Urquhart was concerned, was raised at the instance of the Laird of Freuchie for himself, and as assignee for the numerous tenants on the estate, all of whom, with the goods despoiled from them, are separately detailed in the royal letters.

The goods and gear taken from the Laird's immediate property may be enumerated shortly as follows:—From the Brodland of Urquhart, apparently in the Laird's own occupation, 200 bolls of oats, with the fodder, price of each boll with the fodder, 14s.; 100 bolls bear, at 20s. the boll; 100 "grite ky," each valued at 53s. 4d.; 100 calves, each 6s. 8d.; 40 young cows, at 26s. 8d. each; 10 one-year-old stirks, at 16s. each; 8 horses, each 4 merks; 4 mares at 4 merks; 4 young horses at 40s.; 140 ewes, each 10s.; 60 "gymmer and dummont" at 6s. 8d.; 100 lambs, each 2s. From the place and castle of Urquhart were taken "tuelf feddir beddis, with the bowstairs, blancattis and schetis, price xl^{li}; five pottis, price of thame ten merkis; sax pannys, price ten merkis; ane bascyn, price xiiij s.; ane kyst, and within the samin thre hundreitht pundis of money; twa brew calderovnis, price fivetene pundis; sax speittis, price thre pundis; barrellis, standis of attis, powder weschell, and vther insyght, to the valour of forty pundis; twenty pece of artailzery, and ten stand of harnes, price of thame ane hundreitht merkis; lokkis, durris, zettis, stancheovnis, bandis, burdis, beddis, chearis, formes, and vther insyght, extending to the valour of twa hundreitht merkis; thre grite boittis, price forty merkis."¹ The reference to the large sum of money left in the "kyst" seems to point to the suddenness of the raid, though the mention of the artillery leads to the question why the castle was not more stoutly defended. The goods taken from each tenant correspond in kind to those taken

¹ Original Letters of Summons at Castle Grant.

from the Laird, save as regards cattle; many tenants added goats or "kyddis" to the list, the former being valued at 3s. or 3s. 4d. each, and the latter at 2s. each; "weddlaris," where noted, are valued at 8s., "swyne" at 4s., and geese at 12d. each. The "insyght" goods libelled as belonging to the tenants are valued at various sums, from 20s. as the lowest, to £10 as the highest estimate. In two cases, over and above the household goods, the invaders made prize of cloth, at one place 60 ells of linen cloth and 60 ells of woollen, the average price being 20 merks; at another place, the woollen and linen cloth taken was valued at £4. The total number of cattle and sheep, and the quantity of corn and other goods carried off, amount to a large sum, but as a general total is not given, it cannot be clearly estimated.

Such was the raid of Urquhart, which, it is said, gave to this Laird of Freuchie the appellation of "Sheumas nan creach," or, "James of the foray."¹ Although the amount of gear carried off was very great, the Laird was, for a time at least, amply indemnified. The Earl of Huntly in 1546, it is said, by the aid of Mackintosh, succeeded in apprehending two leaders of the insurrection of 1544, one of them being Ranald MacDonald Glas of Keppoch, and the other the veteran Ewen Allanson of Lochiel, who was concerned in the raid of Urquhart. These chiefs were tried for high treason, condemned and beheaded.² Two years afterwards, in 1548, Queen Mary conferred upon the Laird of Freuchie nine merk lands in Lochalsh, which belonged to Ewen Donaldson, grandson and heir of Ewen Allanson of Lochiel; also thirteen merk lands of old extent in Lochcarron, with the

¹ Another account is given by Mr. Chapman of the origin of the appellation, "James na Creach," namely, that it came from his own successful plunderings. He resented the murder of his brother-in-law, Gordon of Brachally, on Deeside, by the country people there, and prompted the Earl of Huntly, as the Gordon chief, to join him in slaying all the men in the country in retaliation and revenge. Many orphans were made by the slaughter of their parents. Huntly took the most lively of the orphans, between three and four scores, to his castle of Strathbogie. He made a long wood trough for feeding them, on both sides of which the orphans sat in rows and ate the provisions. James

na Creach, being on a visit to Huntly, was invited by the Earl to see the orphans feeding, and "lobbing at their troch." The Laird of Grant was so affected at the scene, that he said to Huntly that as he had assisted at the destruction of the parents, it was reasonable that he should share with him in the preservation of their children. He swept away the sitters on one side of the trough, and ordered them to be carried to Strathspey and maintained there. These were called Grants, and those on the other side who remained on Huntly's lands were called Gordons.—[Print of 1876, p. 31.]

² Gregory's Highlands and Islands, p. 179.

castle of Strome, and the office of constable of the same, which also had belonged to Ewen Donaldson.¹ By the same charter were granted lands in the same neighbourhood, belonging to Allaster M'Kane M'Allaster and Angus, his son, who were also concerned in the raid on Urquhart. These were the liferent right belonging to Allaster of Glengarry, of twelve merk lands of old extent of Lochalsh, with the fee of the same, belonging heritably to his son Angus; also lands in Lochcarron belonging to them, amounting to four merks and 20d. of old extent. To these were added various lands in Lochbroom, of the old extent of seventeen merks 20d., belonging to the same persons; also other lands, including Glengarry, Dryanach, Sleismenach, and the fishings of the same; also twelve merk lands of Morar, belonging to Allaster of Glengarry. These, and other lands named, lying in Ross and Inverness-shire, and belonging to Allaster M'Kane M'Allaster of Glengarry, Angus, his son, Ewen Allanson of Lochiel, and his grandson, Ewen Donaldson, all held of the Crown for ward and relief, and were all appraised to the Laird of Freuchie as assignee for his tenants in satisfaction of the "spulzie" of Urquhart, and were sold to him for the then large sum of £10,770, 13s. 4d. Scots.² Thus, in return for the raid on his estates, the Laird of Freuchie obtained possession of territory extending from Loch Ness to the western coast of Ross-shire, and gained a large indemnity, not, however, by the rough-and-ready method of his neighbours, but by the slower, and in the end more effective, means of a process at law.

But transferences of Highland properties from the old owners on account of raids committed by them seldom proved peaceful possessions to the new holders. The Laird of Freuchie, as may be supposed, did not enter on this large accession of territory without opposition, which continued more or less during his occupancy. On 27th November 1549, letters under the signet of Queen Mary were issued charging the royal officers to assist James Grant of Freuchie in dealing with refractory tenants and occupiers of his lands of Morar (Morar), Sles, Glengarry, the half of Lochbroom, the half lands of Lochcarron, the half lands of Lochalsh, with the lands of Kessoryne of Strome, and the woods and fishings of these lands.

¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, Lib. xxx. No. 314.

² *Ibid.*

It appears from these letters that the Laird of Freuchie complained that the tenants would pay him no rent, and moreover, without his permission, and without any right, "daylie fischis in his watteris and fischingis therof . . . and distroyis his growand treis of his woddis . . . sua that the samyn woddis ar alluterlie failzeit," etc.¹ Four years later, on 24th June 1553, similar letters were issued, commanding the keepers of the castle of Strome to deliver up the castle to the Laird of Freuchie upon six days' warning. The reason assigned for this charge was that while the Laird of Freuchie had those lands apprised to him from Ewen Cameron and Allester M'Eyn V'Allester of Glengarry for their raid on Urquhart and Glenmoriston, and had been formally infest, he now learned that Makconill, with his accomplices, Islesmen, with the assistance of the Clan Cameron, Clan Ranald, and others, purposed to come to the castle of Strome to cast it down and destroy it, and so to withhold the lands from the Laird. Hence the charge to the keepers of the castle, who were also directed to appear before the Lords of Council, while the captains or chief of the clans were to be charged by proclamation at the market cross of Inverness to desist from taking part in the intended attack.²

While the Laird of Freuchie had thus in some respects considerable annoyance from his Highland neighbours, yet the closing years of his life from 1544 to August 1553 were on the whole comparatively peaceful. The chief events of these years as indicated by the Grant muniments were a series of friendly contracts and bonds of maintenance between the Laird and neighbouring barons. Though the issue of former similar alliances had not in all cases been happy, yet from this date onwards it will be found that the Lairds of Freuchie were for the most part left in peaceful possession of their large estates.

Reference has already been made to the fact that the Bishop of

¹ Original Letters at Castle Grant.

² Original Letters at Castle Grant. Citation by proclamation at the market cross of the nearest royal burgh was preferred, no doubt for good reasons, as a mode of summoning Highland chiefs, to the usual form of personal apprehension. In the summonses directed against Ewen Allanson and his accomplices for the raid on Urquhart, etc., provi-

sion is made that they be cited by open proclamation at the cross of Inverness, which is to be held as effectual as if they were summoned personally, or at their dwelling places, it being naively added, "because it is understand to the Lordis of our Counsall that thair is na sure passage to the dwelling places nor personall presens of the saidis persons."

Orkney had appointed James Grant of Freuchie to be bailie of his abbacy of Kinloss, and in that capacity the latter granted letters appointing Alexander Cumming of Altyre his bailie-depute of Kinloss, with full powers.¹ These letters were signed at Kinloss on 20th June 1544, a date and place which render it doubtful if the Laird of Freuchie himself accompanied the Earl of Huntly on his expedition against the Clan Ranald, as is usually said to be the case, but the absence of precise dates for the expedition leaves the matter uncertain. At any rate, on 30th October 1544, he joined with the Earls of Sutherland and Athole, Alexander Lord Lovat, Mackintosh of Dunachton, Mackenzie of Kintail, and other northern barons, in subscribing a bond to the Earl of Huntly, in which they engaged to assist and uphold his authority as Lieutenant of the North in suppressing disorders.² A few months after this, on 25th March 1545, the Laird joined Huntly in another bond of a somewhat different nature. The chief provision in it is curious, though it was never carried out, and if tradition speaks truly, at least one of the parties must have signed the agreement with a reservation.

The parties to the bond were George, Earl of Huntly, James Grant of Freuchie, William Mackintosh of Dunachton, John Mackenzie of Kintail, Alexander Ross of Balnagown, and Robert Monro of Foulis. The three last named bound themselves to assist the Earl in every way "in recouering and getting of the takis and erledoune of Ros at the Quenis gouvernouris, Cuntas of Murray's, hands," or any others having right. And if the Earl did "nocht haistelic" get just right thereto, then all the parties bound themselves to obey no other person in the enjoyment of the tacks and earldom, but to hinder all such persons in every way. They were also to defend the Earl in his enjoyment of the earldom, and obliged themselves to hold tacks of the lands of Ross from no one save the Earl of Huntly. On the other hand, the Earl promised to give no one any interest in the tacks of Ross except with advice of the other parties. He promised to secure to John Mackenzie of Kintail such rights of bailiary as had been agreed upon, provided that he and his son Kenneth would give bonds of maurent to the Earl. Alexander Ross and Robert Monro were also

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 90.

² Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. iv. p. 213.

to be secured in such lands as were promised. Mackenzie, Ross, and Monro were to act together, and all the parties were to aid each other; but no coalition was to be made with Clan Cameron, Clan Ranald, or the Islesmen. This contract was signed and sealed by all the parties at Inverness.¹

This document indicates that the Earl of Huntly was endeavouring to turn to his own advantage the disturbed state of Scotland and the pre-occupation of the government, which at this period was wholly engaged in opposing the intrigues of England, and thus secure to himself a large share of the earldom of Ross, then annexed to the Crown. But whatever were his intentions, they were frustrated by a ludicrous circumstance, the chief agent in which was John Mackenzie of Kintail, who, though he signed the agreement, appears not to have been very desirous of seeing it carried out.

A recent writer relates this circumstance as given by tradition, and as he assigns no date, it probably occurred after the contract was entered into. After mentioning the Earl of Huntly's intention to feu a part of the earldom of Ross from the Crown, and to live in the district for some period of the year, the writer states, "Mackenzie, although friendly disposed towards the Earl, had no desire to have him residing in his immediate neighbourhood, and he arranged a plan which had the effect of deciding Huntly to give up any idea of remaining or feuing any lands in Ross." The Earl had come to the castle of Dingwall to hold courts, and invited the chiefs to meet him. Mackenzie was the first who arrived, "and he was very kindly received by Huntly. Mackenzie in return made a pretence of heartily welcoming and congratulating his Lordship on his coming to Ross, and trusted that he would be the means of protecting himself and his friends from the violence of his son Kenneth, who, taking advantage of his frailty and advanced years, was behaving most unjustly to him. He indeed expressed a hope that the Earl would punish Kenneth for his illegal and unnatural rebellion against his father. While they were thus speaking a message came in that a large number of armed men, three or four hundred strong, with banners flying and pipes playing, were just in sight on the hill above Dingwall. The Earl became alarmed, not knowing whom they might be, or what their object was, when Mackenzie informed him

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 93.

that it could be no other than his son Kenneth and his rebellious followers, coming to punish him for paying his Lordship this visit without his son's consent; and he advised the Earl to leave at once, as he was not strong enough to resist the enemy, and to take him (the old chief) along with him, to protect him from Kenneth's violence, which would now, in consequence of this visit, be directed against him more than ever. The Earl and his retinue at once made off to Easter Ross, when Kenneth ordered his men to pursue them. He overtook them as they were crossing the bridge of Dingwall, and killed several of them; but having attained his object of frightening Huntly out of Ross, he ordered his men to desist. This skirmish is known as the 'affair of Dingwall bridge.'¹

After this in point of time came the raid of Urquhart, which, as already stated, seems to have been unexpected; for during the very month in which it took place, in April 1545, the Laird of Freuchie was at Elgin making an arrangement about certain lands he wished to exchange. These were the lands of Easter Urquhart or Urquhill, Cantraydoun, and Dalgrambich, within the barony of Clavaig or Clava, in the sheriffdom of Nairn, which the Laird had acquired by purchase from John Grant of Ballindalloch, and which he now bound himself to convey to Alexander Dolas of Cantray. Until Dolas was duly infeft the Laird of Freuchie promised to pay to him twenty merks yearly from the lands of Clurie and Carr, and also to give in ready money the sum of 600 merks. On the other hand, Alexander Dolas obliged himself, on being infeft in the lands named, to convey to the Laird of Freuchie the lands and barony of Rothiemurchus, in the sheriffdom of Inverness and regality of Spynie. A penalty of 1200 merks was attached to the nonfulfilment of this contract; 400 merks to be paid to the Crown, a similar sum to the Cathedral Church of Moray, and the remaining third to the party desirous of fulfilling the agreement.² Apparently Rothiemurchus was wholly or partly in the hands of Dolas, as a creditor of Allan Keir Mackintosh of Rothiemurchus, his maternal uncle, who was in pecuniary difficulties, and whose estate was heavily mortgaged.³

¹ Ardintoul ms., quoted in *History of the Mackenzies*, pp. 112, 113.

² Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 94, 95.

³ *Original Assiguation at Castle Grant*.

In the end of 1545, the Laird of Freuchie and his clan, though not mentioned by name, were doubtless included in a remission issued in the name of Queen Mary to the inhabitants of the sheriffdoms of Inverness, Nairn, and Cromarty, for absence from the siege of St. Andrews. The reason of remission is that they were in the royal service under the Earl of Huntly in Lochaber. If this service has reference to the expedition of 1544, there had been a siege, or a purpose of siege, of St. Andrews earlier than the one known to historians, which began in July 1546. The document, preserved in the Grant charter-chest, is dated on 18th December, in the fourth year of the queen's reign,¹ which, according to a strict computation, would be 1545; but it is probable, as it is issued from St. Andrews, that 1546 is the year really meant, and that the expedition to Lochaber was that in which Huntly succeeded in apprehending Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, and the other ringleader of the insurrection in the north, as already related.

About the same period, or at least shortly before the assassination of Cardinal Beaton, on 28th May 1546, and the subsequent promotion of the Earl of Huntly to the office of Chancellor, the Laird of Freuchie and his son, John Grant the younger, had renewed to the Earl their engagements of service. They did this as holders in liferent of certain of the Earl's lands in Strathavon, and as his bailies and keepers of the then strong castle of Drummin. In return the Earl, according to the fashion of the day, bound himself to defend, assist, and uphold the Laird and his son in every way in all their lawful affairs.² This bond is dated at Elgin, on the 8th of May 1546.

The Great Seal of Scotland was delivered to the Earl of Huntly on 10th June 1546,³ and it may have been his influence, added to the Laird of Freuchie's own representations, which procured to the latter a relief from the rents of three half-years due from Urquhart. He complained that he had obtained no profit from that territory since it was burned by the Clan Cameron and their accomplices in the year 1545, and he received a discharge accordingly of the sum due by him to the Crown.⁴

It has already been stated in narrating the sequel to the "spulzie"

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 96.

² *Ibid.* p. 97.

³ Crawford's Officers of State, p. 84.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 98.

of Urquhart, that the Laird of Freuchie received large indemnification from the estates of the chief of Clan Cameron and Allaster M'Cane M'Allaster of Glengarry. No sooner had he obtained the charter in his favour, than he made terms with the defendants. Ewen Cameron, now of Lochiel, called also Ewen Donaldson, was the grandson and heir of Ewen of Lochiel, the ringleader in the raid, and had himself taken an active part in all the raids of his clan. But he was also a nephew, a sister's son, of the Laird of Freuchie, and this fact may have inclined the Laird to favour him. It is possible also that the Laird felt that his newly acquired territory might be too troublesome a possession for one of his advanced age, as the tenants were not unlikely to oppose his authority, and did oppose it, as formerly stated. Whatever the real reason, the Laird of Freuchie did, on 10th October 1548, enter into a formal contract with Ewen Cameron, now of Lochiel, in regard to the lands appraised from the latter. It was agreed by the Laird that Lochiel should have the rents and profits of the lands appraised during his good behaviour and service in time to come, and he further promised never to alienate the lands away from Lochiel save by special advice. On the other hand, Ewen Cameron bound himself to keep his fidelity to the Laird, especially as regarded the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, while they mutually bound themselves to assist each other. This agreement was made at Convinth, in Inverness-shire, in presence of John M'Kenzie of Kintail, Kenneth Mackenzie, and others.¹

Another bond of maintenance was signed by the Laird at Freuchie on 1st May 1551, in favour of his "cusing and kynnisman," John Grant of Ballindalloch. This document contains no stipulation in any way differing from the usual form of these bonds, and it is only specially worthy of notice from the fact that it is the first evidence of any residence at Freuchie. No earlier document is known to exist which bears to be executed at the spot from which the lairds of Freuchie took their title. But this subject has already been referred to at length.

In the following month the Laird was at Inverness, where he entered into an agreement with certain parties as to the lands of Dalgrambich. His last transaction, as ascertained from the family muniments, was to sign

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 102.

the marriage-contract of his daughter Janet with Alexander Sutherland of Duffus. The marriage ceremony was to take place as speedily as possible, and Sutherland was to secure to his spouse two hundred merks yearly in conjunct fee from his barony of Duffus or elsewhere, as convenient. If, however, his mother died before his wife, then the latter was to receive the lands of Ludgett and Quarrelwood, held by the former. Among other special stipulations the Laird of Freuchie bound himself to free his intended son-in-law from the amount of the avail of his marriage, which had been assigned to Elizabeth Campbell, daughter of the deceased Sir John Campbell of Cawdor, and in addition to pay 300 merks to redeem so much of the lands of Duffus as would secure to Janet Grant her conjunct fee. This agreement was made at Strathisla, where the Laird doubtless was acting as bailie of the abbacy of Kinloss, to which the Grange of Strathisla belonged. The Abbot of Kinloss, then Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, with Alexander Cumming of Altyre, the bailie-depute, were among the witnesses to the agreement, which is dated 26th January 1552, or, according to modern computation, 1553. A month afterwards, on 26th February, the parties were admonished, under pain of the greater excommunication, to fulfil the terms of the contract.

Three months later found the Laird of Freuchie on his deathbed. At his "place of Ballacastell," on the first of June 1553, the Laird, "sick in body but sound in mind," calmly made up an inventory of his possessions and arranged all his affairs.¹ His last directions were very simple. In the quaint phraseology which for many a day was customary in Scotch wills, he bequeathed his soul to God and his body to be buried. He appointed his son and heir, John Grant, his sole executor, and his last important earthly task was done, though he survived the making of his will some weeks, dying on the 26th of August following.

This Laird's possessions, as given in the inventory before his death and the confirmation after that event, were of the simplest and most patriarchal character. Corn and cattle, oxen, cows, sheep, and horses, compose all his goods, the household belongings for his five residences or manors named, amounting only to £200, and in the final

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 108.

valuation to £100. The five places named as being those at which the Laird had his own property are his "manor-place of Ballacastell" (called in the confirmation "Freuchie"), Knockando, Mullochard, Gartenmore, and Kilsanctninian. The last named lay in Urquhart. The value of the Laird's own possessions, as detailed in his testament, was estimated at £1964, 9s. 4d. of the money then current. To this in the confirmation was added 500 merks due as rental by tenants, and other debts, making the personal property amount to £2502. This sum, however, was exceeded by the debts of the deceased to the extent of £352.¹

This Laird of Freuchie directed his body to be buried, as honourably as was fitting, in his parish church of Duthil. He is thus the first Laird of Freuchie as to whom there is any authentic evidence of residence there or of burial in the parish. His grandfather, the young Laird, who died at Kindrochat, in Mar, in 1482, was carried by his clansmen to the Cathedral Church of Elgin and buried there, a significant fact suggesting an early residence of the family in that neighbourhood. No record exists as to the sepulture of any of the earlier generations of Grant, or Lairds of Freuchie.

There is no clear evidence as to the marriage or marriages of this Laird of Freuchie. That he married early in the century is proved by the fact that his son and heir, John Grant, was himself married in 1539, or before it. That the Laird married a lady named Christina Barclay, who survived him, is also proved by her being named as his relict, and entering into an agreement with the executor as to terce, etc.² Who Christina Barclay was has not been ascertained from any document in the Grant charter-chest. In Mr. Chapman's account of the family of Grant, Isobel Barclay, daughter to the Baron of Towie, is said to be the second wife of John Grant of Freuchie, son of James Grant of Freuchie, and she is claimed as their ancestress by the family of Grant of Monymusk.

That John Grant of Freuchie had no such wife will be shown in the next memoir; but the above tradition, though erroneous in detail, may indicate that Christina Barclay, as she was undoubtedly the wife of James Grant of Freuchie, was his second wife. It is probable also that she was the mother of Archibald Grant in Ballintomb, who in 1581 is described

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 111.

² *Ibid.* p. 113.

as brother of John Grant of Freuchie, and who must have been much younger than his brother. As he was the ancestor of the family of Monymusk, this would agree with their tradition.

But if Christina Barclay was the second wife of James Grant of Freuchie, there is no clear evidence as to his first wife. In some published pedigrees he is said to have married, first, Lady Janet Leslie, who, however, as will be shown, was the second wife of his son, John Grant, the fourth laird of Freuchie. Lachlan Shaw, however, states that James Grant married a daughter of John, sixth Lord Forbes, and as this is so far corroborated by other evidence, it is probably correct.

There is thus reason to believe that James Grant, third of Freuchie, was twice married, first to Elizabeth Forbes, and secondly to Christina Barclay, who survived him. By these wives he had four sons and five daughters.

1. John Grant, his eldest son, who succeeded to the estates of Freuchie, and whose history is given in the following memoir.
2. William, who, as son of the Laird of Freuchie, received, on 7th May 1541, from the Bishop of Moray, a charter of the lands of Finlarg or Muckrath. He died, without issue, before 22d December 1560, when his brother John received a precept of *clare constat* for his own infestment in these lands as heir of William.¹
3. Duncan, who also received from the Bishop of Moray, in January 1542, a feu-charter of the lands of Easter Elloquhy [Elchies]. He was engaged, in 1568, in a dispute with his neighbour, James Grant of Wester Elchies, in reference to their marches, which was amicably settled. For assisting in the rebellion of Huntly he received a remission, along with other members of the family, in 1569. He died in October 1580, and was succeeded by his son, James Grant of Easter Elchies. James Grant appears in several family transactions between 1580 and 1602, but died before 1620, apparently without issue, as the estate of Easter Elchies reverted to the family of Grant, evidently in terms of the charter of 1542.
4. Archibald, who, on 8th March 1580-81, received a crown charter of the manse of the sub-deanery of Moray. In that charter he is

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 126.

designed as "Archibald Grant in Ballintomb, brother of John Grant of Freuchie." He was the ancestor of the Grants of Monymusk, whose pedigree is given in this work.

The daughters were :—

1. Isobel, who married, before 1543, Archibald Campbell, eldest son and apparent heir of Sir John Campbell of Cawdor,¹ and had issue.
2. Margaret, who married Thomas Cumming, grandson and heir of Alexander Cumming of Altyre. Their marriage-contract is dated 15th September 1552.²
3. Janet, who married Alexander Sutherland of Duffus. Their marriage-contract is dated 26th January 1552-53.³ She survived him, and married, secondly, before 10th January 1579, James Dempster of Auchterless.
4. Agnes, who, after her father's death, married David Ross, son of Alexander Ross of the Holm. Their marriage-contract is dated 24th August 1558.⁴
5. A daughter, name unknown, who is said to have married Alexander Gordon, Laird of Strathavon.⁵ She is said to be the youngest daughter of *John* Grant of Freuchie and Elizabeth Forbes, but it is more probable that she was the daughter of James Grant.

¹ The Thanes of Cawdor, p. 170. Receipts for
tocher at Castle Grant.

² Copy Contract at Castle Grant.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 106.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 125.

⁵ Burke's Commoners, vol. iv. p. 8.

X.—JOHN GRANT, FOURTH OF FREUCHIE.
LADY MARGARET STEWART, HIS FIRST WIFE.
LADY JANET LESLIE, HIS SECOND WIFE.

1553-1585.

No evidence has been found to show when John Grant, the fourth of Freuchie, was born. He was married to his first wife, Lady Margaret Stewart, in or about the year 1539, and would then be at least twenty years of age, which would make his birth occur before the year 1520. During the lifetime of his father he bore the designation of "John Grant of Mulben," and took part with him in several important transactions. He was named in 1548 as one of those by whose advice his father was to act in his dealings with Ewen Cameron of Lochiel.¹ The young Laird also, like his father and grandfather, associated with the Earl of Huntly in the government of the Highlands; and he joined with his father in 1546 in a bond of manrent to the Earl, for which they were made bailies of the castle of Drummin, as narrated in the previous memoir.²

According to a remission granted by Queen Mary, John Grant, younger of Freuchie, during his father's lifetime, joined the party of Matthew, Earl of Lennox, who had declared for England against the Earl of Arran, then Governor of Scotland. The remission is dated on 9th July 1552, and alleges that John Grant was with Matthew, Earl of Lennox, in arms against the Governor on Glasgow Moor in May 1544. Upon a comparison of dates, however, and also considering that the Earl of Glencairn, for it was he, and not the Earl of Lennox, who encountered Arran on Glasgow Moor, had with him only 500 men, and those hastily summoned from among his own friends in the west,³ it may be doubted whether any of the Grants could have been present. It is not impossible that John Grant, or some of his clan, had joined Lennox's party

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 103.

² *Ibid.* p. 97.

³ *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland* [Bannatyne Club], p. 32.

at an earlier period and had since returned home, but it is probable that the remission was merely a formal document, and was intended to condone any other possible offences committed by the young Laird.

John Grant succeeded to his father and became fourth Laird of Freuchie in August 1553. There is some discrepancy among the various documents relating to the subject as to the precise date of the decease of James Grant, third of Freuchie, but the two inquests held, the one at Elgin and the other at Inverness, for serving John Grant heir to his father, both declare the death of the latter to have taken place on 26th August 1553. John Grant was retoured heir to his father in the lands of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch, in the lordship of Glencarnie and sheriffdom of Elgin and Forres, at Elgin, on 6th October 1553.¹ Sasine followed, taken "on the soil" of these lands in the ensuing month.²

In the same month of October, John Grant was retoured heir to his father in the lands which belonged to him in Inverness-shire, consisting of the lands of Freuchie, comprehending the town of Freuchie, with its mill, Dalfour, Auchnagall, and Glenloch; the lands of Urquhart, namely, Brodland, with its fortalice, and the other lands comprehended; the half lands of Lochbroom; the half lands of Lochcarron and Kessoryne, including Strone Castle; the half lands of Lochalsh, including Glengarry; and the lands of Morar. The lands of Lochalsh, and the lands of Kessoryne, with Strone Castle, and the office of constable there, had formerly belonged to the chief of Clan Cameron; the lands of Lochcarron, Lochbroom, Glengarry, and Morar, had belonged to Alexander Makane Makalester of Glengarry, now deceased; and all, as formerly narrated, had been appraised to the Laird of Freuchie as compensation for the raid of Urquhart.

The precept from the Crown, in terms of the retour, is dated 26th October 1553, and infestment duly followed, sasine of the lands of Urquhart being given on the soil of the lands of Brodland on 8th November in the same year. Sasine of the lands and barony of Freuchie was given at the "castle and fortalice of Ballachcastell," under reservation of the two Congashes, Auldcharn, and the two Culfoichs, held in liferent by

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 112.

² Original Precept and Sasine at Castle Grant.

The precept states the death of James Grant on 14th August 1554, which is apparently a clerical error.

Margaret Stewart, wife of John Grant, and of a reasonable terce to Christina Barclay, relict of James Grant.¹ On 3d November 1553, George, Earl of Huntly, as Sheriff of Inverness, issued a precept for infesting John Grant in the lands of Lochbroom, Lochcarron, Lochalsh, Glengarry, and others,² but there is no evidence extant of any formal infestment in these lands. In regard to the lands of Freuchie, Urquhart, Lochalsh, and others above referred to, it may be stated that John Grant of Freuchie received a gift from the Crown of the relief duty due from his lands of Freuchie, Lochalsh, Kessoryne, Lochcarron, Lochbroom, Glengarry, and Morar, held for ward and relief, on 3d April 1554, and on 6th April he received a gift of the double feu-duty exigible on his entry to the lands of Glencarnie and Urquhart, held of the Crown in feu-farm.³ In the same year the Laird obtained a precept of *clare constat* from Patrick, Bishop of Moray, for infesting him as heir of his father in the church lands of Laggan, Ardinch, and other lands and fishings, in the Bishop's barony of Strathspey and regality of Spynie, upon which precept infestment was duly given;⁴ and on another similar precept, he was infest in the lands of Nether Auchroisk.⁵

In the same year, on 30th October, Robert [Reid], Bishop of Orkney, and his nephew, Walter, the lately elected Abbot of Kinloss, appointed the Laird of Freuchie as successor to his father in the office of bailie of the abbey. The preamble of the letter of appointment shows that the first troubled movements which afterwards culminated in the Reformation, were beginning to be felt in the north. The purpose of the appointment is declared by the granters to be "for defence of vs, oure place and tennentes of Kinlos, in this brokin and troublus world." The Laird of Freuchie is appointed bailie for life, with the usual powers, and with authority to appoint Alexander Cumming of Altyre as his depute. The document was signed at Kinloss by Bishop Reid and no fewer than nineteen monks or brethren.⁶ It is doubtful whether these all belonged to Kinloss; some of them may have been residents of Beaully Priory.

¹ Precept and Instruments of Sasine at Castle Grant.

² Original Precept at Castle Grant.

³ Original Gifts at Castle Grant.

⁴ Original Precept and Sasine, dated 30th March and 8th May 1554, at Castle Grant.

⁵ Original Precept and Sasine, dated 20th and 27th June 1554, *ibid.*

⁶ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 114.

While at Kinloss the Laird of Freuchie entered into a contract with his father's widow, Christina Barclay, as to her terce and other matters. Although his father's debts had exceeded his goods to a considerable extent, yet John Grant gave to his father's widow, in full payment of her claims, all the oats, bear, sixteen oxen, and the "insycht gudis" in Knockando, which she had possessed for a year, apparently as a dower house. He stipulates, however, that if she departed from Knockando permanently, she should leave in the house all the "treyne (wooden) insycht and brew lwmes" (vessels) that were in it during her occupancy. She agrees that he should hold courts, punish trespassers, and act as her bailie on her terce lands, he guaranteeing the payment of her rental at the proper terms. In lieu of the customs of the widow's terce lands, the Laird assigns to her twenty wedders, and the kids and fowls from the barony of Knockando. The tenants of Wester Daltullies, Ballintomb, and other lands named, are to give her their homage and service, and to labour the mains of Knockando for her behoof. Further, the parties were to act towards each other as if they were mother and son. This document was signed by the Laird and his mother at Kinloss, in presence of the Bishop of Orkney and other witnesses, on 30th October 1554, and two years later, on 20th August 1556, both parties were admonished, under pain of excommunication, to fulfil the terms of the contract in all points.¹

About this time the Laird of Freuchie added to the Grant possessions the lands of Muldares, Wester Muldares, and Bogbain, with mills, etc., in the earldom of Rothes, within the sheriffdom of Elgin and Forres. These he received from George, Earl of Rothes, and Andrew Leslie, Master of Rothes, as fiar of the earldom, by charter dated 12th December 1554. The lands were to be held blench of the granters.²

In the beginning of the year 1555, the Laird of Freuchie appeared at Inverness to make a protest in regard to the taxation of his property. It would appear that he had been summoned to attend an inquest to be held for making up the taxed roll of every pound land of old extent in accordance with a requisition from the Crown. The 23d of March had been fixed as the date of the inquest, and the Laird was sum-

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 113, 114.

² Original Charter at Castle Grant.

moned for that day, but on attending the court he found that the roll had already been made up and sealed. He therefore protested that if the taxed roll affecting his lands did not conform to his "serwing of auld extent," that roll should not prejudice him or his heritage, as he had appeared on the day appointed to him. He also stated that he was ready to make payment to the Sheriff-depute of his part of the taxed roll so far as regarded his lands in the shire of Inverness, provided the Sheriff would give him a note of the amount, and that not being forthcoming, the Laird protested that no harm should arise to him therefrom, as he had offered to pay.¹

Hitherto the Laird of Freuchie had been engaged chiefly with his own affairs. He was now to act, if not in a wider sphere, at least with fuller authority, and as a power in the great problem of securing the peace of the Highlands. The Clan Ranald had always been troublesome to the Government, especially under the leadership of John of Moidart, called John Moydertach; and the Clan Cameron also refused to submit to the royal authority. Various commissions were issued against these clans without any good effect, and the disputes which arose between the Regent Arran and the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise, as to the transfer of the regency to the latter, allowed the rebellious Highlanders to resist the Government for some time without check.² In April 1554 the Queen Dowager assumed the government, and with her usual vigour proceeded at once to take steps to bring the Highlands into obedience. Without entering into details foreign to the immediate purpose of this work, it may be said that the principle upon which the new Regent endeavoured to act was that pursued partly by King James the Fourth, and more decidedly by King James the Fifth, but which had for a time fallen into abeyance, namely, to make chiefs of clans responsible to the supreme Government for the acts of their followers, obliging them to apprehend and bring to justice the criminals of their own tribe.³

The Laird of Freuchie, though personally law-abiding, yet as the chief of an extensive territory, came under the scope of the new policy.

¹ Extract Protest at Castle Grant.

² Gregory's Highlands and Isles, pp. 182, 183.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 91, 186.

On the 8th June 1555, he received a commission to act as justiciar of the Crown within the whole bounds and lands of Strathspey ("except so much as John Grant of Ballindalloch and his father occupy"), the whole lands of Urquhart and Glenmoristoun, and so much of the lands of Strathdown (Strathavon) as belonged to him. The commission gave the Laird full power, and special command and burden were laid upon him to search out, examine, and arrest all persons, whether dwellers within the bounds or sojourners, accused or suspected of crime. The reasons assigned for granting the commission were that "divers homicides, murders, thefts, oppressions or sornings, reset of theft, and open or strong-handed rapine had existed within the bounds of the lands of Strathspey, Urquhart, Glenmoristoun, and Strathdown, lying within our sheriffdoms of Inverness, Elgin and Forres, and Banff respectively, to the extreme depredation and destruction of our poor and faithful lieges, inhabitants of the same."¹ This preamble was no doubt a formal one, and does not mean that the Laird of Freuchie's men were worse than their neighbours, but it implied that he was now to be held directly responsible for the punishment of their crimes.

As is shown by another commission from Archibald, Earl of Argyll, justiciar-general of Scotland, to the Laird of Freuchie on 15th May 1555, at least one freebooter in Strathspey claimed special attention at this time. This was John Reoch Grant, accused of common theft and other crimes,² and the Laird of Grant was instructed to apprehend and bring him to trial. Who John Reoch Grant was does not appear, but he may have been John Roy Grant of Carron, who three years later was implicated in the murder of the head of the Ballindalloch family. There is a story told by the historian of the family of Sutherland, in referring to the events of this period, which shows the prompt compliance of the Laird of Freuchie with the duties laid upon him by the Government. Sir Robert Gordon states that when the Queen Dowager came north, which he says was in July 1555, though others place the event in 1556,³ "she held justice-aires with most extreme and rigorous punishment, and charged every one of the

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 116.

² Original Commission at Castle Grant.

³ Sir Robert Gordon. Gregory, p. 185. There are

no means of accurately fixing this date, as the Privy Council Records for the period are wanting, but the Regent was certainly in the north in 1556.

captains of the Highlands to bring in the offenders of their own kin, . . . wherethrough many were entered, both of Mackenzie kin, Balnagown, Lord Lovat, Mackintosh, Laird of Grant, and many others, whereof there were sundry executed; and among the rest, the Laird of Grant being charged to bring in a special friend called James Grant for his oppression, because he could not be apprehended and brought quick (or alive) to justice, he caused him and the rest of his company to be slain, and their heads to be presented to the Queen Regent."¹

In this year, 1555, also, a question arose betwixt the Earl of Huntly and the Laird of Freuchie as to the service of the latter as heir of his father in the lands of Tullochgorm. The matter came for settlement before the Lords of Council, and a commission was issued to certain parties to proceed with the service. From the narrative contained in this document it would appear that on the 23d March 1554-5, while presenting his other briefs from Chancery to the Sheriff of Inverness, who was the Earl of Huntly himself, and his deputies, the Laird of Freuchie also produced a brief for his service in Tullochgorm, Curr, and other lands held feudally from Huntly, and desired that it might be executed. This petition the Sheriff and his deputies refused to grant, and the Laird complained that they had caused him to lose his rents for the past term, and alleged that they intended him to lose his future rents, and to expel him from his heritage. The commission granted by the Supreme Court on 4th December 1555, gave those selected by the Lords full power to do everything necessary to complete the Laird's title to the lands in question.²

In reference also to the lands of Cardells, the Laird entered into a contract, in 1556, with Alexander Grant, brother-german to John Grant of Ballindalloch, in which they appointed arbiters to settle a dispute which had arisen between them. Alexander Grant claimed these lands in heritage, and alleged that James, the late Laird of Freuchie, had ejected him, his servants and goods, from the lands of Mekill and Little Cardell, and the half town of Piteroy, in the sheriffdom of Elgin and Forres, so far back as the month of March 1542-3, and that the profits had been violently withheld from him by the deceased Laird and his successor. The arbiters

¹ Sir Robert Gordon, quoted in *Invernessiana*, p. 224.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 117.

appointed were as follows :—Arthur Forbes of Balfour, William Ogilvie of Allanbuy, John Roy Grant of Carron, and Sir John Gibson, chaplain in Elgin, or any two of them, on behalf of the Laird of Freuchie; George Meldrum of Fyvie, knight, William Leslie, younger of Balquhain, Master John Leslie, Commissary of Aberdeen, and Alexander Con of Awchry, or any two of them, on behalf of Alexander Grant. Walter Leslie of Kininvie was chosen as oversman, and the arbiters, or so many of them, were to meet in “the kirk or cloister of the Gray Freris of Aberdene,” on 20th September next, there to accept and hear the rights of parties, and to give decree within fifteen days thereafter. The parties bound themselves to abide by the decision of the arbiters.¹ These lands, although for a time they were a source of trouble between the families of Freuchie and Ballindalloch, were eventually purchased by the Laird of Freuchie.

As already stated, the Queen Dowager came north to Inverness in person to settle the feuds in the Highlands. Among those summoned to her presence was Y-Mackay of Farr, ancestor of the Lords Reay, who had committed spoliation in Sutherland. Mackay refused to appear, and the Earl of Sutherland was sent to punish him, but he evaded the Earl, and, among other misdeeds, burned the church of Loth. Mackay was, however, soon after defeated by Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, surrendered himself, and was committed a prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh. The Laird of Freuchie became one of the sureties for Mackay's good behaviour, as appears from the bond of relief signed by the latter at Edinburgh on 25th July 1557,² in which Mackay promised to relieve the Laird of the sum of 1000 merks, the amount of his security. At a later period Mackay was released, and after good service on the Borders against the English, returned to Sutherland, where he made himself notorious, some years afterwards, by burning the town of Dornoch.³

In 1560, the Laird of Freuchie was again drawn into the current of events affecting the kingdom at large. He was in that year present in Edinburgh as a member of the Parliament which abolished the established religion and enacted the Confession of Faith; but his attention was soon afterwards engaged with affairs in his own neighbourhood. The youthful Queen of Scot-

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 119.

² *Ibid.*, p. 124.

³ History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 156.

land, Mary, returned to her own country in 1561, and as she was at first much guided in her policy by her natural brother, James Stewart, she gave great offence to the Roman Catholic party in Scotland, especially to the Earl of Huntly, then the most prominent leader of that party. The Earl also incurred the distrust and resentment of the Queen by his double-dealing, and, irritated at her treatment of himself and his party, he resolved, on learning the Queen's intention to visit the north, to attempt a rebellion. On the 11th September 1562, Queen Mary arrived at Inverness, and was refused admittance to the castle by Huntly's retainers. A recent writer states that finding the castle closed against her, the Queen issued a proclamation which soon brought assistance; that the chief of the Mackintoshes exerted himself to rally his clan round his sovereign, and prevented the march of such as were proceeding from Badenoch to join Huntly.¹ The Queen soon found herself at the head of a considerable force, with which she occupied the town of Aberdeen. It would appear from a letter from James Stewart, Earl of Murray, to the Baron of Kilravock, appointing a rendezvous at Strathbogie,² that the Queen had intended to attack Huntly in his own castle, but the latter assembled his vassals, and marched rapidly towards Aberdeen. The result was disastrous; his force melted away, and on the 28th October 1562, his army, reduced to five hundred men, was confronted at Corrichie, about twelve miles from Aberdeen, by a force of two thousand under the Earl of Murray. In the conflict which ensued, Huntly's army was completely defeated, his two sons taken prisoners, and himself slain.³

The Laird of Freuchie, as holder of lands in Strathavon and Badenoch, was a prominent vassal of Huntly's, but history is silent as to what part he took in the rebellion. Vassals were not bound to follow their feudal superiors against their Sovereign, and the Laird appears either to have refrained altogether from action, or to have joined the royal forces. It favours the latter alternative, that on the 4th November 1562, only seven days after the death of Huntly, and while still at Aberdeen, Queen Mary issued an order charging the keepers of the house or castle of Drummin

¹ The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, p. 226.

² Rose of Kilravock, p. 237.

³ Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. v. p. 224.

the rebels, to gather a force and pursue them, as also to besiege any house in which they might take refuge. The Laird and others were required, for the more effectual carrying out of the act, to muster their men on the 20th of October following, and to remain in arms, within their own bounds, for twenty days, to expel the rebels as far as possible.¹ From this time onwards, the Clan Gregor continued to cause much disturbance in the country and annoyance to the Government, but this Laird of Freuchie was not again specially called to take part against them.

Another dispute, in which the Laird of Freuchie was interested, though he was not the direct raiser of the question, was settled by the Earl of Murray, in the Sheriff's Court at Inverness, on 17th October 1563. It arose out of a complaint made by Donald M'Innes Mor against William Fraser of Strowie. The former alleged that Fraser had blocked or stopped the passage of Loch Ness. The defender, in his reply, admitted the charge, and gave as his reason the damage done to the woods "pertenying to him, to my Lord Lowet, and the Laird of Grant, of the quhilkis he beris charge, continuallic cuttit, pelit, and distroit be the travelloris vpon the said loucht," etc. The decision on the complaint was, first, that the passage of the loch should be "fre and unstoppit" in time to come, and that no impediment be made to any of the lieges. Secondly, to prevent the destruction and "peling" of the woods, a power of search was thenceforth given to the provost and bulies of Inverness, that they might arrest all green timber and bark brought to the town's market for sale, in any way, or from any place, unless the bringer of the wood could produce a satisfactory certificate in writing from the baron on whose lands he got the wood. Failing such certificate, all such wood, sold or unsold, was to be forfeited, and any one who had bought the wood before the official inspection, was to lose his money if the wood was arrested. The act was to come into operation on the 1st November 1563, and stringent provisions were made for staying the transit of all timber from the port of Inverness.²

It may be noted that the act just quoted, and the precept formerly narrated in regard to the house of Drummin, are the first authoritative

¹ Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 22d September 1563, vol. i. pp. 248, 249.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 128. Act dated 17th October 1563.

documents in which the Laird of Freuchie is denominated Laird of Grant. This designation, however, though from this period onward it occurs from time to time in formal documents, was not adopted by the Lairds themselves, and they continued to be designated of Freuchie until a much later period.

No doubt on account of his personal influence, the Laird of Freuchie, in the following year, was accepted by the Government as cautioner or surety for Donald Cameron of Lochiel, the chief of the Clan Cameron. Certain parties, of whom John, Earl of Athole, was the principal, bound themselves to the extent of 2000 merks that Donald Cameron should remain in ward within Edinburgh until John Grant of Freuchie should come forward as security. Donald Cameron formally bound himself to keep good rule in his country, and in no way to trouble his neighbours. If he failed in this, he offered the Laird of Freuchie as security that he would appear before the Council to answer for his conduct, under the penalty of 2000 merks. This bond was executed by Lochiel at Edinburgh on the 3d, and by his cautioner, at Freuchie, on the 10th November 1564, and finally recorded before the Privy Council on the 27th of the same month.¹ In return for the Laird of Freuchie's obligation, Lochiel gave him a formal bond of relief,² and by an Act of the Privy Council, at Dunkeld, the Laird was fully discharged from all his obligations to the Government.³

The Earl of Huntly, who was the son of the Earl slain at Corrichie, was a warm adherent of Queen Mary, and in his train the Laird of Freuchie was present at the Palace of Holyrood on 9th March 1565-6, that eventful night when David Rizzio was slain. The Laird's name has generally been overlooked in connection with this affair; but that he was one of the Queen's party at that time is stated in a document, nearly identical with what is printed in the Appendix to Bishop Keith's History, but which is fuller and more minute in its details,⁴ the paper published by Keith being a copy.

¹ Register of Privy Council, vol. i. pp. 293, 294.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 130. Bond dated 20th November 1564.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 132. Act dated 29th June 1565.

⁴ Printed originally in London in 1699, and reprinted in "Tracts on Scottish History" in 1836. Apparently the same with the Cottonian ms., Caligula B. ix. f. 219^a, known as Morton and Ruthven's Narrative.

The circumstances leading to the murder of Rizzio, and the details of that tragedy, have been so often narrated, that they need not be repeated here, and reference will be made only to the part played by the Laird of Freuchie, or, as he is styled in the narrative of the affair, the Laird of Grant. It is well known how the conspirators entered the Queen's supper-chamber, and, seizing their victim, dragged him, or were forced by the pressure of numbers, to the outer chamber, where he was despatched. While the tragedy was being enacted, Lord Ruthven returned to the Queen's presence, and, after the deed was done, the Earl of Morton passed out into the inner or nether court for keeping of the same and the gates. Queen Mary and Lord Ruthven were disputing in the inner chamber, neither being actually aware of the completion of the crime, when "one came knocking fast at the Queen's chamber door, declaring that the Earls Huntly, Athol, Bothwel, Cathness, and Sutherland, with the Lords Fleming, Levingstone, secretary, Tillibarn (Tullibardine), the comptroller, and Laird of Grant, with their own servants and officers of the palace, were fighting in the close against the Earl of Morton and his company." The king would have gone down, but Lord Ruthven stayed him, and himself went to keep order. He therefore, with support, went down to the court, but before his coming "the officers were dwong into their houses; and the lords were holden in at the gallery door by the Earl of Morton and others being with him, and were constrained to pass up to the gallery and to their chambers."

Lord Ruthven then "passed up to the Earl Bothwell's chamber, where he found the Earls of Huntly, Sutherland, Cathness, the Laird of Grant, and divers others." To them he explained that all had been done at the king's suggestion and desire, and that the banished Lords, Murray and others, were to be recalled. The Earls of Huntly and Bothwell promised to be reconciled to the Earls of Murray and Argyll, with whom they were at enmity, and gave their hands to Lord Ruthven, in token of good faith. The latter then went to the Earl of Athole's chamber, and was accompanied by the Earls of Cathness and Sutherland and the Laird of Grant. The latter was present at the interview between Athole and Ruthven, when explanations were again made as to the king's conduct, and the conference

then ended by Athole's desiring Ruthven to ask the king's permission for the Earl and those that were then in the chamber to pass to their own country.

During this interview the Earls of Huntly and Bothwell, taking alarm for their own safety, in view of the Earl of Murray's return, escaped from a low window of the palace; and at the same time the incident occurred of the townsmen of Edinburgh mustering for the Queen's safety, and being dismissed by an assurance from Darnley that both the Queen and he were well. When all was again quiet, and the King had left the Queen's chamber and retired to his own, Ruthven preferred the Earl of Athole's request, which the King was unwilling to grant without a bond. Lord Ruthven replied that the Earl was a "true man of his promise, and would keep the thing he said." The King and the Earl then had an interview, after which the Earl took leave, and went to his chamber, where he and his company made ready to go forth, which they did; and with him went the "Earls of Sutherland and Cathness, the Master of Cathness," and others, including the Laird of Grant.

No further evidence as to the Laird of Freuchie's movements after he thus left Holyrood can be ascertained. Two days after the murder, Queen Mary made her celebrated flight to Dunbar, and was there joined by the Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, Caithness, and others, with their friends, of whom, probably, the Laird was one. The course of events ended in the Queen's imprisonment in Lochleven Castle. This last occurrence enabled the Laird of Freuchie to pass homewards to his own country, where turbulent neighbours, emboldened perhaps by his absence from home, were threatening to assail his estates.

Towards the end of Queen Mary's reign Donald Cameron of Lochiel was slain by some of his own kin, those accused of the crime being his uncles, Ewin Cameron of Erracht, and John Cameron of Kinlochiel, who also usurped the chieftainship of Donald's nephew and heir, then a minor.¹ These self-constituted leaders of the Clan Cameron immediately began to trouble their neighbours, and the Laird of Freuchie's outlying possessions of Urquhart and Glenmoriston were threatened with an attack. Having

¹ Gregory's *History of the Highlands*, pp. 202, 203.

been informed of their intention, the Laird took the precaution of obtaining letters under the royal signet, directed against the intended marauders. As the lands of Urquhart and others were held of the Crown in feu, the Government had a direct interest in securing the integrity of the lands. This is stated in the letters, which narrate the petition of the Laird of Freuchie, that "he is credibly informit diuers wikkit personis of the Clanrannald and Clanchamroun . . . intendis schortlie to mak incursionis vpoun the said Johnnes landis, and to burne, herrie, and destroy . . . nocht onelie to his greit skayth and dampnage, bot to the hurt and detriment of ws, the saidis landis being of oure propirtie, quhilkis being heriit and laid waist, we will want the few males thairof." Charge is therefore given to Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton, and Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, and all others of the "Clanchattane and Clankenzie," that they shall in no way permit the threatened raid, on pain of being proceeded against as art and part in the same.¹ These signet letters were issued in the name of King James the Sixth, as Queen Mary had been obliged to demit the crown in favour of her son, and was still a prisoner in Lochleven Castle. The precautions taken were effective in preventing the threatened attack.

On the 2d of May 1568 the Queen made her escape from Lochleven, and her friends in the west of Scotland mustered an army of nearly 6000 men in her behalf. As is well known, however, the Queen's party were defeated at Langside, and within a fortnight after her escape from Lochleven, she was a fugitive in England. Of the northern nobles, the Earl of Huntly adhered strongly to the fortunes of Queen Mary. After her flight into England he was appointed by her one of her lieutenants in Scotland. The Earl and his friends joined in subscribing a bond, by which they pledged themselves as faithful subjects to maintain the Queen's authority, and to acknowledge "no other usurped authoritie."² The date of this agreement is 1568, but the day and month not being given, it is uncertain whether it was drawn up before or after the Queen's flight. It may have been executed while the northern barons were mustering to join the Queen after her escape from Lochleven. The Laird of Freuchie

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 132. Letters dated 1st March 1567-8.

² Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. iv. p. 156.

was the first after the Earl of Huntly to sign this bond, and he evidently acted with the Earl in support of the Queen's party, as is proved by proceedings at a later date.

On account of his close adhesion to him in the national crisis, the Earl of Huntly showed considerable favour to the Laird at this time. Acting as the Queen's lieutenant, he bestowed upon the Laird the abbacy of Kinloss, and otherwise gave his friendly assistance in the Laird's own affairs. The gift of the abbacy of Kinloss arose out of a crime alleged against Walter Reid, the abbot. The abbey and dwelling-place of Kinloss, with all their belongings, are said to be escheated because the abbot had not found surety to underlie the law for the slaughter of a person named Fraser, for which he had been proclaimed a rebel. The whole profits of the abbacy were therefore bestowed upon the Laird of Freuchie, though it is probable he did not enjoy them long. The letter of gift is signed and sealed by the Earl of Huntly, at Aberdeen, on 18th February 1568-9.¹

The Earl of Huntly also acted as arbiter in a dispute between the Laird and James Mackintosh of Gask in reference to the lands of Laggan. The dispute was complicated by a charge made against James Mackintosh for the murder of William M'Inchruter, a tenant or servant of the Laird of Freuchie, as well as for violent occupation of the lands of Laggan for five years. Huntly's decision as to the murder was, that as it was unpremeditated, James Mackintosh should crave pardon of the Laird and make a money payment to the deceased's family. With regard to the lands, Mackintosh was to restore the goods taken, and to remove himself from possession within a certain period. Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton, Chief of Clan Chattan, pledged himself for his clansman's obedience to the decree, which was given by the Earl and signed by all parties at Huntly, on 30th September 1568.²

Shortly after the escape of Queen Mary from Lochleven, Huntly gave in his adhesion to the new government under the Regency of Murray, and the same document which bears his signature contains also that of the Laird of Freuchie. The document signed by them was a bond drawn up by the Regent's Privy Council, by which the subscribers acknowledged

¹ Original Gift at Castle Grant.

² Original Decree at Castle Grant.

the authority of King James the Sixth and the Earl of Murray as Regent, and swore to obey them in all points. Along with the signatures of the Earl of Huntly and John Grant of Freuchie, who signed on 15th April 1569, are those of a number of other northern barons, though it does not appear that the signatures were all appended on the 15th of April, but more probably at various dates.¹

The Regent's Government, however, was not satisfied with a mere general testimony of allegiance by the Earl of Huntly or his vassals, the Laird of Freuchie, and the Chief of Mackintosh, and special articles of submission and arrangement were entered into between the Regent and Huntly, in the following month, at St. Andrews, in which the latter gave up his cannon, and engaged to support the Government, while the former promised to deal leniently with those who had supported Huntly. At a later date Lachlan Mackintosh tendered his submission, and on the 7th June 1569 the Laird of Freuchie appeared before the Regent at Aberdeen, and made his offer of allegiance. In this document he first formally acknowledges the new government. He then refers to the Earl of Huntly's submission, and as the Earl had bound himself to satisfy all persons injured by him betwixt the 1st August 1568 and 31st March 1569, while "serving as pretendit lieutenant to the queenis grace," so the Laird promises to satisfy all persons "be-west Spay" for all injury done by himself or servants during the same period, and generally to keep "gud reull" henceforth. Following on the above submission, the Laird received, on the 3d a precept, and on the 9th July 1569 a formal remission for himself and his clan. The precept and remission narrate the actual taking up of arms and marching to the field with the Earl of Huntly against the king's party, and other offences against the Government.²

From Aberdeen the Regent pushed northward to Inverness, and carried out as far as possible his plans for settling the government and punishing marauders in the Highlands. Among other minor offenders against whom commissions were issued, were certain persons named Alester M'Allan, George M'Yntagart, and others their accomplices, who in October

¹ Register of Privy Council, vol. i. p. 654.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 137.

³ *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 663-665, 668, 669; vol. iii. of this work, p. 136.

1568 had burned "thre scoir houssis, with the insicht and cornis," on the lands of Rothiemurchus, and killed a servant of Duncan Grant, younger of Freuchie. In the following February they invaded the lands of Glen-carnie, and burned eight houses, slew six men, and burned and destroyed their corns and goods, "quhairthrow the said landis ar all laid waist, besyde a nwmer of pover bairnis left fadirles to beg thair meit within the cuntre." A charge under the signet was directed to George, Earl of Huntly, and others, to apprehend the offenders above named, and bring them to justice.¹

What effect this charge had is not apparent, but the Laird of Freuchie himself and his son took the punishment of the offenders into their own hands, and made a seizure of some of them, as is narrated in a Commission of Justiciary directed to the Laird and his son Duncan, to enable them to execute justice upon the persons captured.²

In August 1569, the Laird of Freuchie received from the Regent Murray a letter, requiring him to pay £172 (Scots) from the feu-duties of the lands of Urquhart, Glenmoriston, and other crown lands, to the Laird of Lochleven, as part of the expenses incurred by him while Queen Mary was under his charge.³ These feu-duties had been assigned as a provision for supplying the Queen's table, and for other similar purposes, but had remained unpaid, and the Laird was required to pay the sum, which he did promptly, as appears from a receipt in his favour by the Laird of Lochleven.⁴

In the years 1570 and 1571, the Laird of Freuchie entered into special relations with his neighbours of Glengarry and Kintail. The possessions of Lochalsh, Lochbroom, Lochcarron, and other lands, which, as formerly narrated, had been appraised to James Grant, third of Freuchie, as compensation for the raid on Urquhart, do not appear ever to have been of any real utility to the Lairds of Freuchie. The Laird of Freuchie, however, in the alliances he now made, transferred the greater portion of the lands from himself to those who were better able to deal with them effectually. This course was doubly politic; the Laird got rid of a troublesome possession, and by giving up so much territory at a distance, obtained a greater

¹ Original Charge, dated 17th June 1569, at Castle Grant.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 138.

³ Vol. ii. of this work, p. 11.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 140.

security that his lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston should remain undisturbed. It is for this reason chiefly that the marriage-contracts now to be referred to are worthy of notice.

A contract was concluded at Elgin betwixt the Laird of Freuchie, for himself and his daughter, Barbara Grant, on one part, and Colin Mackenzie, son and heir of the late Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, with consent of his curators, on the other part. The young chief of Kintail agreed to marry Barbara Grant, and to make over to her in liferent certain lands. Her father, on the other hand, bound himself to pay with his daughter 2000 merks of tocher, and also to infeft Colin Mackenzie in the half lands of Lochbroom, in the sheriffdom of Inverness.¹ Barbara Grant had formerly been contracted (in 1568) to Robert Monro, younger of Foulis, but it does not appear that the marriage was solemnised or completed.² On the day following the making of the contract, Colin Mackenzie gave his bond of manrent in favour of the Laird of Freuchie, specially obliging himself to defend the Laird against the Clan Ranald.³

A year later the Laird entered into another matrimonial contract, also at Elgin, this time with the chiefs of Clan Ranald themselves, for uniting his daughter, Helen Grant, with Donald, the son of Angus M'Alester of Glengarry. It was provided that Donald M'Angus M'Alester should marry Helen Grant before the ensuing mid-summer, and that she should be infeft in certain lands. Angus M'Alester of Glengarry [Macdonald of Glengarry], father of Donald, binds himself and his successors, "Lairdis of Glengarrie," to serve the Laird of Freuchie and his successors, "Lairdis of Frewquhy," against all persons, "the auctoritie of our souerane and his chief of Clanrandall onlie beand exceptit." If, however, Angus's chief should move against the Laird of Freuchie, then Angus would take part with the latter against his chief. Special provision is made for the protection of the Laird of Freuchie's lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston. Angus of Glengarry binds himself to defend these lands in every way possible, and also to hinder all thefts of cattle from Strathspey. On the other hand, the Laird of Freuchie consented to Angus enjoying the nine merk land of Lochalsh

¹ Original Contract, dated 26th July 1570, at Castle Grant.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 133.

³ *Ibid.* p. 142.

apprised from the Clan Cameron, until he obtained possession of the lands of Auchindrone. The Laird of Freuchie also bound himself to infest Glengarry and his heirs-male in the lands of Glengarry, Morar, part of Lochalsh, and Lochcarron, formerly appraised from Angus and his father for the raid of Urquhart. A penalty of no less than £10,000 Scots was to be incurred by Angus Macdonald, if he failed to implement the contract.¹

A recent writer on the Macdonalds states that Donald M'Angus of Glengarry refused to marry Helen Grant. The same writer, after referring to the appraising of 1548, adds:—"The estates" [Glengarry, etc., above named] "had not passed to Grant in virtue of the above named appraising, but they were again appraised in consequence of Donald's refusal to marry Freuchy's daughter. They are, however, regranted by Grant to (Angus) Glengarry by a charter, already quoted, and confirmed by the Crown on the 8th July 1574."²

Whether the story of the repudiation in the case of Glengarry be true or not, the Laird of Freuchie took measures for securing, as far as pen and ink could do it, that Colin Mackenzie of Kintail should not play him false. At Forres, on 18th April 1572, the contract of 1570 was solemnly ratified, with this special addition, that if Colin Mackenzie repudiated Barbara Grant, then the Laird of Freuchie should again have access to the lands of Lochbroom. Colin Mackenzie also bound himself to act against Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton, and all others, the king and the Earl of Ross excepted; the Laird of Freuchie on his part excepting the Earl of Huntly.³ Eight days after, at Ballachastell, on 26th April, two more contracts were signed by the parties, the first relating to the rents of Lochbroom, and an arrangement to be made with Angus Macdonald of Glengarry as to the lands of Auchindrone. The second contract is a solemn renewal by both parties, under "pane off periure and diffamatioun," of their former bond of mutual manrent and service. Special clauses were inserted to the effect that Colin should assist Grant against Mackintosh, and that Grant should aid Colin against invasion by Hew, Lord Fraser of Lovat.⁴

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 143-149. Contract dated 17th November 1571.

² History, etc., of the Macdonalds of Glengarry, by Alexander Mackenzie, pp. 23, 24.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 149.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 150-152.

These clauses were warranted by the disturbed state of the country, which was such, that in 1573 the Earl of Sutherland complained to King James the Sixth, in regard to his service as heir to his father in his lands in Inverness-shire, that he could obtain no inquest to sit at Inverness, because many barons and gentlemen of the sheriffdom, such as Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, Hugh, Lord Fraser of Lovat, Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton, Robert Monro of Fowlis, with others, were at deadly feud among themselves. The king therefore directed an inquest to be held in the burgh of Aberdeen.¹

The enmity on the part of the Laird of Freuchie against Lord Lovat may have arisen or been quickened by personal considerations, if the following story be true, as narrated by the author of the History of the Fraser Family. Referring to Hugh Fraser, Lord Lovat, as constable of the castle of Inverness, the historian states:—"His Lordship was a great promoter of manly sports, and an expert bowman. It was a general custom in those days for all the nobility to meet at stated periods for the purposes of tilting, fencing, riding the horses, and the like exercises. At one of these rencontres, in the chapel-yard of Inverness, Lord Lovat unhorsed the Laird of Grant and the Sheriff of Moray. This, with some taunt which followed, so irritated these gentlemen, as to occasion sharp words, when Lovat said that as he had given them a specimen of his tilting, he would now try the mettle of their riding. Dashing the rowels into his steed, he rode through the river, and made straight for the hill of Clachmaharry, bidding them keep apace; here he leaped his horse over the ledge of the rock, and dared his pursuers to follow. But they, terrified with the appearance of the place, judged it wisest to desist. The impression made by his horse's shoes below was visible for sixty years after, as it was kept clean by a man who had an annual pension for preserving it."²

The Laird of Freuchie was, at least in one instance, himself a sufferer from the disorganised state of the country, as appears from an extract decree of the Lords of Council against James Malcolmstosche M'Counglas in Stroyne. The charge against him was that he had, on the 30th of August 1574, "within the feriot and clois tyme of harwist and vacance," taken

¹ *Origines Parochiales*, vol. ii, p. 668.

² *Anderson's History of the Family of Fraser*, p. 89.

from the lands of Laggan, in the barony of Strathspey, belonging to the Laird of Freuchie, certain goods and furnishings. These consisted, so far as the Laird personally was concerned, of cattle, sheep, and horses, which were upon the lands, and which are said to have been the Laird's "awin proper guidis," and were in keeping of John M'Agodow, a servant or tenant. Besides the stock there were taken from the tenant certain implements, some of which indicate progress in agriculture; one brew caldron, value £10 (Scots); another caldron, value 5 merks; one iron pot, value 26s. 8d.; one gyrdill, value 18s.; one pan, price 24s.; one "culter" (coultter) and one sock, price 26s. 8d.; two "bull axis," valued together at 23s. 4d.; two "womyllis and ane hethie," valued at 13s. 4d.; one great brew "fatt," price 30s.; one small "fatt," price 15s.; four barrels, 13s. 4d. each; two iron "cruiks," value 45s.; with six pair of "thetis" (traces) for a plough, price 30s.¹

The Laird of Freuchie, it is said, assisted his son-in-law, Colin Mackenzie, in his contention with the Monros as to the possession of the castle and lands of the Chanonry of Ross. Mackenzie was also aided by his brother-in-law the Laird of Mackintosh.² Munro of Milntown had received from the Regent Murray a grant of the fortress, but his title was not completed at the Regent's death. The Mackenzies were jealous of the possession of the castle by the Monros, and laid siege to the place. The Munros held out three years, but one day, getting short of provisions, they made a sortie to the Ness of Fortrose, in the hope of securing fish from a salmon stell there. They were immediately discovered and followed by the Mackenzies, who killed their commander and twenty-five others. The garrison of the castle then surrendered, and the Mackenzies took possession.³

In the beginning of 1574 the Laird was annoyed by his tenants in Urquhart damaging the woods and forests of that barony. The Highlanders, it is said, never counted it theft to take a tree from the forest or a fish from the river, and the Laird in this case, as the forests were Crown property, was obliged to obtain letters of inhibition against the destroyers of the woods. The letters narrate John Grant of Freuchie's complaint that

¹ Original Decree at Castle Grant.

² The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, p. 232.

³ History and Genealogies of the Mackenzies, p. 121.

whereas he held the barony of Urquhart, with the woods called the Forest of Cluny, in the sheriffdom of Inverness, and had incurred great expense in dyking, parking, and preserving the green wood, growing trees, and meadows within the forest, that they should not be destroyed; yet the tenants and occupiers of the barony or lands adjacent to the forest, "alswele be day as vndir scilence and cloude of nycht, brekis down and destroyis the dykis, parking, and haning thairrof, makis entres to thame-selfis, their hors, cattell, and guidis thairintill, and nocht onlie cuttis down . . . the growand treis . . . but als . . . eitis, scheris, and destroyis the medois, gers," etc. The names of the delinquents were to be specially proclaimed in public at their parish kirks; and a further proclamation made at Inverness inhibiting all from destroying the woods, under pain of the penalties imposed by Parliament.¹

In the same year the Laird of Freuchie became involved in a dispute with the Bishop of Moray, who claimed payment of certain rents and feu-duties for the crop of the year 1573.² The Laird and others protested against this, and letters summoning all parties were issued by the Lords of Council, but the sequel of the matter cannot be ascertained from the muniments at Castle Grant.

Reference has been made to a contract in 1571, between the Laird of Freuchie and Donald MacAngus M'Alister of Glengarry. In 1575, at the desire of the latter, the Laird of Freuchie joined with others in a special bond to the Privy Council, that a certain Alexander Betoun should re-enter ward in the castle of Blackness on forty days' warning.³ Who this Alexander Betoun was does not appear; but on 20th March and 7th April 1575, John Grant also acts as surety for two other persons—Rory M'Kenzie, brother of Colin M'Kenzie of Kintail, and Alexander Ross, who had made themselves obnoxious to the government.⁴ The Laird of Freuchie was also, three years later, summoned to assist Glengarry under somewhat peculiar circumstances. In 1576 a rupture had taken place between the Regent Morton and the Earl of Argyll, arising out

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 153.

² Signet Letters at Castle Grant.

³ Register of Privy Council, vol. ii. p. 443. Bond dated 20th and 21st April 1575.

⁴ Register of Privy Council, vol. ii. pp. 442, 443.

of a dispute between the latter and the Earl of Athole. The Earl of Argyll avoided the court and retired to his own country. In 1577, or early in 1578, he mustered his vassals, nominally in pursuit of certain alleged "troublaris of the commoun quietnes of the cuntre," but in reality to invade the territories of Glengarry. Glengarry appealed to the Regent, and letters were at once issued by the Privy Council, directed on the one hand to the Earl of Argyll and his adherents, forbidding them in any way to molest or pursue Glengarry or his friends, who are described as "peciabill and gude subjectis;" and, on the other hand, to the Tutor of Lovat, Colin M'Kenzie of Kintail, John Grant of Freuchie, and others, commanding them to assemble their friends and servants to assist Glengarry against the Earl of Argyll, when required to do so, and to remain under arms till all danger be past. Other letters of a similar tenor were directed to other parts of Scotland.¹ The cause of Argyll's threatened invasion of Glengarry is not known; in the Council's letters it is spoken of as "malice consavit causas" against Glengarry. The show of force made on behalf of Glengarry seems to have checked the proceedings of the Earl of Argyll, as no further record appears of the matter.

In 1577, the Laird received from Robert Douglas, Earl of Buchan, a lease of the lands of Fodderletter, Delnabo, and other lands in Strathavon, which were in the Earl of Buchan's hands by a gift from the Crown, as part of the ward of the Earl of Huntly.² The annual rent to be paid was £136, 12s. 8d. Scots.

On 24th October 1581, George, Earl of Huntly, gave a special bond to the Laird in reference to a remission which the Earl was bound to obtain from the king for Lachlan Mackintosh of Dumachton, that the remission should not take effect until Lachlan Mackintosh should cease from molesting the Laird of Freuchie in the occupation of certain lands. These were the lands of Rothiemurchus, Ballanespie (Ardinch), and Laggan, in the regality of Spynie; the lands of Dalfour, in the lordship of Badenoch; the lands of Clwne Raekmoir and Moir-Clwne, in Strathnairn, within the earldom of Moray. These lands bordered on Mackintosh's territory, and were invaded by him, but the Earl of Huntly bound himself to insure that

¹ Register of Privy Council, vol. ii. pp. 673-676.

² Original Lease at Castle Grant.

the Laird of Freuchie and his tenants should enjoy peaceable possession of the territory in question.

The castle of Strome, which nominally belonged to the Laird of Freuchie, became, in the year 1582, the subject of dispute between the Macdonalds of Glengarry and the Mackenzies of Kintail, who were also at feud regarding another matter. The affair came before the Privy Council on a complaint by Donald of Glengarry against Colin Mackenzie of Kintail that the latter had come to the castle of Strome, where the former was residing, had taken him prisoner, and had spoiled his goods. Letters had gone forth against M'Kenzie to deliver up the castle to Macdonald, but without effect, and the Council again issued a charge for the delivery, dated 10th August 1582.¹ On the 11th January following, Colin Mackenzie of Kintail made a counter complaint, narrating that he had waited on the Council until the meetings of the latter were interrupted by the Raid of Ruthven; that he had received the castle in terms of a contract with Macdonald; that he had formerly been charged by the Lords of Session to render the castle of Strome to John Grant of Freuchie "as pertening to him in heretage," and therefore, under the double charge, he was uncertain to whom he should yield the fortress; further, that he had found security (of 2000 merks) that he would deliver the castle to Macdonald, if it were the king's wish. The Council, on hearing this complaint, suspended the charge at the instance of Macdonald, providing, however, that Mackenzie should deliver the fortalice to such person as the king should appoint.² A charge was afterwards issued (on 8th March 1583) that Strome Castle should be delivered to the Earl of Argyll, then Chancellor.³ The Laird of Freuchie, however, as will presently be seen, still preserved his heritable rights in the castle and lands in the neighbourhood.

There is little further to relate regarding this Laird of Freuchie, so far as can be ascertained from the family muniments. In the beginning of the year 1582, he had to mourn the loss of his eldest son and apparent heir, Duncan Grant, younger of Freuchie.⁴ The Laird's declining years were still further harassed by the encroachments of neighbouring lairds, as

¹ Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. p. 505.

² *Ibid.* pp. 541-543.

³ Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. p. 555.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 155.

appears from the letter of appeal written by him to the gentlemen of his clan and their response, both dated 21st March 1584.¹ The Laird writes to his "maist special freindis and kynnisemen" to show them the feeble state of his health, and that he and his friends are "mislandlit" by their neighbours without any fault of their own. He sends his (second) son and grandson to speak with them, desiring to know if they have any fault to find with either, or with himself, for doing wrong to their neighbours, that the matter may be amended. This letter was dated from Ballachastell on a Sunday, and was received and answered on the same day by the gentlemen of the clan, gathered at the church of Cromdale. They unanimously declared that they would support their "chief and maister" against all invaders, not only with their goods, but with their bodies, and that they found no fault with their chief, his son or grandson, in any time past.

Feeling his bodily infirmities increasing, and rendering him unfit for the conduct of his own affairs, he made provision for retiring from active life, and for the management of his estates. By a deed dated at Ballachastell on 30th August 1584, he had made over a great part of his lands and estates to John Grant, his grandson and apparent heir. His reasons for this are set forth in the preamble to the document, and are as follows: that he knew himself to be affected with and liable to various diseases and ailments, and to be unable and unfit for taking part in public affairs, so that he could no longer apply himself or give attention to the king's service, the defence of the country from invasion, and other public offices useful to the State. He therefore made over the whole of his lands of Freuchie, his lands in Lochalsh, Strome and its castle, Lochbroom, Glogarry, and others in Inverness-shire, with Easter Urquhill, Cantraydown, and other lands in Nairn, and Mulben and other lands in Elgin. The Laird reserved to himself a liferent right in these lands, and to his wife, Janet Leslie, her reasonable terce.²

Ten months after retiring from the management of his estates the Laird of Freuchie died at Ballachastell on the 3d of June 1585. At his death he possessed large landed estates, and considerable personal property. Besides the stock and rents of Ballachastell and other manors, and the

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 157, 158.

² Original Disposition at Castle Grant.

rents due from the tenants of Urquhart, Mulben, Knockando, Cromdale, Inverallan, Duthil, and Strathavon, he drew rents, probably in right of his second wife, from Balsusnie, Smeatoun, Bennochie, and other lands in Fifeshire. Of ready silver "in pois," or hoarded, he had at his decease the sum of 10,000 merks; and of coined gold "in ane box" the sum of 20,000 merks. The household goods at Ballachastell, with silver-work, body-clothes, and armour of the deceased, were valued at no less than £666, 13s. 4d. of then current money.

The value of the Laird's stock in his separate manors and his personal effects, including the ready money above stated, amounted to £25,392, 10s. Scots; while the rents, etc., due to the deceased raised the sum to £47,806, 16s. 8d. Scots. The debts owing by the Laird only amounted to £621, 6s. 8d., thus leaving of "frie geir" the large sum of £47,185, 0s. 10d. Scots.¹

The value of some of the silver-work and other personal property belonging to the deceased may be gathered from letters under the royal signet, directed against Lady Jane Leslie, his relict, who refused to deliver the articles in question to the heir when he claimed them as heirship moveables.² The property in dispute, said to have been in the Laird's possession at his dwelling-place of Freuchie, consisted of "ane cheinzie of gold weyand xx vncis, price of ilk vnce thair of xxx lib.; ane pair of goldin braislattis veyand vj vncis, price of ilk vnce thair of foirsaid; ane syde nekit elok of fyne Franche blak, foirlappit with blak welwott, price thair of lx pundis; ane dowblat of blak satene, price thair of xxx lib.; ane pair of breikis of grograne of silk, price thair of xx lib.; ane grene burde-clayth of fyve elnis of lenth and sex quarteris of breid, price of the elne 1s.; ane knob ovirgilt with gold, price thair of ten crownis, price of ilk crowne 1s. money; ane fut mantell of fyne Scottis blak, price of the same xij lib." By the letters Lady Jane Leslie was charged to deliver up these moveables to the grandson and heir of the deceased.

The Laird, in his latter will and testament, appointed his body to be "bureit in the kirk of Dowthall, in Bogbegis Yll." That appointment

¹ Testament in Register of Testaments in Commissariat of Edinburgh, vol. xvii.

² Original Letters, dated 26th November 1586, at Castle Grant.

was carried out. His memorial stone was found in the Grant family burying-vault at Duthil, and is now at Castle Grant. It contains the armorial bearings of the Grant and Athole families impaled for husband and wife, with the date of the deaths of John Grant, his wife Lady Margaret Stewart, and their elder son Duncan Grant. A representation of the stone is here given. In his will he left £1000 to his grandson John "to support him." Another legacy was 40 merks to Nichol Cumming,¹ "ane pure man." After stating that he had provided his son Patrick Grant in the estate of Rothiemurchus, and that he had been much "inquietit" in the possession, the Laird goes on to say, "thairfoir I leif to the said Patrick Grant the hail guidis, geir, cornes, cattell, nolt, scheip, gold, siluer, cunzeit and vncunzeit, and all vtheris quhatsunewer . . . to support the said Patrick in his trubillis, and to help him to leif as ane honest [honourable] man." Patrick Grant was also appointed his father's executor. The will is dated at Ballachastell, 24th November 1584.²

John Grant, fourth Laird of Freuchie, was twice married. His first wife was Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of John, third Earl of Athole. The marriage took place before 19th February 1539, as on that date Margaret Stewart, spouse of John Grant, received a Crown charter of the lands of Mulben and others in the shire of Elgin and Forres, with the lands of the two Culfoichs and others in the shire of Inverness, in liferent, and she was duly infeft in these lands on the 3d and 10th November following.³ Lady Margaret Stewart predeceased her husband in the year 1555, as appears from the memorial stone here represented.

After remaining a widower for about two years, the Laird took a second wife, Lady Janet Leslie, daughter of the Earl of Rothes, who was herself a widow. The marriage was celebrated before 8th March 1557, as on that date John Grant of Freuchie and Janet Leslie, his spouse, received a Crown charter of the lands of Mulben.⁴ Lady Janet Leslie appears to have been the widow of the Laird of Naughton in Fife,

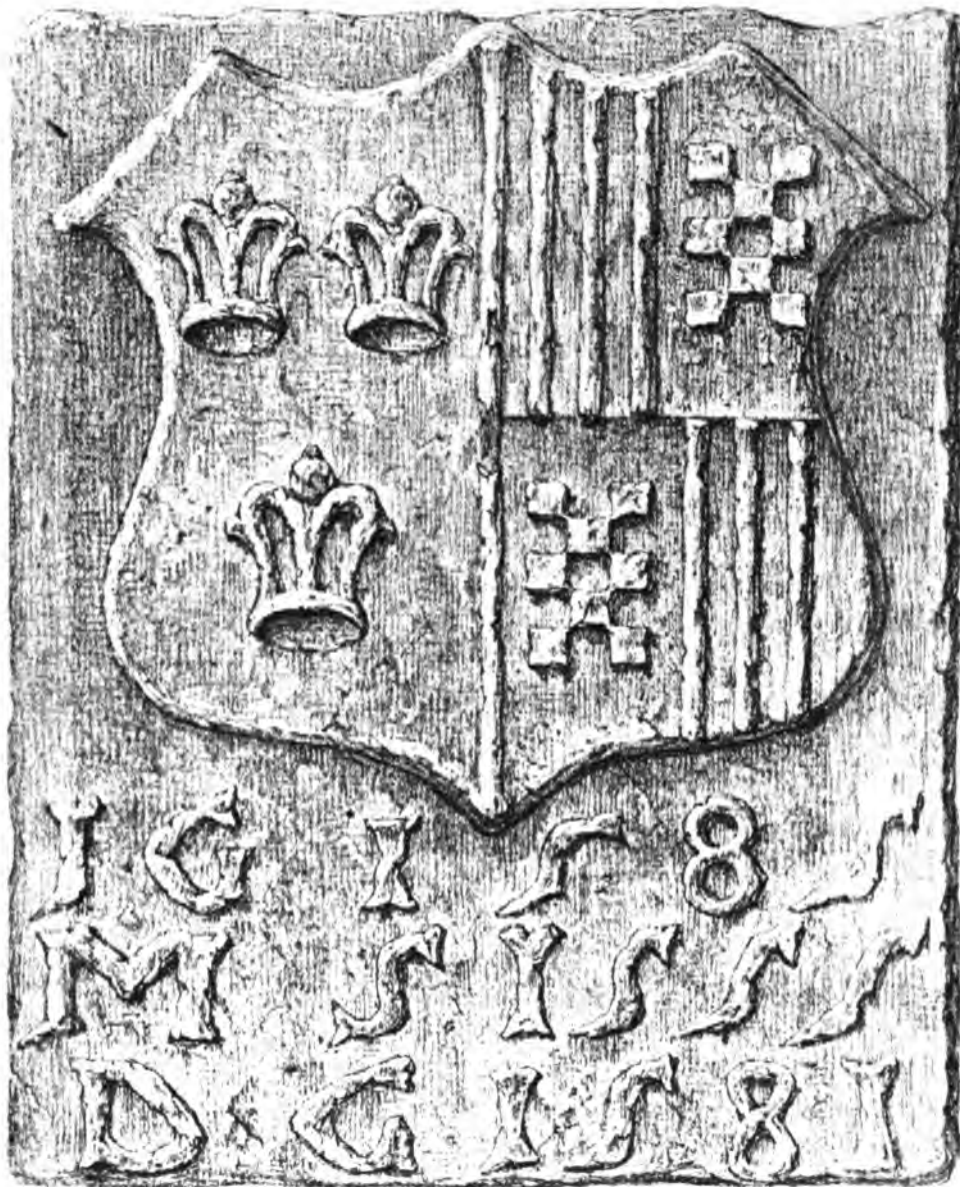
¹ This Nicol Cumming is evidently the grandson of Patrick Grant Beoch of Auchnarrow, the son of Marjory Lude; the lands of Auchnarrow and others were appraised from him in 1585, and finally sold to the grandson and successor of John Grant, fourth

Laird of Freuchie, in 1589.

² Register of Testaments, Commissariat of Edinburgh, vol. xvii.

³ Original Charter and Sasines at Castle Grant.

⁴ Registrum Magni Sigilli, Lib. xxxii. No. 241.



ARMORIAL STONE OF
JOHN GRANT OF FREUCHIE WHO DIED 1585.
MARGARET STEWART HIS WIFE WHO DIED 1555.
DUNCAN GRANT THEIR SON WHO DIED 1581.

as she is designed "Lady Jeane Leslie, Lady of Naughton," in a seventeen years' lease granted to her by Robert Pitcairn, Commendator of Dunfermline, of the teindsheaves of Bogie, Bennochie, Smeatoun, and Balsusnie, in the shire of Fife,¹ dated in the year 1568. She had apparently the liferent of these lands. Lady Janet Leslie survived her second husband, and married again as her third husband, before 8th August 1590, James Elphinstone, brother-german of Robert, third Lord Elphinstone. But she did not long survive her third marriage, having died in Kirkcaldy on 17th December 1591.²

By his first and second marriages, this Laird of Freuchie had two sons and seven daughters.

1. Duncan Grant, younger of Freuchie, of whom a short memoir follows. He predeceased his father, and his eldest son, John, succeeded his grandfather.
2. Patrick Grant, who received from his father, about 1574, the lands of Rothiemurchus. He was the ancestor of Sir John Peter Grant of Rothiemurchus, as shown in a separate pedigree of the *Rothiemurchus Branch*.

The daughters were--

1. Elizabeth, Elspet, or Isobel. On 19th January 1560, and again in November 1561, Elizabeth Grant, daughter of John Grant, was contracted to William Fraser of Strowie,³ but there is no evidence that the marriage was completed. On 23d July 1574, the Commissaries of Edinburgh assigned a term to Elizabeth Grant to prove the precept of divorcement pursued by her against John Leslie of Balquhain. The marriage-contract is said to be dated 15th February 1564,⁴ which is so far corroborated by the receipts for the dowry, still existing at Castle Grant. In 1576, in a document connected with the process of divorce, she is called Isobel. On 21st January 1580, William Cuming of Inverallochy granted to Isobel, daughter of John Grant of Freuchie, in liferent,

¹ Lease at Castle Grant.

² Register of Testaments, Commissariat of Edinburgh, vol. xxv.

³ Original Contract at Castle Grant.

⁴ Historical Record of the Family of Leslie, vol. iii. p. 73.

and to the heirs-male to be born betwixt himself and her, his lands of Inverallochy, in terms of a marriage-contract of the same date.¹ This Isobel is apparently identical with Elizabeth, as the latter is called by both these names.

2. Grissel. She was contracted in marriage, on 30th November 1565, to Patrick Grant, younger of Ballindalloch, and died before 1576.
3. Margaret, named after Grissel in a document dated 17th March 1558. She married (contract dated 20th February 1560) Alexander Gordon, son and apparent heir of George Gordon of Beldornie.²
4. Katharine, named after Margaret in a document dated in 1559. No further trace of her has been discovered.
5. Marjory, named after Margaret in a document quoted as of date 20th January 1561, but no further information regarding her has been ascertained.
6. Barbara, named after Marjory on 20th January 1561; contracted in marriage on 16th November 1568, to Robert Munro, younger of Fowlis.³ This arrangement may not have been completed, as on 18th April 1572, she was contracted to and married Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, and had issue.⁴
7. Helen, contracted in marriage on 17th November 1571 to Donald M'Angus M'Alister, younger of Glengarry.⁵ She is said to have been repudiated by him.

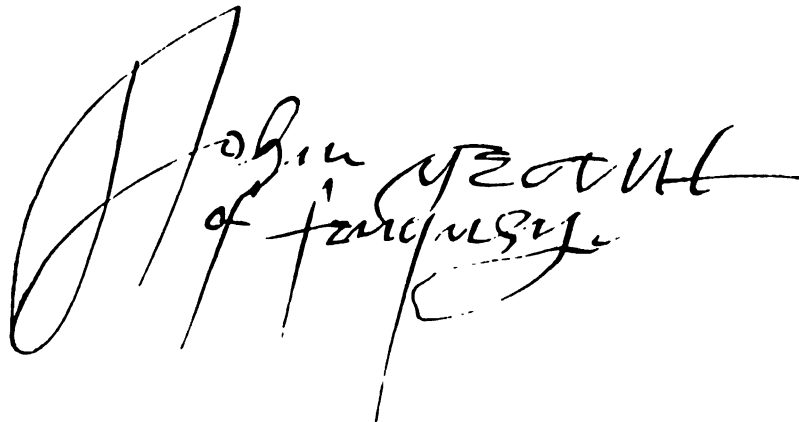
¹ Copy Charter at Castle Grant.

² Receipt for Dowry at Castle Grant.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 133.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 149, 151.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 143.



John Grant
of Freuchie

XI.—DUNCAN GRANT OF ABERNETHY, YOUNGER OF FREUCHIE.
MARGARET MACKINTOSH (OF MACKINTOSH), HIS WIFE.

1566-1582.

DUNCAN GRANT, younger of Freuchie, predeceased his father, and there is little to be gathered from the muniments as to his history. To improve the position of the young Laird in the country, and to enable him to assist his father in the management of his extensive territories, and also probably as a provision on his marriage, John Grant of Freuchie, in or about the year 1565, provided his son Duncan to the lands of Abernethy. As has been shown in the Introduction, the Lairds of Freuchie held these lands on lease, so early as the year 1516. This is shown by a series of discharges for £40 as the yearly rental of the lands granted by the Earls of Moray. In 1563 and 1564 the receipts for the rent of Abernethy are in name of John Grant, fourth of Freuchie; but the rent for Whitsunday and Martinmas 1566 is paid by Duncan Grant, younger of Freuchie, showing that he had entered into possession of the lands before that date. He occupied the lands of Abernethy during his life, and seems to have chiefly resided there.

Highland raids were still of frequent occurrence in the time of the young Laird, and he and his father obtained a royal commission to deal with offenders. In 1569 Duncan Grant was associated with his father in a commission of justiciary by King James the Sixth, directed against sundry persons who had made a raid on the lands of Rothiemurehus and Glencarnie. The raiders had also killed a servant of Duncan Grant, and the latter, with his father, succeeded in apprehending several of the marauders. The king's commission of justiciary was necessary to enable the captors to do justice, that is, to hang their prisoners.¹ The commission was dated at St. Andrews on 16th August 1569, and on the 2d September following Duncan Grant presented himself before the provost and bailies of Elgin,

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 138.

with the commission in his hand, and desired them to take his oath of fidelity for execution of it, which was duly done.

Duncan Grant obtained a fifteen years' lease from the Earl of Athole of the Mains of Clawalg [Clava], Daleroy, and Drumtaynwall, lying in the parish of Croy. The yearly rent is not stated, being rated according to use and wont.¹ The lands of Clava had formerly been rented by Duncan's father for the sum of 40s. per annum.²

The young Laird also maintained the connection of the family with the House of Huntly by transactions about lands. In 1577 Robert Douglas, Earl of Buchan, as donator of the ward of George, Earl of Huntly, gave to his "veil beloved freind" Duncan Grant, apparent of Freuchie, a lease of the Earl of Huntly's lands of Candillmoir and Culquheich, lying in the lordship of Strathavon and sheriffdom of Banff, with power of bailziery over the lands rented. The yearly rental to be paid during the lease or during the ward and non-entry of the Earl of Huntly was £17, 15s. 4d. in full of all dues from the lands.³

About this time, also, Duncan Grant acquired the lands of Ardneidlie, Corsairty, and Cowperhill, in the parish of Keith. They formed part of the possessions of the Earls of Huntly, but had been disposed to the family of Baillie, and subfeued by them to the Meldrums of Eden. William Baillie of Ardneidlie disposed the lands, on 3d April 1578, to Duncan Grant, who came to an arrangement with John Meldrum, then designed portioner of the Ord, on 28th August in the following year. The lands form the subject of a somewhat curious document, subscribed at Banff by Meldrum on the same day in which the arrangement was made for their alienation. In the document Meldrum says he had been informed, "be sinister report and information," that John Grant of Freuchie, and Duncan Grant his son and apparent heir, were "partieipant of the spoilzies of horse, nolt, and scheip" from the lands of Ardneidlie and others, about midsummer and September respectively, in the year 1578. Acting on this information, Meldrum had raised a summons against the Grants, which had been duly executed, but he now asserted that "because it is cleirly knawin to me sensyne that they ar

¹ Original Lease, dated 20th March 1575, at Castle Grant.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 129.

³ Original Lease, dated 22d June 1577, at Castle Grant.

innocent, and na way was participant of the said spoilzies," he therefore, not being willing to "trowbill thame be the law for the samyn," renounces all action against them in all time coming.¹ After obtaining the lands the young Laird issued a warning against Thomas Meldrum and others, pretended tenants and occupiers of the lands of Corsairty, Cowperhill, and Ardneidlie, with the mills and mill lands, charging them to remove from these lands at the next term of Whitsunday, that his own tenants might peaceably enter and enjoy them.² Ardneidlie and the other lands remained in the possession of the family of Grant until the year 1700, when they were disposed to Alexander Duff of Braco, ancestor of the Earls of Fife.

By resignation of John Grant, Laird of Corriemony, of the four merk lands of Corriemony and others into the hands of the Crown in his favour, Duncan Grant, apparent of Freuchie, added these lands also to the Grant estates. He received a charter of them under the Great Seal,³ and was duly infeft. The Laird of Corriemony, however, reserved his own life-rent in the lands, and another part of the arrangement secured that the Laird of Freuchie would bestow upon him the half town and lands of Cluny, in the lordship of Badenoch and shire of Inverness.⁴

Duncan Grant, younger of Freuchie, died at Abernethy some time between 19th February and 1st May 1582. His will, of which only a copy, much mutilated, is preserved, was made at Abernethy on the first of these dates, and an inventory of his moveable goods was made on the 1st of May after his decease. He seems indeed to have made two wills, or a short will and a long codicil, which is dated in March 1582. In his will he appointed his father, the Laird of Freuchie, and his wife, Margaret Mackintosh, his executors. In the codicil he bequeathed Ardneidlie to his second son, James, his silver work to his wife and children, with other legacies, the terms of which cannot be clearly ascertained, owing to the defaced condition of the document.⁵ His property was not large, the "frie gear" amounting to £2181, and the stock, corns, and inside plenishing are not extensive, as given in the inventory made after his death.⁶ His remains

¹ Original Document at Castle Grant.

² Original Warning, dated 24th February 1579, *ibid.*

³ Original Charter, dated 19th August 1580, *ibid.*

⁴ Original Paper at Castle Grant.

⁵ Memorandum or Copy Will, *ibid.*

⁶ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 155, 156.

were buried in the family vault at Duthil, as is shown by the memorial stone of his parents, represented on a previous page.

Duncan Grant, younger of Freuchie, married Margaret, daughter of William Mackintosh of that Ilk, or of Dunachton. She survived him, and married a second time, before 1586, Alexander Gordon, younger of Abergeldie. She seems to have married, as her third husband, before 1604, William Sutherland of Duffus. Of the marriage of Duncan Grant and Margaret Mackintosh there was issue five sons and two daughters.

1. John, who succeeded his father in Corriemony, and his grandfather as Laird of Freuchie.
 2. James, to whom his father bequeathed Ardneidlie. He was more commonly known as James Grant of Logie, and was ancestor of the Grants of Moyness, in the parish of Auldearn, Nairnshire.
 3. Patrick. He received from his brother John, then Laird of Freuchie, a charter of the lands of Strome, which was confirmed by King James the Sixth.¹ He afterwards received the lands of Easter Elchies, and was the ancestor of the Grants of Easter Elchies, of whom a pedigree is given in this work.
 4. Robert, who received from his brother, the Laird of Freuchie, in lease, the davach land of Clachaig, in the lordship of Abernethy.² He was ancestor of the Grants of Lurg, of whom a pedigree is given in this work.
 5. Duncan Grant of Dandaleith, in the parish of Rothes. He appears as a witness to several deeds between 1607 and 1616. He died before 24th February 1620, leaving two sons, John and James. His eldest son John succeeded him in Dandaleith.
1. Elizabeth, who married Alexander Cumming, younger of Altyre.³
 2. ---, a daughter, name unknown, mentioned in her father's testament, but no other trace of her has been discovered.

¹ Original Charters, dated 10th July 1589 and 13th July 1593, at Castle Grant.

² Lease dated 7th June 1620, in Register of Leases, *ibid.*

³ Original Contract of Marriage, dated 27th April 1594, *ibid.*

XII. JOHN GRANT, FIFTH OF FREUCHIE.
LADY LILIAS MURRAY (OF TULLIBARDINE), HIS WIFE.

1585-1622.

DURING the long tenure of the Grant estates by this Laird,—part of them having been held by him for forty years, and another portion of them for thirty-seven years,—he was often engaged in public transactions of importance. The friendship which had existed between the Earls of Huntly and the Lairds of Freuchie was not maintained between this Laird and the first Marquis of Huntly, whose rebellions, as will be seen, brought the Laird into frequent antagonism with the Gordons.

As already stated, John Grant was the grandson of his predecessor, the fourth Laird, and the son of Duncan Grant, younger of Freuchie, the subject of the preceding memoir. He appears to have been born about the year 1568. In a precept by King James the Sixth for infesting John Grant as son and heir of his father, Duncan Grant, apparent of Freuchie, in the lands of Corriemony, dated 27th February 1582, he is described as of lawful age.¹ But he could have been so only under a dispensation to enable his feudal title to be completed, as he was at that time, and up to September 1588 under the charge of curators.² Upon that precept infestment was given in the following May.³ John Grant, fifth of Freuchie, succeeded to his grandfather on the death of the latter on 2d June 1585. On the 14th of the same month the ward and non-entry of the young Laird of Freuchie were bestowed by King James the Sixth upon his favourite, James Stewart, Earl of Arran, then Chancellor. Six weeks later, on 30th July, King James was compelled, in obedience to the demands of the English ambassador, to commit the Earl to ward in St. Andrews for his alleged share in the death, really accidental, of an English nobleman, Lord Russell, at a warden meeting on the Borders; and though the prisoner was liberated on the

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 156.

² *Ibid.* pp. 158, 169.

³ Instrument, dated 17th May 1583, at Castle Grant.

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6th August, he never regained his influence in Scotland. He was also deprived of his title of Earl of Arran, as three days after his release the king ratified the gift which he had made of the ward of Freuchie, and regranted the same to Stewart, not as Earl of Arran, but "to our traist cousing, James, Lord Stewart, lait chancellor of our realme." The gift comprised the ward, non-entries, and other feudal casualties of all lands belonging to the deceased John Grant of Freuchie or the late Duncan Grant his son.¹ A year later Lord Stewart assigned, on payment of a sum of money, his whole interest in these subjects to Patrick Grant of Rothiemurchus, one of the young Laird's curators.²

John Grant, fifth Laird of Freuchie, was, in 1586, infest in the Crown lands of Urquhart in terms of a royal precept.³ He was also in the following year infest in the lands of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch as heir of his great-grandfather, James Grant, the third of Freuchie; but he was not retoured heir to his grandfather in the lands of Freuchie until 7th October 1589. The retour embraced the barony of Freuchie, the lands of Kessoryne, Strome, and Strome Castle, with the church lands of Laggan and others in Strathspey.⁴ The young Laird also, in 1586, completed his title to the lands of Tullochgorm, Clurie, and others in Badenoch, held of the Earl of Huntly,⁵ and on the 31st of July in that year he received from the Earl a formal bond of maintenance similar to that granted to his grandfather and great-grandfather in 1546, save that no mention is made of any bailiary or other fixed service on the part of the Laird of Freuchie.⁶ The latter, however, gave a bond of manrent to the Earl in the usual form.⁷ It bears date in 1586, the month and day being left blank, but as both bonds are dated at Elgin, they may have been granted on the same day.

The Laird of Freuchie was also infest in the lands of the two Auchnarrows, Downan, and Port, in terms of a precept in a charter by James Grant of Auchernack, the then proprietor of these lands. As previously narrated, these lands in 1473 were the property of Marjory Lude, "Lady of half the barony of Freuchie," who sold them to her son Patrick Grant,

¹ Original Letters of Gift at Castle Grant.

² Original Assignation, dated 2d September 1586, *ibid.*

³ Sasine, dated 19th May 1586, *ibid.*

⁴ Extract Retour at Castle Grant.

⁵ Instrument, dated 20th April 1586, *ibid.*

⁶ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 97, 165.

⁷ Miscellany of Spalding Club, vol. iv. p. 236.

called also Patrick Reoch. He died in 1513, and the lands were in non-entry for the long term of sixty-seven years, up to 1580, when they were appraised to James Grant of Auchernack. In 1585 they were finally confirmed in favour of the latter by a Crown Charter from King James the Sixth.¹ Auchernack sold them to John Grant of Freuchie in 1589, and thus the two halves of the original barony of Freuchie became united in the possession of the Laird of Freuchie.

The young Laird of Freuchie was early drawn into the current of public events. Shortly after his succession to his grandfather, and before he reached his majority, the struggle began between the Earls of Sutherland and Caithness, which kept the Northern Highlands in a state of commotion, and lasted for five years from 1587 to 1591.² One of those who took part with the Earl of Sutherland was the Laird of Mackintosh, who was probably enabled to do so the more readily by having entered into an important contract with the young Laird of Freuchie, at Inverness, on 14th June 1586. In this contract, the question as to the ownership of Rothiemurchus, which had been the source of dispeace and bloodshed betwixt the Mackintoshes and Grants, was finally settled in terms of a decret-arbitral obtained thereupon, by the Laird of Mackintosh resigning all rights he had or might have to the lands and barony of Rothiemurchus. Mackintosh also bound himself to preserve and guard the lands of Urquhart, Glenmoriston, and all others belonging to the Grants, against the inroads of the Clan Cameron, Clan Ranald, or others. In return for these benefits, the Laird of Freuchie and his curators obliged themselves to infest the Laird of Mackintosh in certain lands in Lochalsh and Kessoryne, and also in Strone Castle, with the office of Constable, all as formerly held by Cameron of Lochiel, but which had come into the hands of James Grant, third Laird of Freuchie, in the manner narrated in his memoir. The Laird of Freuchie also promised to uphold the Laird of Mackintosh in peaceable possession of Lochaber against the Clan Cameron and all others, except the King and the Earl of Huntly.³

¹ Original Charter at Castle Grant.

² Sir Robert Gordon's History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 192.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 158.

The transfer of the lands of Lochalsh, Strome Castle, and others, to Mackintosh, apparently partook of the nature of a sale, as the first clause of the contract is an acknowledgment by the Laird of Freuchie for the payment of 20,000 merks. Provision is afterwards made for the refunding of that sum should the young Laird, on reaching majority, refuse to grant a formal charter of the lands. Probably, however, the 20,000 merks were never wholly paid, or for some other reason John Grant of Freuchie resumed the lands, as, on 10th July 1589, he bestowed them on his brother, Patrick Grant, the gift being afterwards confirmed by a Crown charter.¹ By a minute of agreement four years later, Mackintosh renounced all writs made to him of Kessoryne, etc., and the Laird of Freuchie paid to Mackintosh 5000 merks.²

This alliance between Grant and Mackintosh had in the end important consequences. It is somewhat difficult to follow the true sequence of events, but on 27th March 1588, their bond of mutual assistance against the Clan Cameron was supplemented by a Royal Commission, directed to the Earl of Huntly, Lachlan Mackintosh, and John Grant of Freuchie. They were empowered to proceed against Allan McConil Dhu, the captain of Clan Cameron, who, with a large following, had during various months of the year 1584 made a descent upon Lochaber, and committed depredations there.³ This raid was no doubt the cause of the mutual bond betwixt the Lairds of Freuchie and Mackintosh.

Notwithstanding that the Earl of Huntly, and the Lairds of Mackintosh and Freuchie, were thus conjoined against the leader of Clan Cameron, the current of public and political events soon forced them asunder, and a year or two later found the lesser barons in battle array against the more powerful Earl. Perhaps, however, the two Lairds made some use of their commission in the meantime, though no record remains of the fact. But the next document among the Grant muniments relating to the Clan Cameron is of a friendly nature. It is a bond betwixt the Laird of Freuchie and Allan Cameron of Lochiel, dated at Grant's residence of Ballachastell, 30th June 1589, in which they mutually oblige themselves to

¹ Original Crown Charter, dated 13th July 1593, at Castle Grant.

² Minute of Agreement dated 25th January 1593-4, vol. iii. of this work, p. 176, note. ³ *Ibid.* p. 166.

assist and maintain each other, especially against the Macdonalds of Glencoe,¹ but also against all other persons save the King and the Earl of Huntly. Such bonds as this were frequent, but their effect was wholly temporary, and the obligations were too often disclaimed the moment they conflicted with the self-interest of the granters. So it apparently was in this case, as a year later the Laird of Freuchie and Cameron of Lochiel were ranged in opposite factions, the one espousing the cause of the Earl of Huntly, and the other that of the Earl of Murray.

The proceedings of the Earl of Huntly at this period have been recorded elsewhere, but a brief reference to them here is necessary, in order to understand the part taken by the Laird of Freuchie. The Earl was a Roman Catholic, and was for some time busily engaged in intrigues with Spain, along with the Earl of Errol and other Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen in Scotland. The discovery of Huntly's Spanish correspondence led to a temporary imprisonment (from February 27th to March 6th, 1589) in Edinburgh Castle, and a few days after his release he and the Earl of Errol proceeded to the north, where, with the Earl of Crawford, they appeared in arms at the head of 3000 men about the beginning of April.²

When it became known that the king had mustered an army, though inferior in numbers, and was marching in person at the head of it, Huntly's force rapidly dwindled away, and the rebellion collapsed, though Huntly and the other leaders still remained at large. In his progress northward, the king received the submissions of many of the barons who had followed Huntly, and reached Aberdeen on the 20th April 1589. Between the 20th and the 30th of April, Slains Castle, the seat of the Earl of Errol, was taken, and the Earl of Huntly made prisoner. On the latter date, before the king's departure from Aberdeen, the Privy Council issued an order that bonds should be drawn up and subscribed by faithful subjects in defence of the true religion and of the king's government against the Roman Catholic conspiracy, and the Earls of Huntly and Errol in particular. In terms of this ordinance a bond was drawn up and subscribed by the king in person, John, Master of Forbes,

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 170.

² Register of the Privy Council, vol. iv. pp. 360-375.

George [Abernethy], seventh Lord Saltoun, Ogilvie of Findlater, and other northern barons.¹

Among those who signed this bond were John Grant of Freuchie and his neighbour, Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton. In regard to them and some others a recent Scottish historian, writing of Huntly's rebellion, the king's exploits, and the capture of Slains Castle, makes the following statement. "The Lairds of Frendraught, Grant, and Mackintosh, the powerful clans of the Drummonds and the Forbeses, with many others, who had been seduced from their allegiance by the Catholic faction, submitted themselves."² This assertion is somewhat too sweeping, and is not borne out by evidence. The Laird of Frendraught and the Drummonds, indeed, seem to have been implicated in the rebellion, as the former, though he signed the bond, was bound over in a large penalty, and the latter refused to submit. But the Lairds of Freuchie and Mackintosh appear to have signed the bond along with the king without any restrictions or security for their good behaviour. Moreover, the relations between these two Lairds and the Earl of Huntly were the reverse of friendly, issuing a few months later in open rupture.

The Laird of Freuchie was a member of the Protestant party, and therefore opposed in religious matters to the Earl of Huntly. This is proved from the minutes of a so called Convention of Estates (apparently *pro re nata*), held on 27th July 1588.³ The meeting was called by the king on receipt of news as to the sailing of the Spanish Armada, which indeed, ere the tidings reached Scotland, had already arrived in the English Channel and been attacked by the English fleet. The chief act of the Convention was to appoint Commissioners with justiciary powers, and very extensive authority, to apprehend and try Jesuits, rebels, and similar offenders. These Commissioners were to use their "exact diligence," under the penalty of £1000 each for negligence. Among those specially named to act for the landward parts of Scotland was John Grant of Freuchie, as one of three appointed for Elgin and Forres. The Laird of Freuchie's position as a Commissioner would naturally lead

¹ Register of the Privy Council, vol. iv. pp. 375-377.

² Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 147.

³ Register of Privy Council, vol. iv. pp. 298-302.

him to take part with the royal forces against the Roman Catholic rebels, and that he did so may be surmised from the fact that he was re-appointed to the same office by a later Act, of date 6th March 1590.¹

Shortly afterwards, the Laird was also ordered to find surety, within fifteen days after being charged to do so, that he would assist and concur with Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy in executing the latter's commission against the unfortunate Clan Gregor, and that he would raise his whole force in pursuit of them, should they come within his bounds, under pain of being held as art and part with them, and answerable for their spulzies.² Previous to this date, the Laird of Freuchie had become specially obnoxious to the Government on account of his alleged " present misreule," with which an act of the Privy Council declares the king had resolved to take order,³ and his territory had been noted as one of those in which " broken men " were harboured. In accordance with the Acts of Council on the subject, he was, on 16th December 1590, required to find security to the amount of £10,000 that he would keep good rule in his district, for which sum James, Earl of Murray, became cautioner.⁴

This charge of " misreule " partly arose out of a quarrel, trivial in its origin, but which was peculiarly tragic in its consequences. Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch, a kinsman of the Laird's, died in September 1586, leaving a widow, named Margaret Gordon. John Grant, tutor of Ballindalloch, in administering the estate, gave some offence to the widow in money matters. She called in the assistance of her friends, the Gordons, to maintain her rights, and, by their advice, married as her third husband John Gordon, brother of Sir Thomas Gordon of Cluny. Upon this, according to the historian of the House of Sutherland, the tutor of Ballindalloch, " grudging that any of the surname of Gordoun should duell amongst them," at the instigation of " the Laird of Grant," quarrelled with John Gordon and killed one of his servants. In revenge, John Gordon pressed matters so far that the tutor and his adherents were denounced rebels, and the Earl of Huntly was stirred up to pursue them at law, he being Sheriff of the shire. The Earl therefore obtained a commission, in virtue of which he besieged

¹ Register of Privy Council, vol. iv. pp. 463-465.

² *Ibid.* pp. 510, 528.

³ *Ibid.* p. 548.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 782, 803, 813.

the house of Ballindalloch and took it by force, on the 2d day of November 1590, the tutor, however, making his escape.¹

The Laird of Freuchie was highly incensed at the violent proceedings of the Earl of Huntly, as the death of insignificant clansmen was commonly atoned for by an assythemment or compensation in cattle or money, or if any reprisal were made in such cases, it was usually confined to the immediate friends of the slayer or the slain. There were, however, other causes of dissension at work, for which this affair of Ballindalloch was at first only a cover. If the Laird of Freuchie really instigated Ballindalloch, he was merely an instrument, the prime mover of the disturbance being no less a personage than John Maitland, Lord Thirlstane, Chancellor of Scotland. This is boldly affirmed by Sir Robert Gordon, writing not long after the event, who states that Sir John Campbell of Calder was employed by the Chancellor, "from whom he had received instructions to ingender differences and warrs between Huntley and Morray," which charge, Sir Robert adds, he accomplished "verie learnedlie" by means of the Laird of Grant.

If this be so, an insignificant brawl was, by a political intrigue, made the cause of much turmoil. The immediate effect was, as stated, the attack by the Earl of Huntly on the house of Ballindalloch, which was resented by the Grants. Their chief summoned his friends, who assembled at Ballachastell, and there, on 5th November 1590, four days after the siege of Ballindalloch, they entered into a mutual bond for offence and defence. This bond was subscribed by the Earls of Athole and Moray, Simon Lord Lovat, the Laird of Freuchie, John Campbell of Calder (the moving spirit of the affair in the north), Thomas Stewart of Grandtully, Patrick Grant of Rothiemurchus, Sutherland of Duffus, and Archibald Grant of Ballintomb.² The purpose of the leaguers, though not plainly stated, was evidently one of hostility against the Earl of Huntly, for, whereas in former documents of a similar nature executed by the Lairds of Freuchie, the Earl of Huntly's jurisdiction is specially excepted, no such clause occurs in the present contract. The parties bind themselves that in case it shall happen any of them, "as weil the meanest as the greatest," to be pursued

¹ History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 215.

² Copy Bond in Monymusk Charter-chest, printed in Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 93.

or invaded in their "persones, guides, or geir, be any persone or persones quhatsumewer," they shall join in opposing such invasion to the utmost of their power, against all, the King only being excepted.

The next document in which the Laird of Freuchie figures is even more unmistakeable in its terms. Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton had not joined the party at Ballachastell on the 5th November, but, a week later, he and the Laird of Freuchie entered into a solemn compact at Forres.¹ Certain clauses of this bond refer to a mutual transfer of lands betwixt the parties, but the article of most importance is a stipulation that the Laird and Mackintosh shall assist each other against "ony erle within this realme," who should "wrangouslie" invade or trouble them. Each party is bound in the strictest manner to assist the other against "ony sic erles" upon forty-eight hours' warning, if necessary. Here there can be no doubt as to the purpose of the coalition, which must have been premeditated for some time, as Sir Robert Gordon asserts that Huntly had summoned the Grants and Mackintoshes as his vassals to appear before him, but that they, being supported by the Earls of Athole and Moray, refused to appear. Referring to this bond between Grant and Mackintosh, and also to subsequent transactions betwixt them, a recent writer on the history of the Clan Chattan describes the influence exercised by the Laird of Freuchie on the fortunes of the Lairds of Mackintosh as a "baleful influence," as it resulted in a four years' quarrel with Huntly, and other embarrassments.² But whatever misfortunes to the chiefs of Mackintosh arose out of their connection with the Grants, the feud against Huntly cannot be laid wholly to the charge of the Laird of Freuchie. The Clan Chattan themselves had already had a dispute with the Earl in reference to his attempt to build or restore the castle of Ruthven in Badenoch, a project which the Mackintoshes stoutly opposed as prejudicial to their interests, and they had hindered the work so far as they could by refusing the feudal service required of them.³

This is the testimony of a contemporary, and it can scarcely be

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 171.

² The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, by A. M. Shaw, p. 312.

³ History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 214.

doubted that jealousy of the growing power of the Gordons was a reason quite sufficient for the chief of Mackintosh joining heartily, and of his own accord, in a coalition against the Earl, without being led into it by the Laird of Freuchie. But, as already stated, other and more powerful agencies were at work. Sir John Campbell of Calder has been described as the chief instigator of the coalition in the north, and as he was a witness to the bond between Grant and Mackintosh, the "baleful influence," if there was any such, may fairly be ascribed to him and not to the Laird of Freuchie, who was only a subordinate agent.

The bond betwixt the Lairds of Freuchie and Mackintosh was signed at Forres. At the same place, also, were met the Earls of Athole and Murray, who, it is said, were there in concert with the Grants, Mackintosh, and the Knight of Calder, to arrange their plans. Calder, Mackintosh, and Grant urged the Earls "to tak their tyme, and now or never afterward, to resist the house of Huntly, and to mak themselves strong in the north, haveing at this tyme so great a partie, and being so well freinded at Court."¹ The Dunbars, allies of the Earl of Murray, advised the contrary, and alleged the difficulty of opposing Huntly. While thus disputing, the advice given by the Dunbars received a practical application by the sudden approach of the Earl of Huntly himself at the head of an armed force. This unexpected addition to the convention at Forres so dismayed those who had just been asserting the strength of their party and friendship at Court, that one and all made speedy escape to Darnaway Castle. Thither they were followed by Huntly, on whose approach the Earl of Athole and the Lairds of Calder, Freuchie, Mackintosh, and Dunbar again fled, while the Earl of Murray remained behind to defend his house. In a preliminary skirmish Huntly lost one of his principal followers, and finding that most of his opponents had escaped and that the castle of Darnaway was well furnished to resist a siege, he disbanded his forces on 24th November 1590.²

Such is the account of Sir Robert Gordon, but that given by the Earl of Huntly himself in a "supplication" made by him to the Privy Council a month or two after the events took place, states the details in a somewhat different way, for though the affair ended at the time at the castle

¹ *History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 215.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 215, 216.

from the execution of Huntly's commission.¹ The plea for exemption put forward by the Laird of Freuchie and his allies is founded first on the illegality of private commissions of justiciary, and secondly on a series of charges of manslaughter against the Gordons, for which reasons, and because of the unreconciled feud betwixt the parties, they argued that the commission ought to be suspended, which was done, the Earl of Huntly making no appearance in reply.

The next step in the proceedings was a complaint, made on 26th May 1591, by the Laird of Freuchie on his own behalf against the Earl of Huntly in regard to the letters of treason above referred to. He alleges they had been wrongfully executed, as he had found surety for his good rule to the extent of £10,000. He states that Sir John Campbell of Calder was his security, and another document shows that the Earl of Murray was also cautioner for him to the same amount.² The Laird therefore submits that the letters of treason should be suspended, which was done.³ Another complaint preferred by the Laird of Freuchie on 30th June, openly charged the Earl of Huntly with "maist awfullie" pursuing the Laird and his tenants, and committing depredations. The Laird repeated his statements about having found caution, and alleged that within these few days the Earl had obtained a commission against him, and had warned the country to pass against him. The Laird further asserted that the narrative of the Earl's commission was false, and petitioned that this commission should also be suspended, which was done.⁴

The next shot in this legal duel was fired by the Earl of Huntly, who, on 4th August 1591, replied to all the Laird of Grant's statements, and procured from the Lords of Council an order for executing letters of indemnity against him notwithstanding the suspension.⁵ These letters required that the Earl and his servants should be unmolested by the Laird. This last measure of the Council seems to have settled matters so far that overtures were made for reconciliation between the parties. It is not clear from which side the advances came, but a document signed on behalf of the Earl of

¹ Decree, dated 20th January 1591, vol. iii. of this work, pp. 176-179.

² *Ibid.* p. 179.

³ Register of the Privy Council, vol. iv, pp. 626, 627.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 646.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 663.

Huntly and the Gordons, and dated at Kinminitie on 22d October 1591, declares that John Grant of Freuchie and Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton shall be accepted and received again to the favour of the Earl as formerly, "swa lang as thai keip thair dewtie and faythfull service to his lordship and his houss, but (without) defection." This document is signed by Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun and others, for the Earl of Huntly.¹

This arrangement between the Laird of Freuchie and the Earl of Huntly left the latter free to turn his attention towards his chief enemy the Earl of Murray, the story of whose tragical death at Donibristle, on 7th February 1592, has been often told. The popular indignation at the murder was very great, and in consequence the Earl of Huntly was warded in the castle of Blackness. His imprisonment, however, only lasted a few days, and he again returned to the north, where the Grants and Mackintoshes, especially the latter, were burning to avenge the death of the "Bonnie Earl," as he was popularly called. The Clan Chattan invaded Badenoch, and were opposed by the Clan Cameron, who were allies of Huntly, while the Clan Ranald were deputed by Huntly to ravage Strathspey,² and, according to Sir Robert Gordon, eighteen Grants were slain (another account says twenty-two), the Laird of Ballindalloch wounded, and his lands wasted. The Earl of Athole also, a kinsman of the murdered Earl of Murray, advanced towards Darnaway with an armed force. These warlike preparations and tribal contests, which, as a recent historian truly says, "spread like the moor-burning of their own savage districts from glen to glen and mountain to mountain, till half the land seemed in a blaze,"³ were checked for a time by the despatch northward of William, Earl of Angus, with powers as the King's Lieutenant in the north. His commission states that the lawless broken Highlandmen of the Clan Chattan, Clan Cameron, Clan Ranald, and others depending on the Earls of Huntly and Athole, "hes sa wrakit and schakin lowis sindre partis of the north euntrie," that murders, houseburning, spuulzies, etc., go on "with far greitair rigour nor it war with forreyne enemyis."⁴

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 130.

² History of the Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 217, 218.

³ Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 181.

⁴ Original Commission, dated 9th November 1592, in Douglas Charter-chest.

What the Grants, Frasers, and Mackintoshes doubtless conceived to be a proper warrant for their share of the slaughters committed is found in a commission of justiciary, dated 6th June 1592, and directed to the Lord Fraser of Lovat, Lachlan Mackintosh, the Laird of Freuchie, and three other Grants, the Lairds of Ballindalloch, Rothiemurchus, and Glenmoriston, authorising them to proceed with fire and sword against various parties in Lochaber accused of murder, etc.¹ At this juncture the Laird of Freuchie entered into a mutual bond of maurent and assistance with a member of the proscribed Clan Gregor.² This bond curiously enough excepts the Earl of Huntly from the effects of the alliance; but this was a mere form, as the Clan Cameron and Clan Ranald, against whom it was directed, were in his service. Moreover, the Clan Gregor had been much attached to the deceased Earl of Murray.

Armed with these letters of fire and sword, and having the M'Gregors as allies, the Laird of Freuchie and his party probably contributed their quota in raising this disturbance in the north, but the Earl of Angus's commission was only directed against the Clan Chattan, Clan Cameron, and Clan Ranald. Angus carried north with him full instructions how to proceed against the contending parties, and also several missive letters, including one to the Laird of Freuchie, of date 10th November 1592.³ This missive attributes all the disturbances in the north to the Earls of Huntly and Athole, and, treating the Laird as a loyal subject, desires him to aid the Earl of Angus with all his power to put down disorder. The Earl of Angus advanced to the north certainly as far as Monymusk, and judging from the tenor of King James the Sixth's letters to him,⁴ he so far succeeded in settling affairs that in the beginning of December mutual assurances passed betwixt the Earls of Athole and Huntly, and Mackintosh of Dumachton.⁵

Shortly after this the Earls of Angus, Huntly, and Errol, fell into disgrace because of their adherence to the Spanish conspiracy, and the king himself led an army against the traitors. They were forced to fly, and

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 180-183.

² Bond, dated 20th June 1592, *ibid.* p. 183.

³ Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 3, 4.

⁴ Original Letters, dated 28th and 30th November 1592, in Douglas Charter-chest.

⁵ Original Obligations, dated 4th and 8th December 1592, *ibid.*

their estates were confiscated, but the measures taken against them were not at that time enforced. Caution was exacted for good behaviour, as appears from a royal letter, dated 13th March 1592-3, forbidding the Laird of Freuchie to be outlawed for acting as one of the cautioners to the Earl of Huntly,¹ and in May following the king remitted to the Laird the sum of 5000 merks, his share of the whole amount of the security given for the Earl of Huntly.² The temporising character of King James the Sixth's policy, notwithstanding the pressure brought to bear on him by Queen Elizabeth and the Scottish clergy, enabled the Catholic Earls to make considerable advance in influence and strength, but on the 30th of May 1594 the estates of the three Earls, Angus, Huntly, and Errol, were forfeited, and themselves proclaimed traitors. Thereupon Huntly and Errol drew together in arms, and gathered a considerable band of followers, one of their chief adherents being Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, the most restless and turbulent spirit of his time. A systematic plan of rebellion was concerted with Bothwell, but it was never executed, owing to the course of events in the north.

King James the Sixth had openly declared his intention of marching in person against the Catholic Earls, but a commission was also given to Archibald, the seventh Earl of Argyll, the father of the Marquis, to take the field against Huntly. This office was readily accepted by Argyll, who, though a young man, was eager to revenge the death of his relative the Earl of Murray, and great preparations were made for the expedition. Argyll began his march with a considerable army. Men gathered to his standard from all quarters under various leaders, and as it reached the neighbourhood of Badenoch and Strathspey it was joined by the Laird of Mackintosh and the Laird of Freuchie. Argyll's army is said to have ultimately increased to the number of 12,000 men, though this may be an exaggeration. His first military operation was to besiege the Castle of Ruthven in Badenoch, but it was so stoutly defended for the Earl of Huntly by the Macphersons that the attempt to reduce it was abandoned. Drummin Castle, on the Avon, was reached on 2d October 1594,³ after

¹ Vol. ii. of this work, p. 4.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 184.

³ History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 226.

which the march was directed eastward toward Strathbogie, but near Glenlivet the large and somewhat motley army of Argyll was met by a small but well-trained force of about 2000 men under the leadership of Huntly.

The Earl of Argyll held a council of war, at which his most experienced officers advised delay, but this advice was overruled, and he resolved to fight. He disposed part of his forces on the declivity of a hill between Glenlivet and Glenrinnies, the right wing consisting of the Macleans and Mackintoshes, the left wing of the Grants, Macneils, and Macgregors, the centre being composed of Campbells. This vanguard, it is said, numbered 4000 men, and Argyll commanded the rest of the army in the rear. The smaller body commanded by Huntly was composed chiefly of horsemen, well mounted and armed, and the Earl had also with him six pieces of artillery. These were dragged forward unperceived by Argyll's troops, and the battle may be said to have begun with a shot from one of the cannon, which killed Campbell of Lochnell, a chief officer among the Highlanders, who were thrown into great confusion by the discharge.¹ Taking advantage of this, Huntly encouraged his men to the attack, and the result of the battle was that after an obstinate contest Argyll was obliged to retreat, and Huntly and Errol remained masters of the field.

It does not appear whether the Laird of Freuchie was present at this engagement or not. His clan, or at least a portion of his men, formed part of the left wing of Argyll's army, and are said to have been commanded by John Grant of Gartenbeg. The defeat sustained by Argyll's party has been ascribed to this John Grant, who, it is alleged, had entered with Campbell of Lochnell, who had a private quarrel with his chief, into a compact with Huntly that as soon as the battle began the detachments commanded by them should give way. On the death of Campbell his men fled, and John Grant of Gartenbeg, it is asserted, proved a source of weakness in the wing where he was stationed. Be this as it may, the Catholic Earls certainly gained the advantage, though their triumph was of short duration, as the king in person took the field against them, demolished their castles, and in the end forced Huntly and Errol to take refuge abroad.

¹ History of the Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 227, 228; Shaw's Moray, pp. 267, 268.

The historical events above narrated, from the siege of Ballindalloch in 1590 to the battle of Glenrinnnes in 1594, including the tragical end of the Earl of Murray, have been recounted briefly and only where bearing on the history of the Laird of Freuchie, who, though he does not figure very prominently on the stage of passing events, was yet, as before stated, the instrument, no doubt unconsciously, by which the leaders in a widespread conspiracy strove to gain at least one of their aims. It appears from documents afterwards discovered, that Maitland the Chancellor, the Earl of Huntly, with Campbell of Glenorchy, Campbell of Lochnell, and others, were all banded together to achieve the murder of the Earl of Murray, the Earl of Argyll, Colin Campbell of Lundy, his brother, and Sir John Campbell of Calder, though the last named was at first made a tool to stir up matters in the north. The object of this conspiracy was to secure the earldom of Argyll for Campbell of Lochnell, who promised to reward his associates suitably. The plot succeeded so far that the Earl of Murray and Campbell of Calder were slain, but the death of Lochnell, and the confession of another conspirator, revealed the details of the plot to Argyll, who flew to arms and waged a war of extermination against Huntly, until the king interfered and shut up the chief contending parties in separate strongholds.¹ Such was the eventful history in which the Laird of Freuchie played a part for the time, and it was wound up by the solemn farce of the reconciliation of the three Catholic Earls to the Kirk in June 1597, and their restoration to their titles and estates. Two years later, on 17th April 1599, the Earl of Huntly was created a Marquis, at which mark of the royal favour the Clan Chattan, the Grants, the Forbeses, and other neighbouring clans submitted themselves to his jurisdiction.

After the battle of Glenrinnnes the Laird of Freuchie seems to have remained at home, strengthening his friendly relations with his own clansmen and with neighbouring chiefs. By an Act of Parliament in 1587, stringent regulations had been made for the rule of the Borders and Highlands, and landlords and chiefs of clans were rendered responsible for their tenants and dependants, and also for pursuing criminals and bringing them to justice. This was followed by a "General Band" of

¹ Gregory's *Highlands and Isles*, pp. 245-253; Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. pp. 282-285.

landlords and others, obliging themselves to fulfil the provisions of the Act.¹ Whether the Laird of Freuchie concurred in this general bond or not is not known. As formerly stated, in 1590 he was put under heavy caution for "misreule," but after the battle of Glenrinnnes he directed his attention to the disorderly state of his neighbourhood, and took stronger measures to insure the preservation of peace within his bounds. This is evidenced by the fact that on 17th March 1595, Patrick Grant of Rothiemurchus, Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch, John Grant of Glenmoriston, and several other prominent members of the Clan Grant met at the kirk of Cromdale and joined in a bond to their chief, the Laird of Freuchie, that they, their servants, tenants, and others, should observe the king's peace, quietness, and good rule in the country. To prove their sincerity they became bound, "in cais thai satisfie nocht the actis and statutis of his Hienes parliament and general band," to pay to the Laird various sums of money, Grant of Ballindalloch and Grant of Rothiemurchus being bound to pay each 6000 merks, and the others proportionate sums. The Laird promised his assistance to his clansmen in keeping good order, they granting this bond because he was bound as surety for them to the Government.²

Besides this agreement with his own clan, the Laird sought and obtained similar bonds from his neighbours. On 3d June 1596, at Aberdeen, Sir Thomas Gordon of Cluny came under a special obligation to deliver up to the "Lard of Grant" two brothers of the name of MacInnes, for whom Sir Thomas was responsible, should they trouble or molest the Laird or his servants.³ He also entered into a mutual bond of manrent with Donald M'Angus Macdonald of Glengarry in which, after the usual pledges to keep the peace towards each other, and give mutual assistance in case of invasion, the question of the ownership of the lands of Kessoryne, Strone, and others is discussed.⁴ These lands, as narrated in a former memoir, had been appraised to James Grant of Freuchie in 1548, in compensation for the raid by Lochiel and Glengarry on the lands of Urquhart, etc., but they had proved a

¹ Register of Privy Council, vol. iv. pp. 787-789.

² Vol. iii. of this work, p. 185.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 186.

⁴ Bond dated 28th April 1597, *ibid.* pp. 189-192.

source of considerable trouble to him and his heirs. In 1582, the castle of Strome had been a subject of debate before the Privy Council betwixt Donald of Glengarry and the Mackenzies of Kintail, and was then adjudged to be handed over to the Laird of Freuchie. In this agreement of 1597 both Grant and Macdonald lay claim to the lands, but it was arranged that the ownership should be decided by arbitration, Macdonald binding himself, if the Laird of Freuchie's title were preferred, to pay three merks of rent for every merk land in the territory. The matter was finally disposed of by John Grant of Freuchie, on 19th April 1600, conveying the disputed lands to Macdonald of Glengarry in feu-farm, and they solemnly renewed their alliance.¹ One obvious reason why Macdonald of Glengarry so anxiously desired to regain the castle of Strome, was that it afforded not only a basis of operations against the Mackenzies of Kintail, with whom he was at feud, but also a place of refuge for his own clansmen. Macdonald, however, did not possess the castle long after he finally obtained it from the Laird of Freuchie. Mackenzie of Kintail in the year 1602 besieged the castle, which soon surrendered, and he caused it to be demolished.²

In connection with these transactions of the Laird with Glengarry, and the feuds betwixt the Macdonalds and the Mackenzies, a story is told very characteristic of the familiar relations betwixt a Highland chief and his clansmen, but in this case the familiarity tended to spoil a bargain for the Laird of Freuchie. The constant retaliations and bloodshed taking place between the Macdonalds of Glengarry and the Mackenzies, seem to have prompted Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail to seek some course by which he might obtain a legal hold over his adversaries. He, therefore, attended by a body of his kinsmen, paid a visit to Ballachastell, to his uncle the Laird,³ with a view to purchase the claim of the latter against Glengarry, in virtue of the apprising already referred to. The Laird was at first unwilling to sell, but at last fixed the price of his claim at 30,000 merks. Mackenzie's kinsmen meanwhile were lodged in a great kiln in the neighbourhood, and were making merry with friends, some Grants among

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 196.

² Gregory's Highlands and Isles, p. 302.

³ John Grant, fifth of Freuchie, in whose time

this incident is said to have happened, was *cousin* and not "uncle" to Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail.

the number, who were bearing them company, and thither their chief sent to inform them of his negotiations, and to ask if he should give the sum asked for Grant's claim against Glengarry. The messenger, after telling his tale, was ordered to return and tell Grant and Mackenzie that had they (Mackenzie's kinsmen) not hoped that the uncle would give that paper as a gift to his nephew after all his trouble, the latter would not have been allowed to cross the ferry of Ardersier. They would like to know where he could find such a large sum, unless he harried them and his other friends, who had already suffered sufficiently. Then, taking their arms, they bade the messenger tell Mackenzie to leave the paper where it was, but if he desired to have it, they would sooner fight for it than give a sum, the raising of which would be more difficult than dislodging Glengarry by force. The Mackenzies afterwards left the kiln and sent one of their own number for their chief, who, on his arrival, was soundly rated for entertaining such an extravagant proposal, and requested to leave the place at once. This Mackenzie agreed to do, and informed the Laird of Freuchie that his friends would not hear of his giving so large a sum, and that he would rather dispense with the claim against Glengarry altogether than lose the goodwill of his clansmen. Meanwhile, one of Freuchie's retainers, who had been in the kiln, related to his chief what had been said by the Mackenzies when the price was named to them, which so impressed the Laird and his friends, that Mackenzie, who was starting homewards, was prevailed upon to remain another night. He did so, and before morning obtained the desired "paper" for 10,000 merks, one-third of the sum originally asked.¹

This story is so far corroborated by the fact that, about the time the incident is said to have happened, the young chief of Kintail granted a receipt to the Laird of Freuchie for the charter of comprising, granted on 4th May 1548 to James Grant of Freuchie, which, with relative papers, was now handed over to Mackenzie, in terms of a disposition by the Laird to him of lands in Kessoryne, Lochalsh, Lochcarron, etc.² This receipt, however, is dated at Inverness, and not at Ballachastell, and is executed

¹ History of the Mackenzies, 1879, pp. 163, 164.

² Original Discharge, dated 1st May 1606, at Castle Grant.

on the same day with a bond of manrent betwixt the parties, obliging them to refer any disputes to the decision of various Grants and Mackenzies, mutual friends of the parties.¹

The Laird of Freuchie, pursuing his pacific policy, continued to make friendly bonds with neighbouring chiefs. On 3d September 1597, he received from John Stewart, Earl of Athole, as the Earl's "guid friend," a bond of maintenance, in token of the "dewtie, amitie, and freindschip" formerly existing between the families, and at the same time obtained from the Earl a lease of the lands of Clawalge (Clava), in Nairnshire, and of Kinnermony, in Banffshire, for five years, in continuation of his present occupancy.² Two years later Lord Lovat and the Laird entered into a mutual submission of all questions and controversies betwixt them or their tenants, arising from mutual oppression.³ A similar measure procured a formal discharge from John Lord Forbes, exonerating the Laird, his uncle, from all action for spuilzies committed by the Clan Grant.⁴ Other mutual bonds of manrent and friendship with neighbouring proprietors were entered into at later periods of the Laird's lifetime. Of these the principal were—A bond between the Laird and Alexander Dunbar of Westfield, on 18th September 1602;⁵ the bond of manrent, already referred to, with Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, on 1st May 1606; a similar document, in which John Leslie of Kinnivie obliges himself to serve John Grant of Freuchie, dated 6th May 1607;⁶ and two bonds by clansmen to their chief, one by Patrick Grant of Carron, dated 8th September 1611,⁷ and another in the following year by Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch.⁸ As all those bonds are similar in tenor, the mere mention of them is sufficient. There can be little doubt they tended to render the Laird's occupation of his lands more peaceful, and to strengthen his influence in his neighbourhood. Indeed, the prudence and economy with which this Laird managed his affairs, and the large acquisitions of land he was thus enabled to make, earned for him, specially of all the Lairds of Grant, the title of "John of Fruchy." So

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 201.

² *Ibid.* pp. 192-194.

³ Bond, dated 13th September 1599, *ibid.* p. 195.

⁴ Discharge, dated 11th June 1601, *ibid.* p. 197.

⁵ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 199.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 204.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 209.

⁸ Original bond, dated 22d November 1612, at Castle Grant.

says Lachlan Shaw, who adds that, even in his day, more than one hundred years later, that title was applied *par excellence* to the subject of the present memoir.¹

In 1602, the Laird of Freuchie was one of the first persons invested with powers to put down witchcraft in the Highlands. As is well known, King James the Sixth prided himself on his skill in dealing with those who pretended to be, or were accounted, conversant in the black art. An epidemic of superstition on the subject of witchcraft seems to have prevailed during his reign, and many fell victims to their imposture. Lachlan Shaw, in his History of Moray, says that charms, casting nativities, curing diseases by enchantments, and fortune-telling, were commonly practised, and firmly believed. Particular families, he also states, were believed to be haunted by certain demons, the good or bad geniuses of these families; such as on Speyside, the family of Rothiemurchus by Bodach an Don, *i.e.* the Ghost of the Dune; the Baron of Kinchardine's family, by Red Hand, or a Ghost, one of whose hands was blood red; and other families were believed to have similar attendants.² Judging from the terms of a commission to the Laird, the king desired to extend his spiritual care for his people to that part of the Highlands. The commission was directed to the Laird, Patrick Grant of Rothiemurchus, Patrick Grant of "Baldarroch" (Ballindalloch?), Mr. James Grant of Arduellie, and Mr. Patrick Grant, minister (of Cromdale or Advie), and is levelled against those accused "of witchcraft, sorcerie, inchantments," etc., within the territories of the Laird. It is stated that there are a great number of such persons within the bounds indicated, and that they had behaved with the greater boldness because no one had been authorised to proceed against them.³ It cannot be readily ascertained if this commission was acted upon. The chief chronicle of trials for witchcraft is contained in the session records of the various parishes, and these have not always been preserved. No evidence exists among the Grant muniments to show how it was carried out.

The influence acquired by the Laird of Freuchie led his neighbours and clansmen to apply to him as arbiter in their disputes, and peacemaker in their feuds. At Balmacaan, the residence of the Laird in Urquhart,

¹ Shaw's Moray, p. 31.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 344, 345.

³ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 198.

on 23d July 1606, Allan Cameron of Lochiel entered into a bond of mutual assistance and defence with Ranuil M'Allan of Lundie and Allan M'Ranuil, his son, chiefs of the Clan Ranald of Glengarry, by which they were to assist and serve Lochiel at the advice and consent of the Laird of Freuchie.¹ This document differs in no respect from other bonds of a similar nature, but one of the parties was Allan Dubh M'Ranuil, the leader of the Macdonalds of Glengarry in that raid against the Mackenzies, in the year 1603, known as the Raid of Cilliechriost. Tradition has, with its usual exaggeration, narrated this exploit with details of unwonted ferocity; but the true history of it, as told by one of the sufferers, resolves it into an ordinary Highland foray, in which cattle were driven off, a few men were slain, a number of dwelling-houses burned, and greatest loss of all to the complainer, the Archdean of Ross, his library was destroyed. The particulars of the affair, however, fall to be told in the next memoir, that of Sir John Grant, who, in 1622, received a gift of the escheat of the principal offender.

The Laird also acted as arbiter in a submission between Patrick Grant of Tullochgorm and Patrick Grant of Carron, as to the amount of compensation for an attack upon a certain John Grant in Auchloney, at the church of Kirkmichael, and decided that £80 Scots should be paid by the offenders.²

King James the Sixth appointed this Laird, conjointly with Sir Walter Ogilvie of Findlater, a commissioner to the Synod of Moray, to be hold on the 4th August 1607.³ This was an important charge, as the commissioners were to support the recently appointed Bishop of Moray in his introduction as head of the clergy in his diocese. The year 1606 had witnessed the restoration of the order of Bishops, by Act of Parliament, to "their ancient and accustomed honours," etc., in accordance with the king's plans for the reconstruction of Episcopacy. The royal head of the newly established hierarchy was anxious that the men whom he had named as Bishops should be well received in their respective sees, and that they might gain possession of the temporalities as far as possible. The letter now addressed to the Laird shows the mode to be adopted. The Bishop was not to be thrust upon the Synod as Bishop, but as a "constant moderatour," and the

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 203.

² Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 4, 5.

³ Submission dated 28th October 1608; vol. iii. of this work, p. 207.

commissioners were to strengthen their position by the exhibition of an Act of Assembly authorising "constant moderatours in presbyteries and synods," and to urge obedience to that act. If the Synod refused obedience, or if the Bishop, being admitted, refused to act, the refusers were to be charged in the king's name to obey, and if still refractory they were to be denounced rebels, and the Synod dissolved. The commissioners were to declare the king's desire for the peace of the Church, and especially for a peaceable General Assembly, by which "some good shal be done and effected in the Church." To this end the commissioners were to cause the election by the Synod of Moray "of two of the most godlye, wise, and peaceably disposed" ministers, who might meet and confer with other similarly disposed clergymen from other Synods at a meeting appointed for the 27th August at Holyrood. This conference was to prepare a "peaceable General Assembly," but if this plan failed through unwillingness or obstinacy on the part of the Synods, then the king threatened to put his "owne hande to that worke," and to redress matters "by authoritie."

The Bishop of Moray, in whose behalf the Laird of Freuchie was thus to bestir himself, was Alexander Douglas. He had, in 1606, been appointed constant moderator of the presbytery of Elgin, who, in January 1607, were ordered by the Privy Council to receive him as such under pain of rebellion. The Laird of Freuchie and his fellow-commissioner were to establish him as constant moderator of the Synod, and they no doubt succeeded in doing so, as he attended the General Assembly of 1610, which was the first that allowed the office of a bishop, and so was "peaceable" in the king's eyes.

As stated in the Introduction, the Laird of Freuchie, in the year 1609, added largely to his already extensive possessions by the acquisition of the lands of Abernethy from the Earl of Murray. He also acquired the lands of Cromdale from Thomas Nairn, commonly called Baron of Cromdale, and shortly afterwards obtained from the Crown an erection of these lands, along with those of Inverallan and others, into the Barony of Cromdale.

But while the Laird was thus successfully adding to his territorial possessions, he had still to arrange several disputes with his neighbours. Letters under the King's signet were directed against him as responsible for certain of his tenants in Kinchirdie and elsewhere, who had been guilty

of highway robbery.¹ In the following year the Laird himself was the complainer against another species of robbery committed against him and his tenants by John Forbes of Pitsligo. The latter was charged with pasturing his cattle upon lands belonging to the Grants, and also inciting the complainer's servants to quarrel. The Laird therefore procured letters of law-burrow against Forbes, which were duly executed.² About this time also the Laird brought to a conclusion another litigation between himself and Alexander Gordon of Strathown or Strathavon, which had dragged on in various forms from before the year 1595, and which, as it involved removal from lands, was of a vexatious character. The affair originated in an action of spoliation raised by the Laird of Strathavon, charging the Laird of Freuchie, as heir of his grandfather, with the offence of spoliation of trees, etc., in the complainer's lands of Drummin, Fodderletter, Inverouries, and others, and the forest of Glenavon. This spoliation, it was alleged, began so early as 1575. These lands, or part of them, had been attached to the bailiary of Drummin Castle, when that was held by the Grants, although they formed the subject of disputes so early as 1495. The history of the lands, or the action regarding them, need not be recorded here; as by a contract betwixt the parties, dated at Edinburgh on 24th March 1612, the Laird of Freuchie gave up any claim he had to them.

But though this matter was so far amicably settled, the vexations of the litigation, and the petty annoyance of the dispute with Forbes of Pitsligo, who, as well as Gordon, was a vassal of the Marquis of Huntly, evidently tended to aggravate the estrangement between that nobleman and the Laird of Freuchie, and so to increase the troubles which followed. This animosity was further augmented by an agreement between the Earl of Argyll and Cameron of Lochiel, by which the Earl gained a footing in Lochaber as Lochiel's superior,³ as the agreement in question was drawn up, partly, at least, by the advice of the Laird of Freuchie. This may be surmised from two documents dated in the early part of the year 1612, and signed by Cameron of Lochiel.

¹ Original Letters, dated 14th March 1611, at Castle Grant.

² Original Letters, dated 27th August 1612, *ibid.*

³ The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, p. 293.

The first of these is a letter addressed to the Laird, in which Lochiel shows that he had reposed confidence in the Laird as to friendly dealings with Mackintosh, and that he attached much importance to the Laird's advice, in accordance with which he desired to act in all weighty affairs.¹ This letter is dated 12th March 1612, and doubtless expresses the spirit with which Cameron executed the second document referred to, which must have been signed in the early part of 1612.² In this paper, which is a submission, John Grant of Freuchie is named as one of the arbiters on Cameron's side to arrange matters between him and the Earl of Argyll, who had purchased a claim over the estate of Lochiel. The claim was settled on 22d August 1612 by Cameron accepting a charter from Argyll as superior, and agreeing to hold his estate of the Earl instead of the Crown, for £100 yearly feu-duty.³

The vassalage thus constituted greatly offended Huntly, who looked upon Argyll as his greatest rival in the Highlands, and was very angry at the Earl's obtaining a footing in Lochaber, though the estates of Lochiel had held of the Crown and not of the Marquis. Huntly demanded that Lochiel should break his agreement, which the latter refused to do. The Marquis then resorted to measures of retaliation to punish his former ally for contumacy, but these ended at first in a triumph for Lochiel, and Huntly was so enraged, that he procured from the Privy Council a commission of fire and sword against the Camerons. Huntly intrusted the execution of this commission to his eldest son, the Earl of Enzie, who endeavoured to enlist the Laird of Mackintosh against the Camerons, but that chief refused, and by so doing brought down upon himself the vengeance of the Gordons.

A claim made by Huntly in the year 1618, as to the titles of Culloden belonging to Mackintosh, was opposed by the latter, who, in so doing, was supported by the Laird of Freuchie and Mackenzie of Kintail. At the time of tithing Huntly sent messengers to distrain the corn on the Culloden estate, but they were driven away by Mackintosh and his friends, who were by the Earl of Enzie pursued before the Privy Council

¹ Vol. ii. of this work, p. 40.

² Original Submission, dated in 1612, month and day blank, at Castle Grant.

³ Memoirs of Lochell, Maitland Club, p. 55.

and denounced rebels. "Therupon," says Sir Robert Gordon, "the Earl of Enzie assembles a number of his most speciall freinds to goe strain and cast down the cornes of Culloden, and to leid them to Invernes. The Clan Chattan, the Grants, the Clan Cheinzie, doe still brag to hinder and stay him; Mackintoshie fortifies the house of Culloden with munition and shott, which wes by him committed to the custodie of his tuo uncles, Duncan and Laghlan; they draw all the cornes within shott of the castell." At this point Sir Robert Gordon was called in, who, acting as peacemaker, advised Mackintosh not to provoke Huntly further against himself, as he would be ruined if he did not submit in time. Sir Robert besought him not to act by the advice of the Laird of Grant or of Mackenzie, who desired only to further "their owne ends, trying iff, by his fall, they might harm the house of Huntlie." Mackintosh, however, would not listen to Sir Robert, but followed the advice of the Laird of Freuchie, who was his father-in-law. The Earl of Enzie mustered a force of 1100 well-armed horsemen, and with these and 600 Highlanders on foot, he marched towards Culloden, with the intention of asserting his rights, but in the end, by the mediation of Sir Robert Gordon, Lord Lovat, and others, bloodshed was averted, and matters settled for the time betwixt the contending parties.¹

In the above narrative the unfriendly feeling cherished by the Laird of Freuchie against the Marquis of Huntly and the Gordons is very evident, and it may therefore readily be believed that he was not unwilling to advance the Earl of Argyll's influence in Lochaber as a rival to Huntly. Sir Robert Gordon states that about the year 1619 the Laird submitted himself to the Earl of Enzie, but that "jarrs and controversies" still continued until the deaths of the Laird of Freuchie and Sir Lachlan Mackintosh, who both died in 1622.²

The Laird of Freuchie, as feuar of the Crown baronies of Urquhart, Glenmoriston, and Glencarnie, was required, by letters under the Signet, to pay his share of the £240,000 Scots voted to the King by the Parliament of Scotland, to defray the expenses of the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth and the Palatine of the Rhine. The proportion of that sum to be paid by the barons and freeholders was £80,000 Scots, and the Laird's

¹ History of the Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 357-359.

² *Ibid.* p. 360.

share was at the rate of eighteen shillings for every pound land of old extent.¹ Part of the Laird's proportion was paid in 1612, and the whole amount for all his lands was paid on or before 15th December 1615.²

In the year 1612, the Laird received from the Privy Council an invitation to come to Edinburgh in his capacity as Convener of the Justices of Peace within his county. He was to attend on the 24th November with his records, and give an account to the Exchequer of the fines, etc., arising from his office, that the king's satisfaction in the establishment of justices might be increased by finding that in the preserving of the peace of his realm, there arose some gain to his "cofferis."³

If the Laird of Freuchie journeyed to Edinburgh in obedience to this summons, he no doubt, among other items of news in the capital, found a frequent subject of conversation to be the measures taken by the powerful Earl of Argyll against the proscribed Clan Gregor. From the date of the conflict betwixt that clan and the Colquhouns of Luss, at Glen Fruin on 7th February 1603, in which the Colquhouns were defeated, the Clan Gregor had been the subjects of constant prosecution. The acts of the Privy Council against them had been very severe, and had been carried out by the Earl of Argyll and his adherents with great rigour. In 1606 the survivors of the clan had been ordered to lay aside the name of Macgregor, and assume other surnames,⁴ and now, in the end of 1612, further enactments against them were proposed. One of their most famous leaders, Robert Abroch Macgregor, was then engaging public attention, not only by the fame of his deeds, but by the interest made to King James the Sixth on his behalf, which, notwithstanding powerful opposition, had a favourable result.⁵

The Laird of Freuchie had at this time fallen under the suspicion of the Government, or, at least, of Argyll's party, by sympathy shown to the expatriated Macgregors, some of whom had found a place of refuge on the Laird's territories. In the year 1606 a few of the Clan Gregor, when compelled to change their names, had taken the surname of Grant, and in a document to be afterwards referred to, it was made a charge against

¹ Original Letters, dated October 1612, at Castle Grant.

² Discharges, dated October 1612, etc., *ibid.*

³ Vol. ii. of this work, p. 11.

⁴ *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, Iona Club, pp. 130-132.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 133-135.

the Laird that he had harboured the proscribed clan since the year 1610.¹ This led him into communication with those in authority on the subject of the Clan Gregor, and a letter addressed to the Laird by the Earl of Argyll, dated 18th March 1613,² refers to promises made to the King by Lord Scone in name of the Laird. The Earl desired that the Laird of Freuchie would act in the matter "as ye wald have his Maiestie to thinke well of your doeinges, otherwise you may be assur'd of his Maiesties indignation," with a further hope that the Laird would "have a special care to do his Maiestie good service."³

The immediate occasion of the Earl of Argyll's letter was a royal missive of some days' earlier date (11th March 1613), directed from the Court to the Laird of Freuchie, intimating that the only outlaws now remaining of the Clan Gregor were such as were harboured on the Laird's estates, namely, Allester M'Allester Vreik and Duncan M'V'Eandowie, with their followers. His Majesty writes that Lord Scone would have persuaded him that the Laird neither allowed nor was privy to the favour shown to the outlaws; "yet," he adds, "we will rest in suspens till suche tyme as by your future actionis yow give proofs of your bigane cariage in this errand." The king then refers to Lord Scone's promise on the Laird's behalf, that the latter would do service against "these lymmers," and states that betwixt Lord Scone and the Earl of Argyll certain conditions were agreed on concerning the Laird, adding significantly, "whiche we wil haue a cuir to see performit according as your future service shall merite."⁴

The Laird of Freuchie being thus urged, both by the king and the powerful Argyll, bestirred himself to remove their suspicion of his good faith. He succeeded in apprehending one of "the speciallis" of the Clan Gregor, the above-named Allester M'Allester M'Gregor, who is described as a "notorious and rebellious Hieland man." This fact is recorded in a remission granted to the Laird in the year 1613.⁵ In the early part of that year (17th April) the Laird received a special commission, in which Lord Scone and James Campbell of Lawers, acting for the Earl of Argyll,

¹ Extract Submission and Decreet Arbitral, 25th February 1615, at Castle Grant.

² Vol. ii. of this work, p. 12.

³ Vol. ii. of this work, p. 12. ⁴ *Ibid.* p. 6.

⁵ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 214, month and day blank.

empower the Laird of Grant, as having testified his willingness to do good service against the Clan Gregor, to meet and intercommune with any of that clan, although rebels.¹ By this it is evidently meant that the Laird and the small company of ten persons who were authorised to attend him should, within a specified time, hold a parley with the outlaws within his bounds, and endeavour to induce them to submit to his Majesty. But as intercommuning with the Macgregors was then a crime to which heavy penalties were attached, Lord Scone and his co-lieutenant bound themselves to secure the Laird and his servants from these penalties until the 20th of June following, when this commission for parley was to expire. After that date it was probably understood that the Laird should adopt severe measures to bring the Macgregors to justice, if they did not yield to pacific dealings. The remission referred to was made to the Laird of Freuchie, Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch, and other Grants, their kinsmen, and frees them from all fines and penalties incurred by neglect of the laws in resetting outlaws and not bringing them to justice, in terms of the Acts of Parliament of 1587 and general bond already referred to. It imports that the Laird and his dependants had been specially active, and had taken "extraordiner panes and travellis" (trouble) in suppressing the Clan Gregor, and arresting the outlaw named.

It has already been narrated in this memoir that the Laird of Freuchie was, in 1590, bound to assist Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, with his whole force if necessary, against the Clan Gregor, who had shortly before excited popular indignation by the horrible murder of Drummond of Drummondernoch. Previous to the mild remonstrance of the king and Argyll, the Laird's proceedings against the Macgregors had never been very active, and, as already stated, partly for his own purposes and partly on the pretext of a royal commission, he had in 1592 entered into a league, offensive and defensive, with one of the chiefs of that clan. This offence against the letter of the laws, though overlooked at the time, owing to the excitement attendant on the murder of the Earl of Murray, was probably looked upon now as an aggravation of the Laird's offences against the Government, and especially against the Earl of Argyll, the king's lieutenant,

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 213.

who held a special commission to extirpate the Clan Gregor. At all events the Government do not appear to have been satisfied with the management of the Laird of Freuchie in this affair, for though in the royal remission of 1613, just quoted, the Laird and his clan were acquitted of the fines and penalties to which they had become liable, yet, at a later date, a large sum was exacted from them. The reasons given for the infliction of this fine are narrated in a submission entered into betwixt the Earl of Argyll, the exacting party, and the Laird of Freuchie, and repeated in a decret-arbitral pronounced by David Murray, Lord Scone, and Archibald Primrose, writer, the arbiters named in the submission.¹ These arbiters were chosen to decide regarding "the tryall of Johnne Grant of Freuchie his resett of John Dow Roy, sone to vmquhile Duncan M'Duchan M'Gregour, since the tyme that he associat himself with the rebellis of the Clangregour;" the trial of the "Laird of Grant, his unlauchfull and wilfull resett of any of the Clangregour since thay war declarit rebellis and fugitiwes," viz., since 1610, and other similar charges. Also regarding the sum to be paid by the Laird, he "being fund guyltie and culpable," to the Earl of Argyll, first for his own part and secondly for his clan; and regarding all other claims by the Earl against the Laird for reset of or intercourse with the Clan Gregor. The arbiters unanimously found that the Laird of Freuchie, for himself and the various members of his clan named, should pay the sum of 16,000 merks as a composition of all the sums in which they were mulcted by decree of the Lords of Privy Council. This fine was promptly paid, the whole sum being discharged by the Crown receivers within a few days after the decret arbitral was pronounced.²

In connection with the same business, the Laird had also to meet claims made against his clansmen. A discharge is extant, granted by Archibald Primrose and another to Sir John Grant of Freuchie, which acknowledges payment of 2000 merks, a fine imposed upon Grant of Rothiemurchus by the Privy Council, in July 1613, for intercourse with the Clan Gregor, the Laird being cautioner.³ For these or other expenses, the Laird seems to have

¹ Extract Submission and Decret, dated 27th August 1614 and 3d February 1615, at Castle Grant.

² Extract Acquittance for 16,000 merks, dated 25th February 1615, *ibid.*

³ Original Discharge, dated 7th May 1624, *ibid.*

taken means of recouping himself, in a way not agreeable to the ecclesiastical authorities. So much, at least, may be gathered from a letter addressed by John Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, to the Laird of Grant, on 16th June 1616, a year after the fine was inflicted and paid, that the Laird was "abstractinge the rentis of the kirk from the right use," and applying them to his own purposes.¹ The epistle in question is somewhat mutilated, but its terms are intelligible enough, and the picture which the Archbishop draws of the state of the kirks in Strathspey is a melancholy one, while he boldly denounces the Laird as the cause of the "desolatioun." The writer states that the Laird's conduct, as reported on, is "planly vnsufferable," and hopes that the Laird will not be so "irreligiouse" as to despise all warnings. The Archbishop concludes by desiring the Laird to provide the churches with competent stipends, and threatens "a more strict and rigorous dealinge" if compliance be refused. No further information on this point has been obtained, but if the Laird declined to listen to the Archbishop's warning, the impoverished churchmen were doubtless righted by the Act of Parliament of the following year, in which stipends were assigned out of the teinds.

In the beginning of the year 1615, the Laird of Freuchie again journeyed from the north to Edinburgh. His residence in that city during the months of January and February of that year is proved by an account of expenditure made on his behalf. The arrangement with the Earl of Argyll, and the payment of the fine of 16,000 merks above referred to, engaged his attention, as also did the obtaining of letters of legitimation for his natural son, Duncan Grant of Cluric.² The time of the Laird's sojourn in the Metropolis was also, however, occupied with matters other than those personal to himself. He was one of those summoned to sit as an assize on the trial of Patrick Stewart, second Earl of Orkney, for oppression and treasonable practices within his earldom of Orkney.³ The Earl had been imprisoned in 1611, but was now brought to trial because he had instigated an attempt, made in 1614, to seize and hold his castle and rents, which had been confiscated to the Crown. A historian of that period states that if he had not confessed his share in the insurrection,

¹ Vol. ii. of this work, p. 41.

² Original Account of Expenses at Castle Grant.

³ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. pp. 308-318.

he would not have been convicted. Many of the noblemen and barons who were summoned on the jury refused to appear on various pretexts, the inclemency of the season among others. The Laird of Grant's presence in Edinburgh, however, prevented his thus withdrawing from the assize, as it is said "the wiser and elder sort of the nobilitie" did, and he was therefore one of those who, on 1st February 1615, found the Earl of Orkney guilty of treasonable rebellion, for which crime, five days afterwards, that nobleman was beheaded.¹

When King James the Sixth visited his ancient kingdom of Scotland in the year 1617, the Privy Council made great efforts to welcome his Majesty, and, among others, the Laird of Freuchie was called upon to contribute his quota to the general entertainment, in the shape of capercailzies and ptarmigan. The Council in their letter earnestly request that "resounable prouisioun and stoir of eache kynd of thir foullis" may be sent "freshe and callour" by the 25th April 1617, in time to be forwarded to Newcastle to greet his Majesty, who seems to have been anxious to have them.² The Council gave permission, the better to forward his Majesty's wishes, to the Laird and his servants "for shoiting and slaying of thir foullis with gwnis."

About this period the Laird of Freuchie had a dispute with Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, then Chancellor of Scotland, about the non-entries of the lands of Muldaries, and others held of the Earl of Rothes, who was then apparently a ward of the Chancellor. The Lords of Council, on 31st March 1618, gave decree against the Laird of Freuchie for the rent of the lands from 1612,³ but the matter was finally arranged by a disposition and discharge granted to the Laird by the Earl of Rothes, with the Chancellor's consent.⁴ At this time, also, there is evidence of the "jarrs and controversies" between the Laird of Freuchie and the Gordons in a charge of lawburrow made by the Marquis of Huntly against the Laird and his son, Sir John Grant of Mulben. The two Grants are charged with causing depredations by themselves or their tenants on the complainer's lands of Strathavon, and are ordered to find security for good behaviour.⁵

¹ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. p. 318.

² Vol. ii. of this work, p. 12.

³ Horning at Castle Grant.

⁴ Disposition, dated 9th January 1619, at Castle Grant.

⁵ Copy Letters of Lawburrow, *ibid.*

The remaining incidents of this Laird of Freuchie's active career, so far as can be gathered from the family muniments, are few. In 1620 he and his son, Sir John Grant, were appointed depute Commissioners to carry out the various Acts of the Privy Council directed against the Gipsies, who were then known as "idill and wagabund peopill," and gave considerable trouble, from their numbers as well as their lawless character.¹ The last public document in which the Laird is named is a royal letter, in which he is directed to co-operate with Sir Lachlan Mackintosh in carrying fire and sword into the territories of the Clan Cameron.² Sir Lachlan Mackintosh, whose resentment against the Laird of Lochiel had prompted him to represent matters at Court in such wise as to procure the royal missive and the more formal commission which followed, died on 22d June 1622, while on his way north to execute it.³ His death occurred at Gartinbeg, in Strathspey, from which it would appear he was hastening to secure the Laird of Freuchie's assistance. The latter, however, is said to have been friendly to Cameron, though, whatever his sentiments, he had little opportunity of giving effect to them, as he only survived his son-in-law Sir Lachlan Mackintosh for three months, dying on Friday, 20th September 1622.⁴ No evidence exists as to where this Laird died, but it was probably at Ballachastell, and his remains were interred in the family burial-place at the church of Duthil, where, twenty-one years afterwards, his widow desired to be laid beside him.⁵

The Laird was survived by his wife, Lady Lilius Murray, second daughter of Sir John Murray of Tullibardine, knight, who in 1606 was created Earl of Tullibardine, and his wife, Catherine Drummond, daughter of David Lord Drummond. The marriage-contract of Lilius Murray and the Laird of Freuchie is dated at Gask, on 15th April 1591,⁶ and Lachlan Shaw records that King James the Sixth and his Queen honoured the marriage with their presence.⁷ Lady Lilius Murray survived her husband

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 216.

² Copy Letters, of date 18th June 1622, at Castle Grant.

³ The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, p. 308.

⁴ Vol. iii. of this work p. 221 ⁵ *Ibid.* p. 236.

⁶ Original Contract at Castle Grant.

⁷ Shaw's Moray, p. 32. There is a tradition in

the family that the King desired, in the year 1610, to raise this Laird to the dignity of the peerage. The offer was not accepted. The significant interrogatory, "*Wha'll be Laird o' Grant?*" which is well known, and often quoted, is said to have been made on that occasion, although it has also been attributed to a later Laird of Grant.

for twenty-one years, dying in the end of 1643 or the beginning of the following year. Her testament and latter will is dated on 30th December 1643.¹ She also survived her son, Sir John Grant, who died in 1637. From the evidence of the Grant muniments, she seems to have been a lady of much vigour of character. She took an active interest in the affairs of the Grant family, and was greatly respected by her family and neighbours. Taylor the Water-Poet, who visited Lady Liliās and her husband at Ballachastell in 1618, as stated in the Introduction, was much pleased with her, and he records that she was, both inwardly and outwardly, plentifully endowed with the gifts of grace and nature. That Lady Liliās Murray was a reader, and had, for these days, a good if not very varied collection of books, is proved by a list of her own library given under her own hand.² In this list, *St. Augustine*, and the "Imitation of Christ" occupy a place. In corroboration of the Water-Poet's eulogium on Lady Liliās, the following two poems in her own handwriting are here given. If they be original, they bear out his statement; if they be merely copies, they yet show that the lady's tastes were congenial to the poet's own. The first poem is as follows:—

Down in yong bank,
 Qvhair leves groves rank,
 And flovrīs do frechlie spreng,
 I hard ane may
 Bothe galland and gey,
 Chengand her nott to sing:
 Scho sparet nott to schewe her thocht,
 Vill vod and all kovld ring,
 I dar veill say be my gvd fay
 Sho vos ane lviffer yeing.

Sho sicht and said my lvif is laid
 On on that hes my hart,
 Qvhilk cavsses me so blyttle to be
 In to my hart invartt;
 God geve that he vor bvnd to me
 And never to depairtt,
 That he and I might leve and dey
 In land or onie artt.

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 236.

² Vol. ii. of this work, p. 54.

He is my confort nicht and day
 My joy and my delyt ;
 He is the cavsser of my kair
 The aisser of my smartt ;
 He is my joy and my veillfair
 In perrades perffytt
 In all thes warlkd I bad no m[a]ir
 Bott hes fair bodie qvhyt.

Thocht he cvm sindell in my sicht
 I se hem bothe let and aer,
 Veill prenttet in my breist so bricht
 Hes pektor vithovt compair.
 He lyes vith me bothe day and nicht,
 The ttrewttthe I yov deklair,
 In to my hartt so deirlic dicht
 He hes ane challmer ther.

The second lay is in a somewhat more melancholy strain, and may be intended as the swain's reply to the foregoing—

The grisileig gollf of grepcin gref
 Fild vp vith vallttreng stremes of vo,
 The masket mymchanc of mescheif
 Vith mariades of thocht and mo,
 And fanssies fleittein to and fro
 My martret mynd, do so molest,
 (Ewin better bell dothe brek in tvo)
 The bovellis of my bolleng breist.

The corrasives of cankrein kair
 Dothe still consom my kateif cors,
 I se and cannot slep the snair
 Bott yeilld my nek to yok perfors ;
 And ay sen absens did devors
 Me from her sicht in qvhom I gloure,
 To seik remed findis no remors
 To martter me may do no mor.

Cvpeitt, qvhom svld I vyt bot the
 For all the dollovr I svstein,
 Long nicht I leivet at leiberttie
 Cvlld I achewett yovr arroves kein ;

Thy dovbell delleng that day vos sein,
 Thov schot me smylleng or I visst
 And of my hart bereft me clein,
 Thov tvik me, ttratovr, onder trvst.

Thov did reteir the schaft of trie
 And left the hed vithin my hart.
 O vinget god! it mervellis me
 Qvhov thov prevellis in evre pairtt :
 To hell thy hvrtt avelles no airtt,
 Thy dardt so pvssionet is of kynd,
 The mor I seik to ais my smartt
 The mor molest that is my mynd.

For me I thoct the perrellis past
 Of all the hewked arrovriss fyve,
 Tho forttovn brocht me in at last
 To vew the virdiest on lyve ;
 Bot sen I nicht no longer stryue,
 Her rar perfeksiovnnes med me thrall
 And svddandly did me depryve
 Off former leiberttie and all.

By Lady Liliass Murray, John Grant, fifth Laird of Freuchie, had issue one son and four daughters, who all survived their father.¹ The son was—John Grant, born on 17th August 1596. He was knighted by King James the Sixth, and was, during his father's lifetime, known as Sir John Grant of Mulben. He is the subject of the next memoir. The daughters were :²—

1. Annas or Agnes, born about Michaelmas 1594. She married Lachlan, afterwards Sir Lachlan, Mackintosh of Dunachton, then a minor. The marriage-contract is dated at Ballachastell, 16th August 1611,³ the amount of the dowry to be paid by the Laird of Freuchie being 10,000 merks. Lady Mackintosh had issue by her husband, whom she survived. She probably died in 1624, as her will is dated at the Isle of Moy on 9th October in that year.

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 221.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 410.

She married a second time, as William M'Intosh is named by her in her will as "my husband," but who he was does not appear.¹

2. Jean or Janet, born about Michaelmas 1597. On 19th September 1612, she was contracted in marriage to William Sutherland, younger of Duffus, the tocher being 9500 merks.² They had issue.
3. Lilius, born in 1599. She married, before 1624, Sir Walter Innes of Balveny, and had issue.
4. Katherine, born in 1604. She married Alexander Ogilvie of Kempcairn, and had issue.

This Laird had also a natural son, Duncan Grant, designed of Clurie, who was legitimated in the year 1615. He married, contract dated 4th July 1615,³ Muriel Ross, relict of Duncan Grant of Rothiemurchus, and was the ancestor of the Grants of Clurie.

¹ Vol. iii. of this work, p. 337.

² *Ibid.* p. 411.

³ *Ibid.* p. 418.

The image shows two handwritten signatures in cursive script. The top signature is 'John Grant' and the bottom signature is 'John Grant'.

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