THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D.,
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

SOME ASPECTS OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
OF A HIGHLAND PARISH (KIRKMICHAEL, BANFFSHIRE)
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

SUBMITTED BY
J. V. GAFFNEY, M.A. (EDIN.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I SUMMER SHEALINGS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Parish and its Shealing Areas</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Controverted Ground&quot;</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbitration</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life at the Shealing</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Improvements&quot;</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II TOMINTOUL: THE FOUNDING OF THE VILLAGE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Site</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gordons of Glenbucket</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposals for a Village</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linen Industry in Strathavon</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Old and the New Tomintoul</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Nineteenth-Century Development</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III THE DEER FOREST OF GLENAVON</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reiving</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reivers' Routes and Military Patrols</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grazings: The Forest and Lettermore</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV RECRUITING IN STRATHAVON</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V LANDHOLDING</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadsetters</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Tax and Freehold Qualifications</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heritable Bond</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redemption of Wadsets</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Land Measures

Tacksetting
(a) Grassums
(b) Chief Tenants
(c) Minister and Priest
(d) Subtenants

Rent
(a) Money
(b) Customs
(c) Services

Conditions of Tenure

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1. CENTRAL AND NORTH-EAST SCOTLAND TO ILLUSTRATE THE TEXT . . . . FACING PAGE 1 FOLLOWING PAGE

2. PARISH OF KIRKMICHAEL, SHOWING LOCATION OF FARMS AND THEIR RESPECTIVE SHEALINGS . . . . 5

3. BADNAFAVRE AND BLAIRNAMARROW SHEALINGS: Portion of plan of Conglass-side shealings and 'improvements' c. 1760. (Gordon Estates Office, Glenlivet.) . . . . 8

4. PLAN OF THE FAEVAIL, 1770. (G.C.P. 39/13.) . . . . 41

5. BRASS OF AVON AND UPPER CONCLASS-SIDE, SHOWING EXTENT OF CULTIVATION IN 1772: Portion of "Plan of the Lordships of Strathaven and Glenlivet; with the Lands of Glenrines, copied by Alexander Marquis from three large plans made by Thos. Milne, Land Surveyor, Annis 1772, 3, and 4 (1834)." (Gordon Estates Office, Glenlivet.) . . . . 51

6. CASFOUR, SHANNIE, REDAVAE, LYNNAOIR, AND UCHCAWLANCART SHEALINGS (Numbers 9, 5, 5, 10, and 13 respectively, on map following p. 5.): Portion of plan (c. 1760) in Gordon Estates Office, Glenlivet . . . . 54

7. PLAN FOR A VILLAGE AT TAMANTOUKIL, 1775. (G.C. Maps and Plans No. 65) . . . . 90

8. PLAN OF THE LANDS OF TAMANTOUKIL, DECEMBER 1778. (G.C. Maps and Plans No. 63) . . . . 92

9. LETTERMORE AND THE SHEALINGS CALLED STRONAVAICH AND RIANTORRAN: Portion of plan of Conglass-side (c. 1760) in Gordon Estates Office, Glenlivet . . . . 141

10. SECTION OF A FENCE, 1766. (G.C.P. 40/10.) . . . . 142

11. CAIRPLICH AND AILNACH SHEALINGS: Portion of a "Plan of the Contraverted Marches betwixt the Forrest of Glen-aven belonging to His Grace the Duke of Gordon and the Lands of Abernethy belonging to Mr Grant of Grant", 1771. (G.C. Maps and Plans No. 37) . . . . 150

12. PLAN OF THE FARM OF CAMDELLMORE, SEPTEMBER 1776. (G.C. Maps and Plans No. 22) . . . . 267

13. PLAN OF KIRKTOWN AND THE GLEBE OF KIRKMICHAEL, 1775. (G.C.P. 38/65.) . . . . 283
References to the Gordon Castle Papers indicate, first, the number of the Box and, secondly, the number of the Bundle in that box, e.g. G.C.P. 39/13.

In certain bundles, the documents, too, are numbered, and it is possible to give a more exact reference, e.g. G.C.P. 10/15/15.

In the Charter Room at Gordon Castle some writs were stored in Presses of four compartments each (except Press III) lettered 'a', 'b', 'c', 'd'. Such bundles are indicated by the number of the press, letter of compartment, and number of the bundle. Since different series of bundles in one compartment are numbered from one upwards, the bundles are further distinguished by subject,

  e.g. Strathavon and Glenlivet Vouchers, Pr. I.d.6.
     Factors' Accounts, Pr. I.d.6.

Flat bundles, mainly letters, were stored in Drawers, and references to these indicate the number of Drawer and Bundle, thus: Dr. IV, 50.

(The Gordon Castle muniments were deposited in the Record Office, H.M. Register House, Edinburgh, in 1948.)
SUMMER SHEALINGS.

The Parish and its Shealing Areas.

Kirkmichael (75,337 acres) is by far the largest of the Banffshire parishes but when there is deducted from it the extensive (1) area of the deer forest of Glenavon and other mountain and moorland in the parish, little is left that is suitable for agricultural purposes. The highland character of the parish may be gauged from its having more land over 3,750 feet than any other Scottish parish, and very little that is under one thousand feet. The whole area is drained by the River Avon and its tributaries. The Avon issues from Loch Avon in the south-western extremity of the parish at a height of 2370 feet, and runs thirty miles of its remarkably beautiful course through Kirkmichael before entering the parish of Inveraven on its way to join the Spey at Ballindalloch. Crossing the one-thousand-foot contour at Tomintoul, and still some seven hundred feet above sea-level at the Kirkmichael-Inveraven boundary, the Avon, between these two points, has only eight miles of its narrow valley floor and lower hill slopes below a thousand feet in altitude. Moreover, considerable tracts of this haugh land and the hillsides have for centuries been covered with birch and alder, although in some places, as at Balintomb and Gaulrig, cultivation has taken place above the tree-line between 1300 and 1500 feet.

(1) 35,308 acres, according to McConochie, "The Deer and Deer Forests of Scotland."
(1) Barclay gives the density of population of the parish as one family to 331 acres; but the economic situation of the inhabitants is more readily understood if we consider that, at the peak of their cultivation, the Braes of Strathavon above Delnabo contained, in addition to pasture, not much above three hundred acres of arable ground; an area that about the year 1840 was inhabited by fifty families or well over three hundred individuals. (2)

The scarcity of arable land combined with difficult climatic conditions makes the inhabitants' dependence on livestock readily understood. The Statistical Account of 1794 states that "for agricultural improvement ... the country is ill-calculated," and that sheep are the staple commodity. Little mutton was eaten but sheep were nevertheless important for the provision of certain domestic necessities, chiefly wool for home-produced stockings and blankets; and the wedder was for long a constituent of the rent in kind. "In the higher parts of the district (Banffshire) a considerable number of the black-faced or Linton breed are to be seen," wrote James Donaldson (3) in 1794, but owing to ignorance of the animal and lack of proper management, losses were heavy and sheep-farming at that time was scarcely thought of as a commercial proposition. (4) Sheep sold for no more than a few shillings each.

Throughout most of the eighteenth century, however, the principal trade in the Highlands and that upon which the inhabitants chiefly depended was the breeding of cattle, "which indeed their

(1) "Banffshire" (1923)
(2) MS. of John Smith or Gow (in hands of McHardy family, Achriachen, Tomintoul)
(3) "General View of the Agriculture of Banffshire" p.36.
(4) A.Souter, "General View of the Agriculture of the County of Banff (1812) p.260.
country seems to be best adapted for"; (1) and milk in its various forms was, along with oatmeal, the chief sustenance of the Highlander.

The meal produced in Strathavon was seldom, or never, sufficient for the needs of the inhabitants and some had to be bought in, usually through the agency of the Duke of Gordon’s factor at Gordon Castle. Indeed, in Highland districts generally, the local production of meal was equal to only some six to ten months’ consumption. (2) "The year is so bad and no prise for cattle," wrote Robert Willox of Gaulrig, Strathavon, in October, 1771, "I must pay thirty pounds of rent to the factor at Martinmas besides stipends. I have not one subtenant will pay me one farding this year as there corns are all frosted and must by meall and seed with the monie ought to pay there rents which disconserts me a little." (3) Relief was sometimes provided through the chief tacksmen who bargained with the factor for meal and bear from the Huntly giral and disposed of it to their subtenants. "Aquant me," Willox writes in the following May, "what prise the dukes meal and bear is sold at, as I must by thirty bols of it for the use of my own familie."

Apart from some trivial items sold at local markets, there were few sources of income for the crofter other than the sale of cattle. On this he depended for the purchase of additional meal and the payment of rent, and to him, therefore, the rearing and...

(2) Ibid, passim.
(3) Gordon Castle Papers, Box 23, Bundle 6.
welfare of his cattle were vitally important. (1) The means of the
Strathavon subtenant or tacksman or Speyside heritor could have
been roughly estimated from the number of cattle which he sent up
to the summer pastures.

During the eighteenth century the practice of migrating with
the cattle to the upland pastures which were too distant for the
cattle to go to and fro each day, was a well established one and
no doubt as popular as it was important a custom in the life of a
parish like Kirkmichael. The custom had once been much more
general in Scotland (2) and, as was natural, persisted in the
mountainous areas after it had ceased in more lowland districts.
Whereas it appears to have died out on the mainland by the 19th
century and is now to be found in some degree only on Lewis, it
is still a regular and essential feature of Swiss and Norwegian
economy. The summer shealings were to Scotland what the high
Alpine pastures are to Switzerland (3) and the "saeter" to Norway.

(1) cf. Robert Gordon of Straloch's description of Strathavon for
second edition of Blaen's Atlas: -

"Strath Avin, a small inland district, now called Strath-dow, the
family estate of the Marquesses of Huntly, lies along the
valley of the River Avin, which Timothy Font, who surveyed all
these parts, told me is the clearest and of the purest water of
all the rivers of this kingdom. But in this there is no indica-
tion of a good soil, for it is extremely lean, the crop is
scanty and in some years scarcely ripening, so that the chief
reliance of the inhabitants is always on pasture which never
fails them.
(Macfarlane's Geographical Collections 11.252-3; translated by

(2) In Peeblesshire and Haddingtonshire, for instance.
see I.P.Grant: "Social & Economic Development of Scotland
before 1603." p.106.

(3) see "Swiss Life and Landscape" by Emil Egli,
Kirkmichael, having in the south of the parish such a large mountainous area without permanent population, was unusually well provided with summer grazings, having, in fact, more than sufficient to support the small stocks kept throughout the year by the ordinary tenants, even when the whole forest area of Glenavon was retained in the Duke of Gordon's hands.

All holdings were provided with pasture at distances varying from two or three to as many as eighteen miles from the main property.

"Every town or half dauch of land in this country have their own glens (1) and pasturage," says John Stewart, Torbein, in 1770— he was in charge of the duke's woods and rivers — and adds that he "knows of no glen in this country that is common to more than one town or half dauch except the Lettermore."(2)

That occasional or local shortages did arise, however, may be gathered from the following incident reported in 1769 by 60 year-old Patrick Reach, Tomintoul. (3) He was present in John Grant's house in Tomachlaggan about 50 years before, when "he saw and heard John Grant of Carron din and when at denner passed the butter and cheese he was etting upon which Anna Grant the landlady ensured that it was hard upon her to have good cheese and declared that he heard Carron say for what reason she said so, and she ensured that

(1) 'glens', 'glennings'—Shealings.
(2) deposition G.C.P. 39/13.
(3) Do. G.C.P. 15/7.
the people of Laggnavoulan and Deiline eatt up all the grass with the cattle in the biggining of sumer befor her husband cowld gett up his sheel or bothie therfor it was ill to her to have butter and cheese." Carron's advice to her was to sheel on the Rive of Craigvein (in the Paevait near Inchrory) where his grandfather had sheeled when he lived in Tomachlaggan.

The Carron connection with Strathavon shealings goes back a further three generations to 1555 when the first Grant of Carron was granted a charter of the lands of Inverchaabock (Inverchebit) and others which he had apprised from Farquhar Gibbenson alias Macallan (a Stewart, that is) who in turn had succeeded Isobel Coutts, a widow of Alexander Crom McAllan. The latter, in the days before the Gordons took over Strathavon, had had his possession of Inverchebit and his office of Tochdoreship annulled by Sir Walter Stewart of Strathavon in 1476. He is known to have been, before this, in possession of the shealings of Altnagillemhichael, Craigbain, Stron and Glenmullie, and Stron of Bracklet, in addition to a share in the fishings of Glenavon and the Linn of Avon.

(1) The housewife prided herself on her "cellar" at the end of the shealing season. The cellar of Willoch's house at Kirtown contained "a great deal of cheese and potatoes." G.C.P. 39/25.
(2) John Grant of Carron, alain by Grant of Ballindalloch in 1628. He had a wadset of Glenconglass, Tomachlaggan etc. in 1626.
(3) G.C.P. 6/9.
(4) G.C.P. 6/9/1; Spalding Club Miscellany Vol.IV. p.135.
Between 1555 and 1627 the Grants of Carron (on the Spey) came into possession of a large tract of Kirkmichael territory in addition to what they held outside the parish (namely, Culquoich and Carron). It comprised Inverohebit, Dell, Kirktown, Ballantruan, Achlichny, Glenconglass, Ellick, Tomachlaggan, Balneden, Inverlochy, Delvrogat, and Wester Inveronie; that is, the greater part of the parish below Ruthven. The Carron monopoly of the north and of the parish was not broken until 1736 when there was a roup of the wadset lands of Colonel John Grant of Carron. (1) By virtue of these wadsets Carron and his tenants had the benefit of extensive areas of shealing country and his Speyside tenants, too, it will be seen, also enjoyed the use of them.

The shealings were mostly situated on the Conglass and tributaries between Glenmullie and the Lecht; on the Avon from Dalestie to Inchrory and in Glenbuilg, with, adjacent to these, a very important area called the Paevait (Gaelic, Feith Bhait) around the headwaters of the Don; and, westwards beyond the Forest of Glenavon, on the water of Caiplich. There were others near the head of the Burn of Brown, on the Ailnack, the Ohebet, and the two Fergie burns. These expanses of summer grazing were rather out of proportion to the feeding available to local stock during an eighteenth-century winter but inroads were made on them from other quarters.

It does not seem possible to discover much system in the allocation of shealings. Though one might expect to find them in the upper reaches of the rivers on which the respective properties

(1) He died on active service in the West Indies in 1741, but his widow continued to live in the parish at Kirktown and Inverlochy.
stand, this is not invariably so. Croughly, on the Conglass, possessed no grazing higher up the same stream, but had some a mile or two away at Blairawick at the sources of the Chabet which would seem to have belonged more properly to Ellick and Glenconglass; and in addition "the glen called Fellintuirt (Fail an tuirc)" above Dalestie on the Avon, at a distance of nine or ten miles. Ellick and Glenconglass had to make do with such pasture as lay between them and the Faemusach and they laid claim to the upper half of the little Culraggie burn, a Livet Tributary, where they had a bothie, and where the cattle of the Achnarrows, Clashmore ("within pistol shot of it") and Lettoch "did eat promiscuously." In 1757 the factor decided, very rightly, that this glen was more necessary for the Glenlivet crofts. Strangely enough, the present parish boundary which crosses the Faemusach does not keep strictly to the watershed but includes a part of the Culraggie within Kirkmichael.

Inverourie, completely on the Avon, and Ardgeith on the Chabet, had grazings on the upper Conglass at Badnafrave (approx. 58 acres) and Glenmullie (part) respectively. The Tomachlaggans and Ruthven at the junction of Avon and Conglass had their sheeling places, the former at Glenmullie and Casfuar, the latter at Uchcanlancart and Garlet. Achlichny, Ballantruan, and Ballenlish, all in the wedge of Inverchebitmore between Conglass and Chabet but none the less on the Avon, had their sheelings on Conglass-side at Stronavaich, Shanrie, and Redavae. Stronavaich is the nose (stron) of land which juts out between the south bank of the Glenmullie burn and the Conglass; Shanrie and Redavae lie next to Casfuar on the north

(1) G.C.P. 6/15/7.
(2) G.C.P. Box 23 Bundle 6.
bank of the Alt na Seilsach.

Although most of the right bank of the Conglass was monopolised by Carron's tenants - Ruthven's grazing place at the furthest point, opposite Blairnamarrow, being the only one not included in Carron's wadsets - it was otherwise with the left bank. Such pasture as there was on Tornabat belonged to Wester Cطالب (the Tomintoul-St. Bridget area) which also shared with Achriechan the grazings of Letterbeag and Lettermore, two miles up the Conglass, an area of 140 acres out of the three hundred or so of course grass and "reesae" which stretches upstream as far as Blairnamarrow. This territory was conveniently divided by the burns which flow across it to the Conglass. Beyond Lettermore were Riantorran (Reidh an torran) and Badnafrave, both named in a contract of 1681 as shealing-places of Easter Camdel. (1) On an eighteenth century map, however, Badnafrave appears as "the grazing place of Inverourie", so that it must have changed hands, perhaps in view of the fact that from the seventeenth century Inchroy on the Avon and, from 1722, Glenbuilg too were added to the grazings of Easter Camdel.

Blairnamarrow, the most remote of the grazings on this bank, was the shealing place of Achriechan, and is mentioned as early as 1575. (2) When Blairnamarrow was being "improved" the extent of the holding as set out in a plan then drawn amounted to sixty-four acres. Much of the grazing was up the Blairnamarrow burn and Meur Chrionach, and it may very well have extended in practice to the summit of the Lecht hills, the march with upper Donside.

(1) G.C.P. 6/13/1.
(2) G.C.P. 6/14/1.
Though Aohrischan and Blairnamarrow, its sheeling, are both on
the Conglass, they are on opposite banks, and there are two instances
of this on the Avon where Balneden and Fodderletter on the left bank
have their shealings eleven or twelve miles distant, on the right
bank at Delneiiesed and Bracklet near Inchroy.

Heather is nowhere far removed from the banks of the Avon and
it finally appears to close in around the river a little way above
Torbain. At Dalestie, however, we unexpectedly come on more green
haughs and steep grassy slopes with, nowadays, a teeming population
of rabbits. These are the first of the summer shealings in the
main valley, stretching from this point right through to Glenbuilg.
In many places the slopes are strewn with scree and topped by crags
but above these again rough pasture extends on undulating slopes up
to about two thousand feet.

Torbain was originally part of the pasture of Achnahyle, whose
tenants shealed in the glens of Fergiemore and Fergiebeag and in
the branches of these streams, Meur an Loin in particular being
often named in contracts of wadset.\(^1\) In 1642 Alexander Innes of
Coxton held the Gaulrigs and Delavorar, as well as Achnahyle, in
wadset and the contract mentions, in addition to the above shealings,
Fireachmore and Bogluachrach which were pertinents of Delavorar and
Gaulrig, the Fireach lying on the hill above Dalchaoil, and
Bogluachrach about five miles upstream from Delavorar. Between
these two were the sheals of Altanarroch the ruins of which are
still to be seen near where the burn (alt) of the name runs into
the Avon. They are marked on more than one map but do not appear

\(^1\) G.C.P. 6/13.
to be mentioned in any contract or charter. Sir Thomas Dick
Lauder mentions the place in a far-fetched story of Shaw of Inchrory,
giving the impression that it was a grazing-place of Inchrory, which,
from having been itself a shealing, had by that time become the
home of the Shaws whose forbears had moved from Rothiemurchus to
Donside. If so, Inchrory was unique in the district in having its
shealing downstream.

During a march dispute between the Duke of Gordon and the Laird
of Grant in the years 1766 to 1771 it was established that the
lands of Delnebo had originally been feued from the family of Gordon
without any special boundary in the pasturage between them and the
properties of Gaulrig and Delevorar, and that all the hill ground
between these places and the Ailnack was kept as common pasturage(1).
This extended up the Avon to the bounds of the Forest, there being
only one other shealing below Inchrory on that side. This was the
Elanquish belonging to Inverlochy.

The Coxtor wedset of 1642, mentioned above, was later divided
between Grants, including those of Easter Elchies, and Macgregors,
often styled Grant. In 1717 the Grants of Achnahyle had the near-
by possessions of Keppoch and Redorraoch with the usual Achnahyle
'glens' of the Fergies and the shealing of Fellintuirk,(2) already
mentioned as a grazing of Croughly in 1673. Fellintuirk's double
connection with Keppoch and Croughly must have come about in the
time of Alexander Farquharson of Invercauld's wedset (1673) of
"the lands in Stradown called Potterletter,.Tombreck, Couchlie,
the plough of Keppoch etc".(3) Invercauld came by this wedset in

(1) G.C.P. 39/18.
(2) G.C.P. 6/13/12.
(3) G.C.P. 6/15.
compensation for the loss of Glengairn to the Earl of Aboyne as a portion of the Huntly lands allowed to the latter by King Charles II in 1660. (1) This wadset was redeemed in May 1712, when John Gordon of Glenbucket as bailie for the Marquis of Huntly paid to John Farquharson of Invercauld, son and heir of Alexander, 5,600 merks, James Grant of Achnahyle furnishing 3,600 merks of the redemption money, and William Gordon in Croughly 2000 merks, in order to procure for themselves wadsets of parts of the lands. (2)

Fail-an-tuirc, which is immediately above Dalestie, was in the 18th century more often referred to as Polintuirk, taking its name from a pool on the Avon, probably in the vicinity of the bothies, Dalnasac was a part of this grazing, going with Keppoch and the smaller possessions of Redorrach and Lyneyorn. The next mile and a half in the direction of Inchory form what was the grazing of Fodderletter called Dalneilead, a very bare and wild part of the glen even in summer. In the 18th century there were, during the ..

(1) G.C.R. 7/1/6. (2) G.C.P. 6/15/9. Receipt Marquis of Huntly to John Gordon, 23rd May, 1712. (In October, 1712, the Gordons who had been in Croughly from about 1560, were first granted Croughly in wadset. William, the recipient, was 'in Crouchly' in 1699 and one of the men of Alexander Gordon of Camden. The earliest mention of the Croughly Gordons as tacks-men is in 1710 when John Grant of Tomnavoulan who had received the lands from John Grant of Carron, assigned to William Gordon 'in Cruichlie' the lands of Ellick and Easter Glenconglass. The latter disposed these on 10th May, 1712, before taking two-thirds of Croughly in wadset on 23rd October. There were Farquharsons in the other third of Croughly, called Lagan, from the same date. These were a branch of the Achriachan family and, of course, related to the Invercauld Farquharsons).
grazing season, generally four or five bothies here frequented by
the Podderletter tenants. The first few hundred feet of the hill-
side at the approach to Inchory are too steep and rocky to provide
much pasture but higher up the hillside are the Stron of Bracklet
(Braco Leitir) and Carn Bad a'Ghual where the people of Belniden
shealed. There were sometimes as many as six or seven bothies
there used by others of Carron's tenants besides those of Belniden.

It is not quite clear whether or not Inchory and Glenbuilg
were pertinents of Easter Camdel (Camdelmore) which we have seen
had grazing on the Conglass. In 1681 Inchory is included in a
disposition of Easter Camdel by John Grant of Geick in such a way
as to suggest that it was granted in addition to the usual sheal-
ings. The Gordons of Tirriessoul who took over this wadset in
1681 and held it until 1721 have only Inchory mentioned in the
contract and they are known to have shealed there. Glenbuilg

(1) G.C.P. 6/13/15. "Easter Camdell with the shealings thereof
called Rentorin and Badnairraw and all other
shealings and Grassings pertaining to the
said lands used and wont together with the
shealings of Inchrorie"

(2) G.C.P. 6/13/17. In an 'Obleigement be Camdell to My L.of Huntly
anent Glenbuilg' 1712, Alexander Gordon affirmed
that the grazing of Glenbuilg had been in the
possession of his family from the time of his
father's wadset of 1681. But on information
being given to the Marquis of Huntly that it
was not actually part of the wadset Gordon
undertook to pay the estimated value of the
grazing, if upon examination it was found that
it did not properly belong to the Camdell
lands, (G.C.P. 23/2).
not previously mentioned as pertinent of any tack, is in 1722 set with Easter Camdel and Inchorry to Robert Farquharson of Achriachan and John Stuart of Belletterrach. Robert Farquharson remained tacksmen of both Glenbulilg and Inchorrie until 1731 when he was succeeded by John Gordon younger of Glenbucket for three years. Both Glenbulilg and Inchorry continued to be leased with Camdelmore beyond 1735. There was some fine grazing in Glenbulilg on the east of the Builg burn.

Apart from the disputed ground of the Faevait just to the east of Inchorry and Glenbulilg, and the upper reaches of Glen Avon (the Forest) the remaining shealings were situated in the western bounds of the parish on two Avon tributaries both of which have a change of name about halfway along their courses, the Brown-Lochy and Caiplich-Ailnaok. The Caiplich sheals on the Abernethy boundary belong more properly to the Forest of Glenavon which was a separate grazing area.

Some distance up the gorge of the Ailnaok were the sheals of the Slatlaich, Rupprich (from Carn Ruabraich) and Corrieleachkach, (1) in much more difficult country than those of the Avon and Conglass. These were attached to Delnabo held by the Grants but the Duke of Gordon who was superior of the Delnabo lands also claimed a right to them in respect of the "ploughland of Tombreck" adjacent to Delnabo. In practice they seem to have been much used by the Abernethy tenants of Grant of Auchernach in Bellemore, Ballefirth, and Auchernach, through his having also held the lands of Delnabo in feu from the first Duke of Gordon. (2)

(1) G.C.P. 39/18.
(2) Do. 23/19.
"CONTOVERTED GROUND"

Busiest of all the shealing centres was undoubtedly that of the Paevait (Peith Bhait) an area of four or five square miles around the head of the Don, deriving its name from a section of that river. The source of the Don is the Alltnagille-Mhichael (1) which rises on the north-west slopes of Culchavie and is joined by several other burns to form the Peith Bhait which becomes the Allt Tuileach and then the Don. The area is enclosed by the ridges of Carn Bad a'Chuail and Ruigh Speanan on the west, and Craigvain and Culchavie on the east, to form a great bowl, 600 feet deep and predominantly green. The rim rises to over 2,300 feet. Much of the ground is wet and mossy but there is rough pasture on the slopes and good grazing along the numerous burns. More than twenty bothies were at one time or another in the Paevait, and that there was once considerable droving traffic through it is evident from the two tracks which enter it, the "Road of the Eskmore" from A'anaside (2) via Fergiebeag and the other from the Cairn and the Builg. These coast round the hillsides to join on Donside above Inchmore. (3)

(1) "Mh" sounded as "V", and often written phonetically thus in Gordon Castle Papers.
(2) local variant of 'Avonside', "Avon" being pronounced "A'anW
(3) cf. Burt, Letters from the North of Scotland, 1754. 11. 134:-
ed. Edin. 1896.

"I have several times seen them driving great Numbers of Cattle along the sides of Mountains."
The whole area is now in Aberdeenshire, the boundary with Banffshire being the watershed which lies very close to the Avon at Inchory. The Strathavon people, however, claimed as far down the Faevait as the "Point of Crossarich", about two miles east of Inchory, a claim for which there seemed to be no justification other than a long prescriptive right and the charters granted of old to their tacksmen by the Earls of Huntly.

As far as the flow of the water is concerned only one part of the area was in doubt. More than one old witness in the year 1770 claimed that the Alltnagillevichael had formerly run into the burn of Rorack and thence to the Avon. Janet Farquharson,\(^1\) who had drawn water from the burn for twenty years, "minded to see the burn run into the water of Avin" but that since her marriage in the year 1714 "by a spait of rain and thunder it was turned into Don." An examination of the terrain shows this to have been perfectly feasible and there is an old course with deeply undercut banks to support the contention. The tenants of Strathavon and of Corgarff had for long disputed the ownership of the Faevait. The Gordon Castle view of the matter was expressed by Mr. Ross, the duke's cashier, in 1776: "It would appear that sometime perhaps about the 1715 the people of Corgarff taking advantage of the situation of the Family of Gordon extended their views to the grassings of the Faevait and at last put up bothies there. The consequence of which was that the Duke in the 1726 found it necessary to make a legall Interruption.\(^2\)" The Corgarff people

\(^1\) Deposition, G.C.P 39/13.
could have claimed with at least equal fairness that it was due to the attainder of the Earl of Mar and the confiscation of his estates after the 'Fifteen that the duke or his bailies felt themselves to be in a position to exclude Corgariff tenants from the grazing.

George, the first Duke of Gordon who, as governor, had held Edinburgh Castle for King James, was under confinement in Edinburgh when he died there in 1716. His son and heir, the Marquis of Huntly, was, for his share in the Rising, also confined in Edinburgh for a period of six months after his submission in February, 1716. After petitioning that his affairs in the north were suffering he was in November 1716, allowed to go home, probably out of consideration for his great influence over a very numerous tenantry. Mar, on the other hand, had escaped to the Continent where he died in 1732, the fate of his estates not being decided until some years after 1716. (2)

In 1724 the Government permitted two brothers of the attainted Earl of Mar, James Erskine, Lord Grange, and David Erskine of Dun, a Lord of Session, to purchase the estates on behalf of Thomas, only son of the earl. The trustees seem to have held the estates for several years and then, as the lands were encumbered with debt, to have proceeded to sell all the Aberdeenshire lands, the greater part going in 1731 to William Duff of Braco, later first Lord Fife. The residue of the estate went to the Earl of Mar's son in 1739. (3)

(2) Tayler. op.cit. p.197.
(3) Tayler Ibid.

Balfour Paul. Scots Peerage, Vol.V.
From evidence taken in 1770 it is clear that the Strathdon people did pretend a right to the Faevait before the 'Fifteen, even though a great deal of their shealing was done in the Duiver, Meoir Vannich, and Dunanfeu lower down the Don. Factors of the Earl of Mar had on at least two occasions rounded up Strathavon cattle in the Faevait and pounced them. The earlier driving carried out in or before 1689 by Spalding, Mar's factor in Kildrummy, was well-known to both Strathavon and Corgarff men eighty years after it took place from the circumstance that John Grant of Carron, whose cattle were driven as far as Alloa, Mar's residence, refused to relieve his cattle on Spalding's terms and began a process against the earl of Mar. This devolved upon Spalding who was decerned to pay 16,000 merks and became bankrupt. The process, however, cost Carron 10,000 merks in addition to his cattle which he never recovered. (1)

Sometime before 1712 John Innes of Sinnahard, factor and bailie of regality to the Earl of Mar, also drove the Faevait. (2) About the year 1720 a Strathavon driving was carried out by James Grant of Ruthven.

(1) Depositions in 1769 and 1770 by John Risch, Tomochlaggan, John McHardy, Corgarff, and James Grant, Lynachork. G.C.P. 39/13.

According to Alex. Stuart or Gibbenach in Achluany the decree was obtained in the year of Carron's death, which must mean 1689. The next laird, Col. John Grant died in the West Indies in 1741. It was in 1689 that John, Earl of Mar, succeeded to the title. He died in 1732.


Innes was also connected with Culquoch in Strathavon. He died in 1725.

V. Tayler: "Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in the '15". p. 135.

The weakness of the Corgarff position seems to have lain in the fact that, though their cattle grazed throughout the Faevait along with those of Strathavon, their owners had no bothies nearer than Inchmore to which the cattle were generally removed at night. No Corgarff sheals, it seems, were built within the Faevait until Lords Grange and Dun or their bailies,\(^{(1)}\) in the 1720's, encouraged their tenants to build there. The Duke of Gordon's reply to this was to send his bailie, James Grant of Ruthven on 23rd May, 1726 to "take Instrument against them in common form of Protestation." This did not have the desired effect and on 21st October, 1727, Robert Farquharson of Achriechan made "actual reell and legall Interruption by throwing down the baill sheallings and bothies\(^{(2)}\) and likewise protested that they should at no time thereafter presume to sheal, build bothies or anyways possess the said ground under the penalty of being liable to his Grace the Duke of Gordon for Intrusion molestation oppression and wrongous possession and for all cost skaith and damage that he shall sustain thereupon." (G.C.P 39/13).

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\(^{(1)}\) John Risoh in Tomachlaggan who was present at the 1726 protest says that McHardie, a Donside man, said he was building by order of James Farquharson of Balmoral, Doer and Bailie to Lord Grange.

\(^{(2)}\) The Bothies belonged to John McHardie, Burnside of Corryhoul, Alex. and James McHardie brothers, Easter Corryhoul, and Alex. McHardie and John Gordon, both of Wester Corryhoul. They were on Clachfeann. Robert Farquharson had thrown off a few divots in the 1726 interruption but they were repaired and reoccupied in the following year when Farquharson "threw them down, cutt and destroyed the timber of them."
The Corgarff tenants complained to their factor, Leith of Overhall, who referred the matter to Dun and Grange. Later that year these lords, accompanied by Farquharson of Invercauld and Farquharson of Balmoral, rode through Glenbuilg to the Faevait, expecting to be met by the Duke of Gordon or his principal bailie. The duke, however, was represented by his Master of Horse, William Gordon of Minmore, considered by the opposition to be little more than "a menial servant." Lords Dun and Grange took offence and refused to deal with the Strathavon party which also included Robert Farquharson of Achrischan.(1)

In the following January (1728) Lord Dun wrote from Edinburgh to the Duke. (The letter is endorsed "Lord Dun's very kindly letter about marches.") He is hurt at the "riotous manner in which Robert Farquharson of Achrischan and Farquharson of Campdell with some others in Strathdoun (i.e. Strathavon) threw them (the sheals) to the ground cutting their timber in pieces and when challenged had the assurance to affirm that they acted bye your Graces warrant .... If at that time any gentleman with proper powers and commission from your Grace had met with us ... all

(1) Donald Stewart in Achnahyle (born c.1695) deponed how one of Lord Grange's servants attempted to poind his cattle but "he threw him on his back in view of the spectators and carry'd off his cattle by speed of foot." When he saw Lord Grange next day at Andrew Farquharson of Allargue's house he was offered a job and a crown to drink his lordship's health.
"question had been easily removed... We choose to table it before your Grace in the first instance rather than do it any where else." He and Lord Grange "have it much at heart to have the honour of living in great friendship and good neighbourhood with your Grace and those that live under you."

On the 25th May 1728, Dun again wrote to the duke: "In complyance with the civil and neighbourly proposal your Grace was pleased to make in your letter I was last winter honoured with, My Lord Grange and I have named and informed Mr Farquharson of Invercauld to meet with anyone to be named by your Grace in order to visit the contraverted ground 'twixt your Grace and us ... to determine upon the marches that all ground of debate and contention 'twixt the two different countries may for the future be removed."

"But perhaps 'twill take some time for examining into and finishing of this matter, and we are advised by our factor in the north that now is the season of building sheallings and that our tenants in Corgarff must presently sett about the working at them otherwise must suffer greatly: and therfor I humbly beg of Your Grace that you'll take no offence or umbrage at rebuilding of their sheallings or suffer people to make resistance and I hereby oblige myselfe, that if upon trial and in the event it be found that their sheallings are built without their own bounds and upon your Grace's property that they shall not only be pulled down but all dammages shall be repaired."

Four days later the duke sent these instructions to Robert Farquharson of Achrischan:

"Since my Lord Dun and my Lord Grange have been very friendly enent the debate ... and that Glenbucket and Overhall have been
"upon the place visiting the marches who have agreed that the
Faevait be a Commonyt for my people of Strathavin and the people
Curgarff for pasturing their own cattle allendarlie excluding all
grazings of other people's cattle whatsoever which you are to see
performed as also you are to see the Curgarff sheals and nutts
removed from the place where they now are to the place where
Glenbucket and Overhall shall appoint by a writ under both their
hands there to remain in all time coming ... and you are to
cause insert the same in the Court Books of Strathavin for eviting
all debates afterwards."(1)

For the repair of the Curgarff sheals Robert Farquharson was
also required to "Give to John Gordon of Glenbucket or order upon
demand wood to the value of thirty shillings sterling made out of
any place where Minmore and ye think most proper." The wood was
taken from "Craighuskik in Glenaven" (i.e. the Craighalkie near
Inchrory) and was more than sufficient for the repairs as the
McHardys of Corryhoul are mentioned as having taken the surplus to
Corryhoul.(2)

It is not certain how long the above arrangement was maintained,
but there is no doubt from the available evidence that until about
...
...
...

(1) Endorsed "Taken from an old copy in Glenbucket's custody." The
court books containing the writ could not be traced in 1776 due to Glenbucket's papers having been "scattered and
many of them lost in the 1746." G.C.P. 39/13.

(2) Various depositions 1769-70.
1740 Corgarff and Strathavon people alike exercised considerable freedom in regard to shealing sites. Through "good neighbourhhood", as the saying was, Strathavon people shealed down almost to the corn lands of Corgarff and Corgarff tenants penetrated even into the Forest of Glenavon and up the Loin. Owing to family relationships some enjoyed greater freedom than others and we find Andrew Farquharson of Allargue shealing on Inchrory, and with Donald Farquharson(1) of Achriachan at Bogluachrach. John Farquharson of Wester Camdel, it is true, seems to have attempted to monopolise the area round Alltnagillevichael where he was so well established that he was considered by many Strathavon men to have some title to the place.

The provision regarding the exclusion of outside cattle was by no means adhered to, however, and this led to periodic drivings and poinings by each side; and the zeal of the opposing bailies caused the gradual abandonment of the idea of a commony and the promotion, rather, of their own particular interests in the area. These 'drivings', a Gordon Castle memorandum tells us, "may have been necessary to clear the ground of Strangers Cattle or Gaul(2) (sic) Cattle which all tenants who have not stocks of their own are always much disposed to introduce as they draw payment for grasing them."

(1) He was "out" in the '45, escaped to France and died there before 1756.

(2) Gall, Gaelic = Gaul, Norseman, stranger, foreigner: native of South of Scotland or Scot who cannot speak Gaelic; lowland; constantly used to mean, when applied to cattle, those from the lowlands.
From a deposition (1770) by James Grant in Lynachork we learn that "when he lived in Tomachlaggan with his father their glens to which they had a right in the Braes of Strathavrin being pestered with outlandish cattle against which practices the Duke George Gordon made an act in his regality that no man within the Lordship of Strathavrin and Glenlivet should have any, under the failzie of the price of the cattle, he got an extract of the same and by virtue thereof did drive the hills of the Braes of Strathavrin for them."(1)

Tomachlaggan's proper sheeling was in Glenmullie on the Conglass but the reference here is to a share in the Faevait sheelings of Carron's wadset of which Tomachlaggan was a part. Carron's tenants in Kirkmichael had to contend with considerable competition for this grazing. There was always a strong contingent of Speyside cattle there in the summer. George Gordon, Laggenvoulan, who was for twenty years at Inchrory in the service of Robert Farquharson of Achriachan, regularly saw about a hundred head of Culquoch cattle on the north side of the Faevait where, too, Robert Grant of Ringora, a cousin of Carron's sheeled on the Rive of Craigvean for sixteen years. On the south side, John Farquharson of Wester Canmel, who had his bothie on the bank of the Alltnagillevmichael, was for twelve years at least in the habit of taking in four or five score of cattle from Strathspey, mostly belonging to Grant of Lethendy.(2) These grazed from Glenbuilg to the Meoir Vannich and

(1) Circa 1735.
(2) John Smith in Pollivouk (dep.1770) herded "Lethendie's nolt in Glenbuilg for eleven years" from c.1723.
the same herds looked after both the home and the "gall" cattle. Even the subtenants in the Braes such as Donald Stuart in Achnahyle, "were in use to take in Gaul cattle to the Faevait, Fergie and other glens", though they were not privileged to do so by their tacks. John Stuart in Torbain (1770) believed that he could take in whatever cattle he could keep on the grass of his of his own possession there being no prohibition in the minute of tack from the duke, although "formerly when the Duke of Gordon was taking grasings in the Forest there was an order that none of the people of the country should take in any grasing cattle but that they should all be sent to be grased in the Forrest."(1) Stuart himself had herded the cattle of a Culquoich tenant for sixteen or seventeen years and when these did not amount "to more than about fifteen he arranged to take in up to fifty along with them as it was not worth his while to keep only the small herd."

The income from the grazing cattle must have been very welcome to most tenants; some were dependent on it. Writing to the factor in 1773, Robert Grant who had Glenbuilg added to his tack of Delavorar, asserts that "he has no way to make the rent of Glenbuilg but by taking outlandish cattle."(2) Few tenants were able to buy in cattle for the season and due to scarcity of winter feeding - turnips were not introduced into any part of Banffshire before 1748(3) - the keeping of larger stocks throughout the year

(1) The Forest of Glenavon was about 1750 kept in the duke's hands under a manager.
(2) G.C.P. 39/25.
(3) Jas. Donaldson, "General View of Agric. of Banff." 1794.p.36.
was impracticable.

Some of the Speyside Grants grazed their cattle for so many consecutive seasons in the Inchory area that the arrangement has all the appearance of sub-letting; one herd, (1) who was for ten years in the service of Robert Grant of Tamore when he shealed with Robert Farquharson at Inchory, in fact remarks that Grant of Lethendy "had the grazing in Glenbulg from John Farquharson in Camdell."

The Corgarff tenants, too, took in low-country cattle, though perhaps not on the same scale. John Stuart in Tullich mentions that he herded gall cattle along with those of the Corgarff tenants; and James McDonald of Renetton (2) who had a lease of Inchmore (1746-'51) grazed his own cattle in the Faevait "and some cattle he got up from Murray to grass for cattle that he had wintering in Murray." (3)

Whatever may have been the economic necessity of introducing grazing cattle from outside the parish these cattle were in Scots law 'strays' and liable to be detained by the proprietor on whose ground they were trespassing. Whereas prior to 1686 a proprietor might only drive trespassing cattle off his ground, a statute of that date empowered him on his own authority to detain such cattle until a penalty of half a merk per head, plus reparation for damage, and expenses for

(1) John Kay in Weerach.
(2) After the '45 he was factor for the Barons of Exchequer on Glenbucket's forfeited estate in Strathavon, (forfeited Estate Papers.)
(3) Deposition, 1770.
keeping the cattle were paid him. (1)

A crown per head was the penalty usually exacted in the orgarff and Strathavon districts. When James Farquharson of Balmoral (2) who several times 'drove' the Paevait between 1716 and 1729, had occasion to visit the disputed ground in company with some other gentlemen, they were given milk at her sheal by the wife of John Farquharson of Wester Camdell. (3) When "Balmurrel" took the milk to drink she said she wished it would be poison to him "because he had poinded upon her own bothie there her husband's cattle and made him pay forty crowns for them which he still keep'd in his pocket." (4) Balmoral, it seems, was unrepentant. The poinded cattle, on the occasion alluded to, were driven down by Lynberry to the Castletown of Gorgarff whither the Strathavon owners had to follow. Those who were unable to pay cash - most of them, that is - had to give bills "to the extent of three pounds Scots for each beast before they got them back." Robert Farquharson of Archriachan gave bills for several

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(1) Bell, Dictionary and Digest of the Law of Scotland.
(2) Son of "Black John", 3rd of Inverey and himself 8th of Inverey. In 1726 had a charter of Inverey and Balmoral from Lords Dun and Grange; was aide-de-camp to the Earl of Mar in the '15 and was also in the '45 and wounded at Falkirk. He successfully appealed for his life. d. about 1753.
(3) She was herself a Farquharson - of Allanaquoich.
(4) It was customary to offer a drink of milk to passers-by (Pennant on his tour was given goat's whey at a shealing) and it was considered inhospitable not to offer a stranger a "deoch raheid", a drink for the road. (v. Transaction of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, XIV.136). Unwelcome visitors, it seems, were not excepted.
people's cattle at a crown a beast. (1) On other occasions the
cattle were driven to Corryhoul or beyond Corgarff "to a publick
house called Luibmore". Those that were not relieved by bill or
money were sometimes driven to Farquharson's house at Balmoral.
Strathavon subtenants with but a few stirks of their own sometimes
escaped the penalty whereas Speyside owners would be required to
pay sixpence per beast for a night's watching at Corryhoul in
addition to giving bills for a crown per animal. (2)

The usual practice when a Strathavon raid took place was to
drive the cattle to the moor between Findron and Tomintoul (as it
then was) there to await their owners. The milk cattle, on at
least one occasion, were not taken because James Grant of Lynachork
"thought it a hardship to take them from the people to whom they
belonged and from their calves". (3) The duke's bailies of Strath-
avon were naturally to the fore in these pointings and a witness (4)
describes how when 'Old' Gordon of Glenbucket in 1735 drove all
the Corgarff and Strathavon cattle he found in the Faevait to
Tomintoul, he stayed "not above an hour and saw the owners coming
fast to relieve them".

'Old' Glenbucket was principal bailie to the Duke of Gordon, a
hereditary office in his family, (5) and his eldest son John was
appointed bailie in Strathavon in 1721. In regard to the Faevait
dispute, however, they did not inspire confidence in the Strathavon
people. 'Old' Glenbucket was suspect as a former vassal of the

(2) Do. of John Smith in Pollivouk. 1770. Ibid.
(3) Do. John Stuart, Torbain, who was present.
(4) George Stuart in Achdregny.
(5) "Book of Glenbuchat" (3rd Spalding Club) p.74.
Earl of May, his territory of Glenbuchat, which he sold in 1737, belonging to the earldom, and when George Forbes (5th) of Skellater (on the Don a mile or two below Corgarff) who had married Glenbucket's daughter, Christian, purchased the lands of Corgarff in 1738 it was all too easy in Strathavon eyes to see evidence of partiality to the Skellater faction. At a later date (1776) a Gordon Castle document mentions "the favour and indulgence the people of Corgarff met with after these lands became the property of Skellater, owing to his being married to a daughter of Glenbucket who had the absolute direction of the Duke's matters in that country (Strathavon)".

Between the time of his purchase of Corgarff and the Forty-Five Skellater repeatedly drove the Faeveit. Shortly before the Rising he and Glenbucket cooperated in an extensive drive of all the grazings between Fergie, Glenbulg and Inchmore. Lewis Smith or Gow, a servant of Glenbucket's and later his subtenant in Cnocan of Achnahyle, "with several others went along with David Gordon, Glenbucket's son to drive Glenbulg in the year 1745.

(1) "Book of Glenbuchat" (3rd Spalding Club) p.58.
(2) "House of Forbes", Tayler (third Spalding Club) p.442.
Glenbuchat, Skellater, and Corgarff were frequently held by the one proprietor.
(4) John Stuart Torbain, says: "The year before the last Rebellion"; Joseph Downie in Belneadon, Strathdon - "before August 1745".
Second son and his father's right-hand man in the Rising, died or killed March 1746.
(5) "Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Benffshire in the '45" p.219.
"They did drive the said Glen and brought the cattle they found there and in the Alltnagillevichael to the ward of the Alltnagillevichael when David Gordon sent him to his father Glenbucket to know what should be done with cattle and Glenbucket came with him to Inchroy where they found the late Skellater George Forbes, (1) Peter McGrigor in Camdelmore and several others drinking with David Gordon, and when Skellater came out to Glenbucket he got the cattle that belonged to his tenants relieved without paying anything for them but Glenbucket sent four of the cattle belonging to Peter McGrigor to his own house (2) of Wester Camdale where they remained till Hallowday. (3)

Peter McGrigor was the only person that day who did not have his cattle returned, and the reason is fairly clear. On a previous occasion Skellater had extracted bills from Peter and his brother Malcolm McGrigor, who sometimes "went by the name of Grierson or Grant", and in March 1751, while Skellater was presumably...

(1) He survived Culloden and while hiding in a wood near Skellater House saw his wife, Glenbucket's daughter, save the house from a party of soldiers, under Lord Ancrum by the manner in which she went to meet them, keys in hand and her offspring following. Forbes escaped to France and died in 1767 at Boulogne where his exiled father-in-law had already died in 1750.

v. "Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in the '45". pp.185-5.


(2) Glenbucket had shortly before taken over W.Camdel from the Farquharsons. Heritable Bond and Tack 24Sept. 1742. (G.C.P. V11.8.1.)

(3) dep.1770.
abroad (1) these bills were sent to Charles Stuart of Drumin (2) in the hope that he would "endeavour to recover his payments as his absence from the country had prevented (him) from doing it himself". At a burial in Strathavon Drumin approached Peter Grant of McGrigor and told him of the demand upon his brother, Malcolm, for £200 Scots due to Skellater. He made no headway with McGrigor, however. The bills bore the date 13th July, 1743, payable on 15th August thereafter and an Instrument of Protest had been taken on them. (3)

A fair number of men seem to have been employed on these "drivings". In 1720 Grant of Ruthven, Bailie of Strathavon, had thirty men along with him (4). On the occasion of the Glenbucket-Skellater drive, however, because "Peter McGrigor's friends and relations lived near the glen and might have given information of Glenbucket's and Skellater's intention to draw the glen, Glenbucket took but a few of his people up the water as if going to fish". (5)

(1) In 1752, Government spies reported that Skellater, Dr. Archibald Cameron, and other Jacobite leaders were returning to Scotland but it is not known whether Skellater returned or not. His wife was alive until 1784.
(2) His father was m. to an aunt of Skellater's, Elizabeth daughter of George Forbes 3rd of Skellater (Tayler, "Jacobite of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in the '15" p.191) -- "House of Forbes" p.441 says dau. of William 2nd of Skellater.
(3) dep. Charles Stuart. 1770.
(4) dep. George Steuart, Achnedregin. 1770.
Charles Robertson (dep.1770) remembered that in 1710 Bailie Steuart of Tombea sent the duke's officer to his father and the rest of the Belniden tenants and ordered four men out of that "town" to draw the Faevait, the party being commanded by Grigor Oge in Gaulrig, the duke's forester. On this occasion the cattle were kept at Inchory until word came from Gordon Castle to release them.

One man reports his shealing ground as having been driven "before he was out of bed". There were at times false alarms. "When he was a herd," James Michie in Wester Morven said (1)"he and the other herds of Corgarff told John Farquharson's sons when the Faevait was to be driven and several times told them for their diversion that it was to be driven when it was not intended, as Farquharson's sons upon such notice always drove their cattle into Glenbulg".

Arbitration.

William Forbes, eldest son of George, was not prevented from inheriting his father's estates and became 6th of Skellater. It is on record that he drove the Faevait about 1766 or 1767. Soon after this date it is clear that a submission had been entered into between William Forbes and the Duke of Gordon, the first intimation of it being depositions taken at Gordon Castle in May 1769 and a list of witnesses for Skellater, July, 1769. "His Grace", it was reported from Gordon Castle, "is willing to divide the commony and won't stickle about a few acres because he knows Skellater's lands are scrimp of Grasings and that want of some acres cannot disaccommodate his Grace's lands of Strathaven."

(1) dep.1770.
The arbiters chosen were Alexander Leith of Freefield and Captain George Morrison of Haddo, and the duke and Skellater's law agents were, respectively, Charles Gordon, W.S. Edinburgh and Alexander Stuart of Edinglassie. The duke's factor at Gordon Castle, James Ross, was, in December 1769, only recently appointed as we learn from a letter addressed to him by William Gordon of Glenbucket expressing the latter's pleasure at Ross's appointment — the duke is "luckie to get him" being "much in need of a capable gentleman" — and Ross had to rely much on Robert Willox, the duke's forester for Glenavon whom he advised to concert with William Gordon as regards selecting witnesses on the duke's behalf.

Willox was soon in touch with Charles Gordon, informing him that "Scellater has sent to Stirling for wittness(es) and has employed a great many in the shire of Aberdeen and Banff for his behoof. I had non in this Countrie to assist me". He did not put much faith in William Gordon of Glenbucket as "he knows nothing about the marches nor can he give us any assistance".

Owing to the death of Charles Gordon's father, John Gordon of Clunie, an early meeting of the arbiters was impracticable, and as both sides were anxious to have their old witnesses examined, arrangements were made for their depositions to be taken and to lie "in retentis" till the full examination.

"The old wittness(es) the Duke has in this countrie to prove his Grace property," Willox writes, "Can not live long by course of natour and if they slip of the stage befor they be examined it will
"be a certen loss to the dukes cause". A few weeks later William Gordon informed Ross that "as good witness as we had, I was at his burial Saturday last", and "as the young may dye as much as the old witnesses I would think for my chieffs intrest that at least this sixteen should be deponed".

Both Willox and William Gordon had great respect for the ability of Edinglassie in cross-examination and neither had confidence in Mr. Milne of Breachie, the Strathaven factor, who, Gordon wrote, "is not a fit person for this affair".

Robert Willox had his plan of action ready: "I think, with submission to your better judgement," he wrote to Ross (14th March 1770) "the queries we ought to put to the witness is to prove the Dukes line of march and actwall possession of the Rive of Craigvain with the several pindings of the Strathdon cattle one that Rive of Craigvain, and to prove that the point of Crossarick to be always reckned the march betwixt the Countie of Aberdeen and the Countie of Bamffe Shire / if we prove this all the rest falls in course to be the Dukes property". In regard to Edinglassie he adds, "if he is (to attend) you must be there yourself for I am determined not to witness it unless you or Mr. Charles Gordon be present ... as he will put so many cross questions to the witness which may mar the whole and Brehead is not fite to assure him nor is he fite for Exemining them in this Countrie (perhaps through not having the Gaelic?); I am not afraid if I get the proper assistance to prove the Duke's property".

By the summer of 1770 the arbiters were ready to meet and witnesses were duly summoned by the sherriff officers to appear at Camdelmore.
(Inn) on 21st August, "with continuation of days", there "to bear
leal and sooth fast witnessing in so far as they know or shall be
speared at annent the marches". In case the arbiters should
choose to hear some evidence on the actual ground in dispute, the
duke had sent a tent to Willox, but the whole hearing, lasting
until the 28th, appears to have been held at the inn.

The duke and Skellater had each about a dozen witnesses. Their
ages ranged from fifty to over eighty; many of them were, in fact
uncertain of their exact ages. One, James Grant of Lynachork in
Strathavon, was cited to appear for both parties. Skellater
brought one, formerly a Corgarff man, from as far away as Stirling,
and his list included men from Inveraven (such as Charles Stuart,
Drum) and some Speyside men who had herded gall cattle in the
Faevait and Glenbuilg. He even enlisted John Farquharson of
Wester Camedel's daughter Ann, aged 60, married and living in
Aberdeen, whose evidence must have been damaging to the duke's
cause. Her father's bothy was on the Corgarff side of the
Alltnagillevichael, she explained, "because he had a trock and a
connection with the Forbeses". Alexander Shaw, cited for the
duke, had lived in Strathdon until 1745, before going to Inchory;
but perhaps the duke's most useful witnesses were Janet
Farquharson (aged about 80), and John Stuart, Torbain, his
"forester of woods," whose family had a very long connection with
Strathavon.

In their depositions witnesses frequently dated events in some
such fashion as - "some years after Sheriffmuir," or a"year or two
before Culloden," and many of them had participated in the Forty-
Five. One, cited for Skellater, was Patrick Fleming of Auchintoul who, 14th laird of that name and reputed to be the best swordsman in the Jacobite army, had led the men of Glengairn at Culloden. He had a very unpleasant experience on the battlefield and lost a leg. He is given as "65 or thereby," married, and living within five miles of the Faevait and three of Corgarff. Sometime after the 'Forty-Five he was ruined in a lawsuit with McDonald of Renetton who, as it happened, was another of Skellater's witnesses.

Two witnesses, Robert Stuart in Delschule (aged 72) and Donald Kiah in Bellinrisch of Tomintoul (60) mention that they had been in the Black Watch for one year, in the bounds of the Faevait, with Andrew Farquharson of Allargue as Captain of the Watch.

A great part of the evidence concerns marches, the location of sheals, and details of drivings and poindings. There are also many particulars about "improvements" (i.e. the cultivation of shealings) in Corgarff and on A'anside, and this gradual extension of cultivation up the valleys may partly explain the rivalry for the Faevait grazings. There is all too little about life at the sheals but here and there some homely details come through as

(1) v. Tayler, "Jacobites of Abdns. and Banffs in the Forty-Five" p. 182.
(2) Angus Stuart in Findraw ("Little Angus") and John McHardy are other Jacobites who figure in the evidence. v. Tayler, Ibid. pp. 172ff. 175.
(3) Andrew Farquharson (b. 1675, d. 1742) was in possession of Allargue from 1702. The Black Watch have been traced to 1667 (Bulloch: Territorial Soldiering LXXIV) when companies were first formed to "watch upon the braes" and check lawlessness.
when James McConnachie (Belnacoul) tells how, while living in Mains of Carron he had occasion every summer from 1714 to 1745 to carry up meal to the herds; or, when John Mc Hardy mentions that his grandfather used to carry down the butter and cheese for Farquharson of Edinglassie. Such statements are quite incidental to the more important issues, but George Gordon of Lagganvoulan contrives to end his evidence on a general note: "When one goes with their family to sheal in any glen they make their butter and cheese and spin as long as their women remain there with their milk cows".

An amusing sidelight on the proceedings at Camdelmore is provided in a document (G.C.P. 39/25) about the forest of Glenavon, by Robert Willox, the forester at the time:

"When Captain Morrison was at Camell on the marches of Fevate he desired me kill a dear (sic) as provision was scarce with Charles Man (innkeeper); but Charles Gordon said he wood not let me go for all the dear in the forrest as he pretended he could not lead the prooffe without me. I told Mr. Gordon I wood not let Lachlan Doull (1) go allon to the forrest as I knew he had no honnor and wood be guilty of any crime if he was alon, on which Mackintiyer your Grace haker (hawker) in Baddnoch cam and asked liberty of me to go with Doull, who promised to take care he wood do no harm this I granted as I could not go myself they went and stayed eight days but befor they returned the arbitors had gon from Camdell. Doul told me he killed a hind but McIntiyer did

(1) Lachlan Doul Macpherson of Balnakyle, who had been employed as deer-killer by Willox but was a noted poacher.
not return to me yet. I was told some time thereafter that a stirk fell with the hind; that Doull and McIntiyer made their own use of it but never did see it, but the hind I sent to Gordon Castle, what mead me suspect then was that McIntiyer never returned to me after all his fare promises before he went).

The proof was adjourned on 28th August and resumed at Huntly on 6th November, 1770, when one witness appeared for each side. Against the duke's witness, George Steuart in Achdregny (aged 84), it was objected by Skellater that he was a poor man living on charity; that he had lived in a cott house for fifteen years, and was not worth a hen. He was therefore, presumably under the influence of either party and not a fit or credible witness. The answer given for the duke was that Steuart had until a few years ago held a possession in Glenlivet and had an irreproachable character, and that his age and condition should not disqualify him from giving evidence regarding matters which happened in his earlier and better days. Steuart was admitted as a witness by the arbiters. He had, he claimed, assisted in erecting Carron's bothy on the Rive of Craighvain about the year 1710 and was in the bounds of the Faevait three or four times a year, and on Ben Avon hunting deer, roe and blackcock. In those days he was "a free lad and had no dwelling and though he was bred to the weaver trade he did not then follow it but was coming and going to his father's who lived in the Allanied who was also a weaver".

An older witness than Steuart had, in May 1769, been heard privately before a Justice of the Peace, Sir Robert Abercrombie. He was John Gordon in Hillock of Corency, aged 106 years.
According to his testimony he had been with the Duke, George Gordon, (1) when he made the Faevait marches with the Earl of Mar. The duke "took the deponent's luge and drew it and gave him one shilling of silver and told (him) not to be afraid that his Grace did this because he was the youngest man in company that it was hard to know but he might live when all that was present was dead, that he might depone that his Grace held a court on the point of Crossarich one (sic) his Grace own property". He was present when Lords Dun and Grange visited the Faevait and heard one of them say that if his Grace had been there he would have "put the spade in his Grace own hand to make the marches where his Grace pleased but because it was a course carllis that was sent he wood make no marches". (2)

In the conviction that the best of the witnesses were still unexamined, Robert Willox continued to take declarations in September, 1770, particularly of some former Strathavon men living in Abernethy. (3) "I am determined to have the whole of it (Faevait) in the Dukes mercy then let his Grace dispose of it as his Grace pleases," he writes to James Ross. In October, Charles Gordon is still hoping for a compromise "rather than to waste the subject at law" and the arbiters were still meeting occasionally to hear declarations.

... ...

(1) 1st duke, 1684; died, 1716.
(2) G.C.P. XV. 7.
(3) One of them, Charles Robertson (aged 66), was, according to Willox "A fellow of great resolution and will stand to his point; I can promise you that all Edinglassie Retrick will not alter him or cech him with a cross question".
Six years later, however, the submission is still hanging fire; it seems in fact that a new agreement has to be entered into and new arbiters chosen. William Forbes of Skellater writes on 3rd October, 1776 to James Ross:

"You may believe it is highly disagreeable and inconvenient for me to have a dispute with the Duke of Gordon but after communicating the contents of your last letter to some of my friends, none of them would agree to hold a meeting on the terms you offer; if I had not believed the Faevait to be my absolute property, I never would have given the Duke of Gordon nor myself so much trouble, and as that is the case, I cannot think of bringing such a reflection on myself, as to give it away with my own hands, tho' I believe it has cost me near the value already, but as the question is now moved and the proof taken I wish to have it settled, and for that reason I think it might be submitted to two gentlemen, mutually chosen, and on my part I am ready to name a gentleman as my arbiter. I hope this proposal will not be disagreeable to the Duke of Gordon, if his Grace thinks law necessary, two lawyers might be named: I shall think myself much obliged to you if you can bring this about".

A month later Forbes is still awaiting an answer, owing to the duke's being in London and Ross away from Gordon Castle. From Newe, 4th November, 1776, he writes: "My friends advise me to have the matter determined some way or other; and to insist in a Declarator before the grass season comes on, if the Duke declines a submission".

A change of factor at Gordon Castle had taken place, and ten more years had elapsed, and William Forbes was still trying to move the duke to decisive action. He had expected to hear from William
Tod, the factor, but he considerately supposes "a multiplicity of business has put it out of your hand; and I was loath to be troublesome; but now as the season is come in I must beg that youl be kind enough to put his Grace in mind of the agreement, and get the submission made out and let me know pr bearer, whither Baron Gordon agreed to accept, or if its to be submitted to Mr Dirom and Mr Ràss". (Skellater, 29 May, 1786.)

Baron Gordon did accept, and on 6th October 1786 the Decreet Arbitral was registered at Aberdeen: (1) "Alexander, Duke of Gordon, of the one part, and William Forbes of Skellater on the other part, Considering that several years ago they entered into a submission referring to Captain George Morrison, Esquire, Brother German to Alexander Morrison of Bognie, and Alexander Leith of Freefield Esquires as Arbiters mutually chosen by them, all disputes between them with respect to the marches and privileges of their conterminous properties after-mentioned, in consequence whereof various proofs and proceedings followed but no Decreet Arbitral was pronounced, And that the said George Morrison being now dead, The parties have agreed to devolve the said reference upon the Honourable Cosmo Gordon Esquire of Cluny, one of the Barons of Exchequer in Scotland as sole arbiter between them ...." 

Cosmo Gordon whi had "heard the allegations, examined the proofs and productions of both parties and perambulated and viewed the grounds in dispute," settled the march in such a way

(1) also registered at Edinburgh 7th November, 1786.
as to make the Alltnagillevichael and the Caochan Dhu, on the south side of the disputed area, Strathavon property, the larger area north of this becoming Skelletter's property. It was clearly a compromise and, presumably, some weight must have been attached to the accounts of a change in the course of the Alltnagillevichael. The line dividing the area, running north-west and south-east, from Carn Bad a'Chuail to Culchavie is, to this day, the boundary of the Inchrory deer forest, with the result that a small part of the forest is now in Aberdeenshire east of the watershed which forms the present county boundary.

LIFE AT THE SHEALING.

In 1770 Mr. Anderson, one of the Duke of Gordon's surveyors, made a plan of the Faevait and Inchrory for the use of the arbiters. The stances of many sheals are marked on this and the foundations of many of these still remain. One of them on the east bank of the Alltnagillevichael - "a shealing place of Tamantoul" - has a depth of about three feet of stone still standing at one corner and measures approximately twenty feet by seven. Several bothies stood near the junction of the Alltnagillevichael and the Black Burn (Caochan Dhu), called the "Inver of Clachan Dhu". West of the Faevait on a broad ledge of pasture backed by cliff, high above Inchrory, were the bothies of the Ruigh Speanan where the people of St. Bridget and Tomintoul shealed: a situation unequalled among the shealing places of the parish. Close to the rocks at the back are the remains of small circular buildings, nine or ten feet in diameter, which may have been used as storage places for
utensils, butter, and cheese. Four large sheals varying from fourteen to eighteen feet broad were in front facing up Glenavon. The view westwards over the Linn of Avon is magnificently wild: Ben A'an, Ben A'Bhuird, Ben Meadhoim, the snows of Ben Macduhui above Loch A'an, Cairngorm and Eynac. A distinctly alpine sheal is the one high above Dalnasac towards the head of the Dalnestie burn, tucked away behind a lip of the hill which on the other side drops sheer to the Avon. A well is close by and throughout the summer the blues and yellows of wild flowers spangle the hill grasses.

Many sheals were, however, in quite unimpressive situations along some burn with grassy haughs. Such are those in the Feith Buidhe of the Caiplich. The Caiplich has a great many bothy ruins, those on the main stream being always sited on some ridge or nose (stron) out of reach of floodwaters at a junction with another burn.

The more permanent habitations of the country people were of a very poor order. "Shocking to humanity, formed of loose stones, and covered with clods" was Pennant's description of those he saw on Deeside in 1769; and by 1812 the cottages of the Banffshire crofters were "still mean in the extreme.... sometimes built of stone and clay-mortar, frequently of stone and turf alternately, and often of turf alone". (1) Acustomed to such crude winter dwellings the families who occupied the summer bothies would not think them particularly primitive and would be content if they

(1) D. Souter. op. cit. p.97.
provided a shield against wind and rain. A traveller from Lochaber to Rannoch in the summer of 1755 describes how he lodged one night "in a little hutt in the middle of the Black Mount which was not sufficient to shelter us from the heavy rains that fell during the night; but being much fatigued I slept on a little hay without any other covering than my wet cloaths in the company of about 16 of the inhabitants". (2)

Furnishings were of the simplest, as, indeed, they are in a Swiss herdsman's hut today: "a few horn spoons, their milking utensils, or couch formed of sods to lie on, and a rug to cover them". (3)

The poorest type of sheal was no more than a dug-out covered with turf and branches. From the Faevait proceedings we learn that James Roy, a Corgarff man, had a "socalan (4) or houff made of divots and trees upon the greens of Craigvean where he keep'd several scores of wedders but that the next year he converted his scalan into a bothie". (5) The "lairachs" of many sheals in Kirkmichael show them to have been stone-built, "gavelfork", (6)

(1) The words 'shield' and 'shealing' are from the same root. On a "Sketch of a part of Lochaber," 1767, the word "shealdings" is used. (G.C.P. 9/11/5).
"Shealing" is the spelling generally used in Strathavon documents of the eighteenth century. This spelling is also adopted in "Atholl Chronicles" Vol.1.appendix (List of 62 shealings on Atholl territory, drawn up for the Earl of Atholl in 1669).

(2) Laing MSS. Div.11.623 p.108.
(3) Pennant: "A Tour in Scotland 1769" p.102.
(4) The origin of the name of the old college in Braes of Glenlivet.
(5) dep. George Gordon, Legganvoulan.
(6) The term actually used by the witness: an instance of Gaelic and English word being compounded. 'gavel'is the Gaelic 'gabbal',fork.
couples and pans of wood being required in the construction of the roof.

It was usual for the men to go up in May to repair the bothies before the opening of the grazing season and we hear of the Tomachlaggan tenants going at that time of year to cut timber to make bothies. Scarcely a tree is now left of what was then the wood of Craighalkie beside Inchcroy; and, according to the evidence of a Corgarff man, the wood on Clachfeann in the Faevait was stripped by the Corgarff people after the 'Fifteen when the estate was under the management of the Barons of Exchequer.

Grant of Carron was in the habit of sending his herdsmen up about the beginning of May, some two weeks before the arrival of his cattle, to save the grass from other cattle and from the many horses left to graze in the Faevait by the Strathavon people until the time of leading the peats. In most districts the move to the Shealings appears to have taken place in June;\(^1\) in some, such as Perthshire, the season was limited to about six weeks\(^2\) with dates set for departure and return. The Cluny Macphersons who held the Forest of Benalder from the Duke of Gordon were not permitted to go to the shealings in the forest before 9th June each year.\(^3\) In Kirkmichael, however, there seem to have been no restrictions of this kind, owing, probably, to its abundance of hill pasture, and we find Robert Willox of Gaulrig writing that he kept cattle in Glenbulg "the whole summer and a good part of the harvest".\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness XLV. 138.
\(^2\) Duke of Argyll: "Scotland as it was and as it is", p.202.
\(^3\) "Survey of Lochtayside," 1769. p.70 (Scot. Hist. Society)
\(^4\) G.C.P. 10/15/2.
\(^5\) G.C.P. X111.6.
The cattle were mainly of the original Highland breed, pure black or brindled (deep brown streaked with black shades) and horned. Pure white or partly white beasts were considered inferior. This was the popular Isle of Skye breed; at Gordon Castle in 1781 there were four cows and a bull which had been brought over from Skye, numbering with their offspring, thirty-two in all. Crossbreeds there were, too, stock having been introduced from England and Guernsey before concentration on the black breed which gave Banffshire its great reputation for cattle. In 1794 James Donaldson, writing for the Board of Agriculture, was able to say of Banffshire: "This district has long been famous for the best and largest breed of black cattle in the north of Scotland". About 1750 the value of an ox in Kirkmichael was between one and two pounds sterling but by 1794 it had become £5, Donaldson, reporting that "it had nearly doubled within these twenty years".

With cattle playing such a vital part in the economic life of the parish, it was natural that herding should be the occupation of Kirkmichael men during the eighteenth century. From a merk to a pound Scots for each beast was the normal fee for the season paid to a herd who kept 'low-country' cattle. John Stuart, Torbain, who herded Culquoich cattle in the Faevait was paid only half-a-merk "because the glen was their own, as they said, but

(1) G.C.P. Press III. a.3.
(2) Donaldson, op.cit. p.34; v.also Souter (1812) op.cit.253.
(3) G.C.P. Press III. a.1.
"William McHardie who had them one year made them pay ten pence a head, and he, the deponent, would not take the herding of them back again thereafter without ten pence a head". An occasional sixpence could also be earned, for a night's watching of pointed cattle.

Some buying and selling of cattle went on at the shealings, and the Stuarts of Achnahyle are particularly mentioned as doing a good deal of trading with the Culquoich tenants. Towards the end of the grazing season some of the stock was probably disposed of to drovers(1) who would drive them south direct from the Inchory district. Some of the cattle no doubt found their way to Keith market, which Strathavon men are known to have frequented and where considerable numbers of cattle were sold.(2)

Most herdsmen seem to have taken up the occupation when fifteen years old. Peter Grant in Camdalemore began to herd the Belniden cattle when he was fifteen; John Macpherson, also in Camdalemore, entered Robert Farquharson's service at the same age; while John Stuart herded from the age of fourteen. They were all familiar with life at the sheal before then, of course, there being always present many children "who assist as herds". John Farquharson's wife would give the children "cabers" to hound down any cattle that came near her sheal, as far as dogs could drive them, "particularly the beasts of Corgeriff as she had most envy at them

(1) In many West Highland districts drovers appeared in May and in others, nearer Inverness, also in September. Laing MSS. Div.11. No.623 passim.

(2) Donaldson. op.cit. p.33.
"but did not spare the cattle belonging to other people neither as there was no body there to hinder them". (1)

It must have been a very popular part of a boy's education, under-studying the herds, probably learning to build and repair sheals, making heather and hair ropes, or repairing dairy utensils; with, perhaps, the delights of a poaching foray on a summer's night. James McDonald of Renetton (b.1703) was from the age of fifteen in the habit of going to the Faevait "for taking his diversion of fowling and with the herds when he was young".

Girls, too, were "capable of turning beasts" and Ann Farquharson was at her father's sheal when twelve years old. At a nearby sheal John Panton in Tomintoul had the assistance of his two daughters and a girl herd, Elspet Stewart (b.1712) whom he engaged when she was between 12 and 14 years old. With their mothers and the "deys" or dairymaids the girls had, besides knitting and spinning, to attend to the milk cattle (2) which spent part of the day in Glenbuilg and part in the Faevait, the calves being kept separate in the other pasture and changing when the cows changed.

Lachlan McPherson in Gaulrig mentions (1770) that his mother was "dey" to Mr. Grant of Carron for three years and that "she poured out the whey at the door of Carron's bothie". Presumably

(1) dep. Peter Grant in Camdelmore.
(2) The milk yield was very low. "Every two cows are reckoned to produce through the year about two stone of butter and four stone of cheese". Being MSS. Div.11.No. 623.p.117.

cf. I.P. Grant: Life on an Old Highland Farm. p.61.
Presumably this was during cheese-making; whey was a regular drink and she may have been dispensing it to the herds.

All classes of tenants and subtenants and their children mingled at the sheelings. Mrs. Katerine Gordon(1) of the Gordon's of Tirriessoul and Camdelmore, later of Cluny, who lived in Strathavon until her marriage "except for being from home for her education", was regularly at the sheelings. Robert Grant of Ringorm on Speyside sent his sons to herd their own stock and "for years (they) got their meat in Robert Farquharson's bothie".

The food of the herdsmen is mentioned only in a very general way in such statements as "the Cul quoich herds got their victuals dress'd in the bothies of Polintuirk" or that herds were given "meal and drink" in a certain bothy. One reference is made to the bleeding of cattle, Forbes of Edinglassie being reported as having instructed his herd "not to allow Strathaven people to pasture on the Faevait nor to bring cattle there to be blooded"(2).

Doubtless the ordinary fare was varied at times with the proceeds of a poaching expedition. Certainly the herds were absent for days at a time. John Stuart in Torbain or his sons normally saw the cattle more than once a day but "sometimes neither he nor they saw them for one or two days though he order'd his sons to see to them every day." The cattle, it is clear, were often unattended and went freely in and out of the Faevait, moving to ...

(1) Her maiden name, as the custom was. She was born c.1690 and married William Forbes of Buchaam, being a widow in 1769.
(2) The blood was boiled into the oatmeal. Burt's Letters 11.131.
the Elanguish or some other place on the Avon when the weather was hot. Herds would count them occasionally and leave them until they feared a driving. (1)

Though by day there was sometimes little supervision of the cattle, at night they were generally kept within bounds. There are many references to the "hefting" of the cattle and a witness (2) explains to the arbiters that by hefting he means "haining (3) the cattle in a particular place every night". This the owners were required to do by law. (4) The "rive" (5) (sic) or fold was generally...

(1) John Michie in Wester Morven.
(2) John Robertson in Glenmullie.
(3) "Hain" means, like heft, to confine or restrain (Jamieson). It was originally applied—in the phrase 'haining-time' when the crops were on the ground—to the securing of the crops against damage by beasts (skaith). Bell, Dictionary of Law of Scotland.
(4) Statute 1686 all required domestic animals to be kept in houses, folds, or enclosures at night-time. (Bell)
(5) Jamieson, "reeve," Aberdeen. The word 'rive' was also used by deponents in the more general sense of a shealing ground; for e.g. "the rive of Craigvain" is frequently used to mean the whole pasture of Craigvain, otherwise 'Ruigh of Craigbain'. The Gaelic 'Ruigh' denoting 'slope', 'shealing', 'dairy' or 'bothie' (Dwelly), meant literally 'arm' and from that was applied to a ridge or slope stretching out from the shoulder of a mountain. (v. McLennan's Gaelic Dictionary.)

In West Highland districts the word "airidh" was the word in general use for a shealing; 'ruidh' used also in Perthshire (v. Atholl Chronicles Vol.1. XXXIII), was probably a contraction.
near the sheal where there was "a dry lair for the cattle" but often, it seems, cattle were hefted without any enclosure, especially the large herds of low-country cattle. Robert Grant of Ringorm whose cattle pastured on the Faevait had no rive there and John Stuart in Tullich, herded Corgarff cattle, hefted them every night at the bothie, he says; where-as the gall cattle were hefted "where he found them whether in Muirvannich, Faevait or Glenbulg".

"Improvements."

These hefting-places made fertile by repeated manuring were the first patches of shealing country to come under cultivation. This was simply an extension of the 'tathing' system used on the home croft, by which arable ground was dunged by the cattle lying upon it at night. (1) The Duke of Gordon's factor had claimed that the Corgarff people found it convenient or even necessary to occupy the Faevait grazings because they had cultivated their own shealings. Inchmore, once the shealing of the people of Castle-town of Corgarff, had indeed been cultivated about the time that William Forbes of Edinglassie (an uncle of Skellater's) purchased it. However, both Corgarff and Strathevon witnesses in 1770 made it clear that when they first knew the Faevait there was "not a rig above the Inver. of Fergie (2) then laboured," since which time numerous agricultural improvements had been made between there and Inchory.

... ... ...

(2) Confluence of Muckle Fergie (Fergiemore) and Avon south of Achnahyle.
Some men had seen the marks of old rigs at Inchory when they first frequented it; others had heard that it was laboured long before by William Owre and Donald Glass. Katerine Gordon, of the Gordons of Tirriesoul and Camdel who had Inchory from 1681 to 1721, confirmed that "her father before the dear years had some laboured land upon Inchrorie". From Robert Farquharson's time there (1721) Inchory reverted completely to a sheeling until it was again ploughed about 1740.

Torbain was one of the first improvements on Avonside, being set out from the grazing land of Achnahyle by birleymen and occupied by Stewarts. Patches of cultivation then appeared on Daleatie, Dalnessac, Dalneilead and even across the Avon in the little corner of Elanguish where there was "nothing laboured except about the size of a yard". All of these are shown on contemporary maps, with even a small piece of ploughed land some distance up Fergie-Leag, where the old drove road crosses the stream.

Fergiemore was tackled by James Gordon of Croughly in 1763, the conditions being set out in his minute of tack: (1)

"Whereas it is for the Duke of Gordon's benefits and advantage to have his Glens improved so far as they can be spared and the Glen of fergiemore in the head of Strathaven being improvable and can well be spared by the nibouring tennants who have grass and pastrage for there bestiall without it, and have never been in the use and wont of shealling there, And James Gordon Croughly being willing to cultivate and improve the same, he is here by impowered .....

(1) G.C.P. 7/2/12.
"to enter thereto (The tenants of Achnahyle and the neighbourhood making no objections) And to labour occupy and possess the same during the Duke of Gordons pleasure, and to pay therefore at the rate that shall be determined by two neuterall men one to be chosen for the Duke and the oyr by him who are in case of varience to have one oversman for finally determining the matter. And if the said James Gordon shall be removed before his improvements be brought to bear and bring him any return the men so to be chosen are to determine the proper expence to be paid him........."

Lagganauld is a good example of this stage in the development of the shealing. Peter Grant in Camdelmore who herded the Belniden cattle remarked that the rive or fold was upon the Bracket. James Michie was often in Angus Robertson's sheal there, Robertson's wife being his grandaunt, and he remarked that it was on the brae opposite Lagganauld. The position of the old sheals near which was the fold, and of others on the Lagganauld side of the burn, is shown on a map, of the year 1770, precisely where two cultivated patches appear on the one-inch O.S. map. (1) The field on the north side has a dyke around it, the stones having no doubt once formed the fold.

This process of "improving" the shealings took several spurts during the eighteenth century, cultivation creeping ever further up the glens and turning seasonal grazings into permanent crofts. As a result, the dissolution of the shealing system was certain even without the agency of sheep-run or deer forest. It was a

(1) (Old) Sheet 75. Tomintoul. 1906 revision.
matter of policy with the Duke and his factors to promote the cultivation of pieces of pasture ground and permanent settlement thereof, with a consequent increase in the rental. Encouragement was given in the first place by granting a tack of the improvable land without rent\(^{(1)}\) for a space of one year at least. This resulted in no loss to the duke's rental as the new possessions were separated from the original holding without reduction of rent. The policy is seen in operation in another part of the duke's estates, Lochaber, in 1769, when the different possessions and their respective shealings were listed "together with the augmented rents which they will reasonably pay". The tenants, it was considered had no "just cause to murmur or complain providing they get a nineteen years lease and that the country continue in the present civilized manner And that black cattle and horses keep near to the present value."\(^{(2)}\)

In Strathavon in 1777 Robert Willox was requested to let Mr. Milne, the factor, know what shealings belonged to the various farms in Glenavon and "whether the farmers would not give a good rent for them."

Some of the larger shealings in Strathavon were the first to be separated. By his 19 years tack of Achriachan and Findron from Whitsunday 1721,\(^{(3)}\) Robert Farquherson was obliged to renounce

\(^{(1)}\) At least without money rest; sometimes a wedder was paid.
\(^{(2)}\) GeC.P.9/11/7. A re-arrangement of the Lochaber shealings was effected at this time to bring about a fairer distribution of grazing lands some of which "may easily be spared by the Tacks to which they are now annex'd as they have plenty of Hill Grass besides which they annually Lett upon Strangers from adjacent countries, preferrable to His Grace's Tennants."
\(^{(3)}\) G.C. Rentals V.a.15.
all right he had to the shealings of Lettermore and Blairnamarrow, and at the same time John Ferquharson in W Camdel was likewise required to renounce his share in the same grazings.

In 1735 John Gordon was given a 19 years' tack of the "Shellen of Blerawick towards the head of the burn of Culraigie as possest by himself," for an annuity of £13 6 8d. Most shealings at this time continued as pertinents of the respective holdings with the stipulation however that tenants were required to cultivate a part of the ground. When Colonel John Grant of Carron renounced his wadset of Kirkmichael lands in 1736 the Articles of Roup of the lands provided that "Tennants are to be oblidged to improve their sheallings in the same manner that the possessors of Dell and Campdalemore are." In 1735 "the Glen called Lynvoir" was included as a pertinent in the lease of Dell and Little Inverchubit, but soon after 1750 it was set as a distinct holding to George Gordon, a subtenant by the principal tacksman. In 1765, Gordon and his wife, Isobel Stuart, still held it with "houses, mosses, muires shealings etc."

(1) G.C.P. 23/2.
(2) An interesting case of the opposite requirement occurs in the rental for Glenlivet in 1767 when Alexr. Grant, the tenant, "is bound not to labour any part of ye shealing of Tomamhuilin and Croftbain" and Robert Grant tenant of Corries, Khirn etc. is likewise bound "not to labour any part of the Ruidhe of ye Ladder."
(3) G.C.P. 23/6.
(4) who paid £40 "for a piece of new ground." STRATHAVON RENTALS. G.C.P. No.15.
of its own according to the usual formula of tacks. (1) The rent was £6-13-4d; and for £8-8-4d. and £5., respectively, Rinamarst and Lettermore were similarly set to Robert Farquharson.

Captain Grant of Lurg was in possession of the former shealing of Letterbeag (£8) in 1771 and a few years later (1776) he took a 19 years' lease of Fodderletter, Campdelmore and other properties with the appropriate shealings, which were important to him as a dealer in cattle. He was not however, to have possession of the shealings for the duration of the lease, being required at Whitsunday 1784 "to yield the grassings belonging to the said possessions near Inchorye or any other grassing they may have a title to not adjacent to the corn lands without deduction of rent." (2) "Dellnilet the glen of the devoch of Fodderletter" was on this occasion valued at £3 by birleysmen (William Grant in Laggan of Cruichly and Robert McPherson, Ellick).

A great many tacks were renewed in 1784 and almost all contain a clause excluding the shealings formerly pertaining to the properties. Mid-Tomachlaggan, for instance, was set "exclusive of the

(1) G.C.P. 23/6. The whole development of the Conglas-side shealings is excellently portrayed on a large-scale map preserved in the Gordon Estates Office, Glenlivet. It is undated but from its own evidence must date from about 1760. On it the various shealings are shown as still related to the main holdings, one part of "the Intown Grass of Glenmullie" being in dispute, "possess'd by Achlichnyn but claim'd by Kirktown." Their boundaries are carefully marked and many patches of cultivation are shown, very irregular in shape. There are numerous bothies or other buildings some with yards attached, and the names of the men who made the improvements are added. Lynavoir is marked "Improvement by Geo. Macpherson and Jno. Gordon." The Shealing of Ballenlish is still unimproved while one or two small pieces of arable land are already exhausted and marked "wore out to pasture." (2) G.C.P. 23/22.
"improvements of Casfuar and Auldnacoish," and Inverourie "exclusive always of the shealling or grazing called Badnifrave." (1) Among the sheallings thus separated were Dalestie and Dalnasac and those formerly belonging to Achlichny, Belniden and Ballantruan. Dalnasac was taken from Keppoch and leased with Inverchebit. An exception to these was Elanguish which continued to be the shealing of Inverlochie until 1791 when it appears separately in the rental at £3, although held by the tenant of Inverlochie.

In this way almost all the new improvements on Chebitside, Conglass-side and A'anside were finally divorced from the parent properties by 1787, with only Stronavaich on Conglass and Elanguish on A'anside to follow in 1791.

The new factor in 1787 was a little puzzled by the many new names in his rental - "consequently they are supposed to be all improvements." Included among his list of new names were: Inverchor, Torrulan, Blackhaugh, Belbain, Dalestie, Casfour, Shanrae and Redavae, Dellnalyne, Delnacoul, and Altachmore. (2)

Summer sheallings have been the theme of much sentiment. How often has the mention of the remains of some old shealing in this or that topographical book evoked a feeling of nostalgia for a now almost forgotten phase of Highland life! This simple open-air life during the long summer days must, we feel, have had an idyllic quality. John Buchan in his gripping reconstruction of the massacre of Glencoe does not forget that "life in the glen had its

(1) G.C.P. 23/5.
(2) Rentals v.a.15.
"refinements and its hours of merriment"; and how "up in the sheiling huts in the twilight the girls would spin or dance to the pipes or listen to old tales and harper's tunes." To Pennant and Burt life at the sheals, with its spartan conditions and the complete absence of the amenities of civilisation, was simply another, more grim, version of Highland life. The Alpine pastures would have been equally uninviting to them, one feels; and yet there is a long tradition of festivities and celebrations attending the summer migration in Haute Savoie(1) or the Midi.

From contemporary evidence it would appear that there was in the Highlands of Scotland the same eager anticipation at the prospect of a change of scene and routine; and the same joyousness about the return that we find in Daudet's "Installation". (2) "The people look so glad and contented", writes Mrs Grant of Laggan, "for they rejoice at going up; but by the time the cattle have eat all the grass and the time arrives when they dare no longer fish and shoot, they find their old home a better place, and return with nearly as much alacrity as they went". (3) Though living among these people Mrs Grant may have been tinged with the romantic cult of the Highlands prevalent at that time (4) but there seems little

(1) See, for example, a modern French novel, "Premier de Cordée," by R. Prison-Roche.
(2) "Lettres de Mon Moulin."
(3) "Letters from the Mountains."
(4) see, Marion Lochhead: "The Scots Household in the 18th Century"
reason to question her reporting of what she called "one of the odd customs which prevail here".

One well-versed in Gaelic verse and song could no doubt produce much evidence of the hold which the summer shealings had on the imagination of the people of the Highlands and Islands. "The summer exodus was indeed the great festival of the year and among the folk songs of the people those in praise of the shealings are among the most poetical," writes Goodrich-Freer. (1) That it was a time of relaxation for the men, at least, is clear from the account given by a hard-headed Lowlander on business bent for the Commissioners for Improving Fisheries and Manufactures in Scotland in the summer of 1755:

"The men are solely employed in attending their cattle. When they are disengaged from this, they spend their time stretched in crowds basking themselves in the sun beams, or else in the whisky house. The women take care of the milk, and at their leisure hours are generally spinning a little wool on the distaff for the use of the family". (2)

(1) "Outer Isles," (1902).
Alexander Carmichael (appendix XCLX to Crofting Commission Report 1884) stated that "the people enjoy this life at the hill pasturage and many of the best lyric songs in their language are in praise of the loved summer shealings".

(2) Leing MSS. Div.11 No.623 pp.119-120.
Tomintoul: The Founding of the Village.

On the strength of a statement in the Second Statistical Account the year 1750 has achieved currency as the date when the village was founded. Not only, however, are there several sufficiently good arguments against, and no evidence to suggest, the likelihood of such a project in Kirkmichael much before the last quarter of the 18th century, but there is distinct testimony to the non-existence of the village more than twenty years after the date mentioned.

About the year 1770, Mr. Drummond of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge visited Kirkmichael, a society school having been established in the parish in 1725, and, in reporting on the circumstances of the parish, he states that there is no village (1). James Robertson who toured the valleys of the Dee, Avon, and Spey in 1771 and who mentions in his account such places as Gaulrig and Fodderletter, has no word of a village (2). The affairs of Captain Grant Younger of Lurg, bankrupt tacksman of the lands of Camdelmore and Fodderletter, furnish more evidence. In 1779 Mr. Milne, the Duke of Gordon's factor in Strathavon, drew up a memoir of the state of Lurg's debts. In that year a poinding was executed at the instance of some of Lurg's creditors, and about 32 head of his cattle were taken from Lynachork after their value had been estimated on the spot. The notary and other men concerned in the apprising were required to take the cattle to the nearest market cross at

(1) S.P.C.K. Records No. 60, p, 37.
(2) MS. No. 2508, National Library.
Keith for the second valuation, but instead they "only carried them to Tomintoul, about an English mile from Lynachork . . . and which is not a mercate town (there being no weekly markets) but only a village intended by the duke(1) and only begun about 4 or 5 years since at most."(2)

The Site.

Though of old the lower part of the parish about the church was doubtless the hub of Kirkmichael, there is evidence that the Tomintoul district was an important one from the 16th century. Neither the confluence of the Avon and Lochy nor that of the Avon and Conglass, north and south of Kirkmichael respectively, could offer the natural advantages possessed by the mile-wide col between the Avon and Conglass at Tomintoul. Sloping gradually fifty feet or so to the Conglass on the east and fifty feet more than that to the Avon on the west, the plateau half-a-mile by a mile in extent provided a well drained site on an isolated patch of old red sandstone. Fords were available at the river approaches and routes already converged from all quarters. From the south the bridle track and drove road from the "Brees" of Avon, in those days the main thoroughfare ('Besalach Dearg') from Deeside via Inchrory, here joined the new military road of 1754, which surmounted the Lecht and followed an already existing track by the Conglass. For some years between the 'Fifteen and the 'Forty-Five, as part of the York Buildings Company's

(1) Alexander, 4th Duke of Gordon: born 1743; succeeded 1752; died 1827.
(2) Gordon Castle Papers, Box 23 Bundle 22.
activity, ore had been carried from the ironstone mine at the head of the Conglass via the Tomintoul ridge and the Carnagaval ford on the Avon to Abernethy for smelting. Northwards from this point of intersection at Tomintoul went the military road soon to branch west across the Avon, leaving the A'anside track to continue northwards. An inn stood at Camdelmore where these two roads divided. Another track, much used in the goings and comings between Strathavon and Gordon Castle, went out from Tomintoul across the Conglass and by Croughly and the shoulder of Carn Ellick to Tomnavoulin and lower Glenlivat.

The land of Tomintoul was part of what was known as Wester Camdel: that is, Upper as distinct from Lower or Easter Camdel. "Over" and "Nether" Camdel they are styled in a 16th century writ. Altitude was not the criterion here; nor did the terms "Easter" and "Wester" imply that town or lands lay strictly in that geographical relationship to each other. The words are a Gaelic idiom carried over into the English, 'wester' denoting "upstream", and 'easter' "downstream" in Banffshire. The Gaelic words "shios" (down) and "shuas" (up) serve for "east" and "west" respectively where the rivers flow to the eastern seaboard, and have the opposite meanings of "west" and "east" respectively where the flow is to the
west coast: in Wester Ross, for example. (1)

The half-davoch of Wester Camdel comprised most of the land between the Avon and the Conglass at this point, bounded on the north by Upper Cults of Camdelmore, and on the south by Tomnabat. The most complete statement of its parts and pendicles is that given in a Banff Sasine of 1681: "The Tounes of Belnacyll, Bellinlogan, Bellinryth (Ballinriach), Strames (Strans), Tomintoull, and Maines of Camdell, (2) with the houses, croft, mosses glens sheallings pasturages and fishings....used and wont." (3) This

(1) See Dwelly's Illustrated Gaelic Dictionary.

(2) During the 18th century the name "St. Bridget" (from the site of an ancient chapel) was commonly used as an alternative to 'Mains of Camdell'; other forms were "Camdelbrida" (often written "Camdelbritte") or Bridget's Camdel. It appears as Kamdillvaih, for Camdelbeag, in a military report of 1749 (Allardyce: Military Papers 11,545) thus accounting for the name Camdelvaih, for its counterpart, Easter Camdel, today.

(3) Banff Sasines, Vol. 3, 324.

In a tack of 1774 there occur the names of other pendicles: "Fordmouth of Carrinaguak" (another version of the Gaelic name Carnagaval); "a part of the town and lands of Tomintoull, that oxgate of land called Carrinaguak and that half oxgate of the lands of Wester Camdel commonly called Eualinlochan."

G.C. Papers, Box 23, Bundle 4.
is not, however, the earliest mention of Tomintoul for in 1669 James Parquharson a grandson of Finlay of Achrischan, was infeft in the lands of Wester Camdell by "Donald Grant in Tomintoull," (1) a tenant thus assuming the office of bailie for the purpose of putting the wadsetter in possession by the symbolical act of handing over earth and stone.

For a time in the possession of the Grants who were vassals of the Gordons for various lands in Strathavon, (2) Wester Camdell came into Parquharson hands when William, the second of the line of Parquharsons in Achrischan, had his feu extended in March, 1638, to include Findran and Wester Camdell. (3) A month later these additional lands were assigned to his son, John, on the latter's marriage; and on John's succession to Achrischan, Wester Camdell was disposed in 1664 to a cousin, James Parquharson. (4) Two more generations of these Parquharsons held the land until 1742 when it was redeemed and given in tack along with all the Braes of Avon to John Gordon of Glenbucket. (5)

(1) Banff Sasines Vol.2(1), 118.
(2) 1546-1612. see Fraser: "Chiefs of Grant" Vol.
(3) Banff Sasines, Vol.IV. 262.
(5) Gordon Castle Papers Box.7. Bundle 8, 1 and 2.
Gordons of Glenbucket.

Remarkably little of General John Gordon of Glenbucket's highly adventurous life could have been spent at his titular home of Glenbuchat, Aberdeenshire. The property had been acquired by his father in 1701, and from that time until his participation in the 'Fifteen, the hereditary office of principal bailie to the Duke of Gordon must have kept him on the move in the wide Gordon domains. From at least 1712 he is to be found in the duke's lordship of Strathaven, taking up judicial rentals and granting tacks and wadsets of lands there under commission from the duke. Recruiting for the 'Fifteen took him often to Strathaven, and, once the Rising had been quenched and he had successfully ingratiated himself with the Government's representatives in the north, he settled in Badenoch (also Gordon territory) and until at least 1729 conducted the duke's business there from Gordonhall, near Ruthven barracks.

His eldest son, John, had meanwhile been factor for the duke in Lochaber and elsewhere, and was the first of the Glenbuckets actually to settle in Strathaven, when in 1731 he was given a tack of Candelmore, Glenbulg and Inchrorie for three years. Soon

(1) "Glenbuchat" is the correct form of the place-name, while the anglicised version, "Glenbucket", was generally used as the personal name.
(2) "The Book of Glenbuchat" (Third Spalding Club)
(3) Gordon Castle Papers, Rentals No.15, Strathaven etc. 1680-1791; Box 8, Bundle 8; etc.
(4) Gordon Castle Papers, Drawer 11, Bundles 9-12 contain many letters of John Gordon of Glenbucket from Gordonhall (Kingussie).
(5) G.C. Rentals No.15.
afterwards he was constituted bailie of the Regality of Huntly in Strathavon and Glenlivet.

It was in 1737 that "Old" Glenbucket disposed of his Glenbucket property before going off to Rome whence he returned from the Jacobite court with a major-general's commission. The reasons for his choosing to settle in Wester Camdel, adjacent to his son's former holding of Camdelmore, are a matter for speculation. Notable Gordons had lived in the district, and St. Bridget had been the residence of Alexander Gordon of Strathdown (i.e. Strathavon), second son of the fifth Earl of Huntly, and his son "of Dunkinty." Wester Camdel, centrally situated between Dee and Spey, may have appealed to him as a suitable base from which to organise his forces for the coming rebellion. It was here, indeed - "at Tamzentoul" to be exact - that on 15th January, 1690 twenty Jacobite gentlemen from the country between the two rivers had convened under the leadership of John Grant of Ballindalloch to concert measures for their mutual security and to affirm their loyalty to King James in a Bond of Association. (1)

Forfeited for his accesson to the rebellion of 1745, "Old" Glenbucket, after witnessing the destruction of his house by the military (2) fled the country and eventually reached France via Sweden. He died at Boulogne in 1750 aged 77. Prior to the Rising he had taken the precaution of securing the infeftment of his

family in the annual—rents of his lands. (1)

The Duke of Gordon was doubly involved with Glenbucket, both as debtor and creditor: debtor, for the sum of £20,000 Scots which Glenbucket had settled in the hands of Cosmo, 3rd Duke of Gordon, on security of a movable bond and tack for nineteen years of lands in Strathavon; as creditor, for a sum due by Donald McDonnell of Lochgarry (2) a former factor of the previous duke's in Badenoch and Lochgarry, for whom Glenbucket had stood cautioner. A partial payment of the latter debt had been made but the duke wished to secure the balance from Glenbucket's money without recourse to legal action against Glengarry.

The Barons of Exchequer having had Glenbucket's Strathavon estate surveyed (3) appointed Thomas Innes of Muiryfold factor for uplifting the rents. Meanwhile, however, John Gordon Younger of Glenbucket had secured his release in June 1707, after having been imprisoned in Inverness and having subsequently survived frightful conditions on board the transport which conveyed him and other Jacobite prisoners to London. (4) Despite his rank of Colonel he seems to have taken small part in the affair and his freedom was regained with the help of a petition from the Kirkmichael minister which made much of a blindness which had, it was claimed,

(1) Gordon Castle Papers Box 30, Bundle 26; see also "Forfeited Estate Paper" (Scottish History Society)
(2) Glenbucket's daughter Isobel was the wife of Donald McDonnell Vl of Lochgarry.
(3) Rents of Glenbucket's Kirkmichael property were taken in Nov. 1749 and Oct. 1750. (Forfeited Estate Papers Glenbucket No.8. Memorials for Thos. Innes). Surveys were made by Francis Grant in Nov. 1747 and Nov. 1750, but these particular reports seem not to be extant. (F.E. Abstract of Surveys and Reports.
increasingly affected him since 1743. (1)

He straightway took up possession of his father’s estate and proceeded to lift what rents/could, making it clear that he intended to do so until his claim was ascertained before the Court of Session. (2) Some of the receipts given by John Gordon were produced for the Barons’ factor but the signature is in most cases illegible, owing, it is stated, to his blindness (3) The factor was at a loss to know what to do as he felt powerless to lift the rents without the aid of a military force. The barons’ instructions, however, were to institute legal proceedings against Glenbucket and his tenants. (4)

When Innes died and was replaced in 1758 by James Macdonald of Rynetton (5) (also factor on the forfeited estate of Monaltrie) the rents were still unaccounted for, the Glenbucket estate being listed under those “not yet made effectual,” while expenses of survey, officers’ salaries and contesting claims (6) were mounting. James Macdonald’s intermissions (1758-1764) show some progress, and by July 1766 £183 had been paid into the Receiver-General. (7) Macdonald seems to have found the work distasteful, however, and asked to be relieved of his duties on the grounds of age and infirmity. "The tenants are poor and in labouring circumstances,"

(1) Tayler, op.cit. p.263.
(2) Gordon Castle Papers Box 30,Bundle 26: Glenbucket.
(3) Forfeited Estates: Particular Management, Glenbucket No.9.
(4) Ibid. No. 8.
(6) Forfeited Estates Accounts III No.1. 1750-1808.
(7) Forfeited Estates Accounts III No.1.
he wrote, expressing his unwillingness to be further concerned in
recovering arrears from them. Several of the tenants were clearly
bankrupt and some had already left for America. (1)

The duke had all along held that the lands were not properly
a subject for the Barons of Exchequer, the whole right of the
forfeited person to them being no more than a heritable bond. While
reserving his claim against Glenbucket, he was prepared in order to
regain possession to pay into Exchequer the whole mortgage sum of
£20,000 Scots. The nineteen years' lease had, in fact, already
expired at Whitsunday, 1762. This was agreed to and discharge and
renunciation granted in December 1766. (2) The duke was also
concerned to prevent the utter destitution of Glenbucket's former
tenants and offered a composition of £20 for the arrears. The
Barons, however, made arrangements to roup the arrears.

John Gordon Younger had meantime died in 1763. His son,
William, obtained from the duke a precept of Clare Constat (3) as
heir to his father and he was granted a tack, for seventeen years
from Whitsunday 1767, of Achrischan and Wester Camdel, that is
all the lands held by his grandfather except the Braes of Avon
which were parcelled out in separate tacks to a number of tenants.

William Gordon had returned to Strathavon after Culloden and
had escaped unmolested, possibly on account of his extreme youth. (4)
He was of a most improvident disposition, and soon after accepting

(1) Forfeited Estates. Glenbucket No.9.
(2) Gordon Castle Papers Box7, Bundle 8, Nos. 4 and 5.
(3) 24 February 1767, G.C. Papers 30/26.
(4) The Teylers (op.cit. p.264) says he could have been only 15 or
16 in 1745.
accepting his tack he was embarrassed by heavy contractions of debt in addition to the misfortunes of the forfeiture. The rent of his tack had at first been £41-13s-4d., but in 1768 when rents generally were being augmented he made the extravagant gesture of offering nearly £60 of additional rent\(^1\) and giving bill for £300 as a grasmum for the lease. By 1772 his arrears to the duke were nearly on the £600 mark.\(^2\)

"Having accompanied his grandfather in 1745," it was said in extenuation of him, "he was thereby prevented from following any profession and got into a line of life which injured his family's expectations." His claim to £8000, his father's share of the Glenbucket estate, had been upheld, and Charles Gordon of Braid, the duke's own law agent in Edinburgh, was also looking after Glenbucket's interests and trying to reconcile the claims of both clients. It was useless to imprison Glenbucket for the arrears owed to the duke, Charles Gordon maintained, as it would only induce other creditors to overwhelm him with legal action. There was still a prospect of something more being saved from his grandfather's and Glengarry's forfeitures.\(^3\) Glenbucket, however, continued to issue worthless bills and behave in "a ridiculous manner." The duke, who had not received a shilling of rent from him nor any of the grasmum money for which his bill had been given, was losing patience.

The suggestion that Glenbucket should be prevailed upon to surrender his lease seems to have come from Charles Gordon,\(^4\)

\(^{1}\) Bringing his rent up to £100.
\(^{2}\) G.C.Papers.30/26.
\(^{3}\) G.C.Papers. Letters Drawer IV Bundle 18.
\(^{4}\) 1st. February,1772. Ibid Drawer 111, Bundle 27.
however, and by April, 1773, it had been decided to remove him. A month later Glenbucket was persuaded to grant a renunciation of Aohriachen and Wester Camdel. It was agreed that he should be continued at pleasure in "his own naturall possession" of St. Bridget while the subtenants were to have new minutes of tack from the factor. No customs or "carriages" were henceforth to be paid to William Gordon, but subtenants were to be required to give him certain services at harvest and for cutting and leading peats. The new rents were to include a conversion for such of the services as they were no longer liable to perform. The intention was to subset the lands to the best possible account, replacing existing tenants by others if necessary, in order that an improved rental might produce a sufficient surplus over the old rent to allow Glenbucket to sit at a very moderate rent or even rent free; though the state of the country, it was thought, gave small hopes of the second possibility.

Alexander Milne, the factor, proceeded to take a rental of the lands concerned which amounted to £89-6-1\(\frac{1}{2}\) sterling of money rent; 13 stone of butter; 15 wedders; 31 hens; 92 poultry; 3 lambs and 3 ewes; and £4-19-0\(\frac{6}{12}\) of stipend. It also appeared that Glenbucket had drawn £109-1-4d. sterling of grassum for the current leases. Milne estimated that the small property left in Glenbucket's possession was worth £10 exclusive of grazings. (1)

On the break up of the Glenbucket estate the duke may have thought the time opportune to introduce a mode of tenure new to

Strathavon. At what precise date the proposal to establish a new village at Tomintoul was first made is not known but the duke no doubt had in mind something other than the temporary arrangement which followed Glenbucket's removal. In April 1774 he himself gave instructions that short tacks of the various parts and pendicles of Wester Camdel could be given, of such duration that all would fall out of lease at the same time. (1)

Regarding William Gordon of Glenbucket, frequently referred to as "Glennie", it only remains to note that he continued to occupy St. Bridget which was excluded from the lands to be used for the expansion of the village, though Strans, parts of Findron and Fordmouth were taken. He was perpetually in difficulties, in need of meal and clothing for his family, short of labour for his croft, and lived chiefly on the charity of the duke who had put £450 in Charles Gordon's hands (2) so that his most pressing needs might be supplied. Allowances were paid to him through James Gordon of Croughly who had the luckless task of trying to prevent their being squandered to gratify his extravagant whims. "All your Enzie farms would not supply the extravagance of him and his son," was one comment to the duke who, however, was never content to see him go short of meal or other necessaries. (3)

(2) G.C. Letter Book No. 38 p.381.
Proposals for a Village.

William Gordon of Glenbucket may very well have had some connection with the first suggestion of founding a village on the lands under lease to him, for there is some slight evidence, unfortunately very vague, of publicity regarding such a venture in May, 1768. According to "Scottish Notes and Queries"(1) it was then advertised in regard to Tomintoul that "this village was to be formed by Mr. William Gordon of Glenbucket." No indication of the source of this notice is given. This was, perhaps, one of the effusions to which the duke referred when he wrote to his chief factor at Gordon Castle (18 April, 1770): "I beg you will acquaint Mr. Chalmers the printer that I wish him not to print any of these nonsensical papers he gets from Glenbucket."(2)

The date of this advertisement would certainly accord with the general policy of the times when the more progressive landowners in and around Banffshire were engaged in establishing village communities to encourage the development of weaving and the linen industry.

The managers of the forfeited estates in their efforts to win over the Highland people "from their idle and wicked practices to commerce and trade" had been full of zeal for the idea of promoting new villages. For instance, reporting on the estate of Monaltrie on Deeside, similar in several respects to Glenbucket's Strathavon

estate, the Crown factor, James Macdonald of Rynetton, wrote: (1)
"There is one piece of ground about three quarters of a mile upon
the banks of the River Dee, and the King's high road for Fort
George passing through the middle of it which is extremely proper
for building a village upon." (2) The factor, who a few years
later also took over the management of Glenbucket's estate, only
twenty miles distant from Monaltrie, saw several advantages which
would arise from such a development; Monaltrie, equidistant from
Perth and Aberdeen, would provide a good site for a prison, there
being none nearer than the Tolbooth of Aberdeen, and for a school
and post office, while weekly markets would be a great convenience
for the nearby garrisons and for the country people.

In a report dated 1767, a general inspector of the Board of
the Annexed Estates advocated the building of villages in each
barony with feus to be given to tradesmen. "My Lord Findlater,"
he wrote, "has, among others equally calculated for the good of
the country, carried the plan of erecting villages into execution
upon his estate. The surprising effect it has had in his lord¬
ship's village of new Keith, has induced many others to follow
the example." (3)

It was indeed an age of "newtowns". Family pride and
the competitive spirit, factors which were soon to be at work in
the raising of the Fencible regiments, may partly account for a
crop of new villages in the 1760's. Grantown-on-Spey, owing its
origin to the enterprise of Sir James Grant of Grant was first
(1) c.1755.  "
(2) Forfeited Estates Papers: General Management Vols. 92 and 93.
(3) Forfeited Estates Papers: General Management Vol. 94.
advertised in 1764; Aberdeenshire's most progressive landowner had already, in 1760, held out various inducements to manufacturers, shopkeepers, and tradesmen to settle in Monymusk; Banffshire's Lord Findlater founded Rothes in 1763, and Lord Deskford at the same time promoted Portsoy and Old Deer. From 1774 the Duke of Gordon was intent on building a new town of Fochabers, and then in 1776 Gordonsburgh (Fort William) was planned. Robertson in his "General View of the Agriculture of Perthshire" asserts that good landlords felt it to be their duty to establish new communities "even in the midst of the Grampian Mountains."

In 1763, the Duke of Gordon seeking advice on some points connected with the founding of a village, had been in correspondence with Lord Auchinleck who was happy to encourage "so good a design." Lord Auchinleck has some flattering references to the duke: "I have always applauded my Lord Findlater and your Lop for being the only improvers I know who carry through the whole plan with equal ease and attention and in particular have made the increasing of the number of people on your estate a great object which is not only clearly beneficial to yourselves but a publick good and what indeed humanity recommends."(1)

(1) Gordon Castle Letters, Drawer 11, Bundle 13.
What the duke or his planners had in view for his Strathavon property is clearly set out in the following memorandum (undated and unsigned):—

"Proposals for Erecting a Town at Tamantoul.

The Duke should lay out a town in a regular manner so as the Publick Road may be the high Street and in the first place after the Plan of the Town is properly made out to order a right Publick house for the accommodation of Travilers and others to be built in the most centrical part of the Town.

"Secondly. To feu out Tennements to be built in a regular manner agreeable to the Plann all fronting the Street of equal height and as uniform as possible "with gardens and office houses behind them and to give such encouragement by letting the inhabitants land, partly what is already arrable and other part of the muir for them to improve —

"Thirdly. To cause build a Lint Miln on either Conglass or Avin as may be found most convenient which will draw the lint of the neighbouring countries to be drest and encourage the inhabitants of Strathavin and Glenlivet to raise lint themselves —

"Fourthly. It would be a very proper place for a Bletchfield and a Spinning School would be a great use to the country —

"Fifthly. The Kirk and Parochial School might be removed there as the most centrical place of the country at least more so than where it presently stands and if the town improve which it cannot well miss off if proper means be used it will very soon be the most populous place in the country.
"N.B. There is a freestone quarry\(^{(1)}\) near by and plenty of Sleat\(^{(2)}\) which the Feuers may have a liberty of winning and carrying away Stones to their houses and inclosures. They will also have near them Limestone\(^{(3)}\) and unexhaustable Moss so that the Duke could afford to cause manufactor the Lime and sell it reasonably. They can have firr wood for their houses at a short distance for moderate prices — "There is a moss near Tammontoul call Faindouran\(^{(4)}\) which the inhabitants may have an universal liberty to cast for fireing and burning of lime unless it be found necessary to reserve a piece of it for Camdellmore. The stool of the moss when cast out to belong to the Duke without burden or servitude as it will improve to be good meadow ground when that moss is cast out. Liberty may be given for the inhabitants to cast in the moss at the Feagall\(^{(5)}\) at reasonable rates according to the consump (sic) This moss is near too and unexhaustable. If Deallers and Cattle resort to the place inclosing the Lettermore\(^{(6)}\) may turn to acct and be an accommodation and additional encouragement to the place.

\(^{(1)}\) Lynachork or near Achrischan.
\(^{(2)}\) Knockfergan.
\(^{(3)}\) Craighalkie.
\(^{(4)}\) At north end of Village. Feith an dohbrain - burn of the moss.
\(^{(5)}\) The western part of the extensive Faemusach: a mile N.E. of the village.
\(^{(6)}\) Formerly a shealing place of Achrischan and Wester Camdel but separated from these properties in 1720. It was made into an enclosure with feal dykes for summering cattle in 1735.
Fairs proposed

1st on the third Tuesday of March yearly.
2d on the third Wednesday of May.
3d on the second Wednesday of Augt.
4th on the second Wednesday of October.
5th on the Thursday before Break fair of Tarland.
6th Wednesday may be appointed the weekly mercate.

N.B. All these mercates should be intimate free of Toll for the first three years and the yearly fairs to hold for two days each.

Linen Industry in Strathavon.

If, as seems reasonably certain from the third of these proposals concerning Tomintoul, the linen industry had already made some headway in Kirkmichael, then the document cannot date from much before 1770 at the earliest.

From the formation in 1727 of the Board of Trustees for Manufactures in Scotland great strides had been made in linen production in particular parts of Scotland during the first half of that century, but it was not until mid-century that the Highlands began to come into the scheme. A resolution "to increase the number of spinners by diffusing spinning through the Highlands" was drafted by the Board on 16th November 1750 and, to give

...  ...

(1) of fairs appointed for Tomintoul by Act of Parliament, 1686: last Tuesday of July, and third Tuesday of September.
(2) Gordon Castle Papers Box 40, Bundle 14: Miscellaneous Papers (undated)
(3) Trustees Minutes Vol. XI. p. 75.
effect to this, various sums were two months later voted for
developing Highland districts, of which the areas nearest to
Strathavon were the upland parts of Moray (£30) and Aberdeenshire
(£50). At first West Highland districts such as Loch Carron tended
to claim the attention of the Board, but in time an opportunity
was given to one, Duncan Grant, to organise spinning and flax-
raising in the more remote parts of the central Highlands from his
headquarters at Forres.

Duncan Grant was a country gentleman, son of Alexander Grant
of Mullochard in Strathspey, and related to both the Earl of Find-
later and the Earl of Deskford, the latter being a prominent member
of the Board of Trustees. Grant had been bred to the linen industry,
having served a four years' apprenticeship with Mungo Rannie, a
manufacturer at Cullen. The trustees, to whom Grant had been
recommended, in 1756 set aside £35 for completing his training in
the linen trade with a view to his operating in the Highlands. This
additional training, including methods of book-keeping and some
practice in general farming, he received somewhere in East Lothian.
The area in which he was to operate had already been decided.

(1) see Records of the Board, No.139: "Introduction and Encourage-
ment of Linen manufactures into the Highlands of Scotland,
1754-1763."
(2) Forfeited Estates: Papers applicable to Forfeitures in General
No.11.
(3) MS. Minutes of the Board of Trustees Vol.13. p.99.
Because of his Speyside connections Strathapey was a natural choice, and by 1759 he was engaged there and in Braemurray (the Braes of Moray) and Badenoch, districts which were "great strangers to manufactures and industry." Badenoch especially was considered "a very proper place for a head station for serving a great part of the highlands of Inverness-shire and the highlands of the Shires of Elgin and Banff." (2)

Sometime between 1759 and 1763 Duncan Grant extended his field of operations to include Kincardine (Abernethy), Strathdown (i.e. Strathavon) and Glenlivet. In February 1762 a comprehensive plan envisaging such extensions was put before the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates by Grant. This plan involved the selling of lintseed below cost price, the loss to be made good by the Commissioners; the engagement of flax-raisers and apprentices,

(1) of. Braemer.
(2) Grant in fact managed his business from Forres where he kept a clerk. In Ruthven of Badenoch a shop and a house were rented for the flax-raisers, and another house was used for dressing and scutching lint.
(3) An old form of 'Strathavon' arising from the local pronunciation of Avon - "A'an". The letter 'd' intruded turning the old forms Strathoune etc, into Strathdown or Strathdoun which appears frequently in the Register of the Privy Council, for instance. The name has often been mistaken for Strathdon, Aberdeenshire.

Murray (York Buildings Company, 1883, Note p. 64) was puzzled by the phrase "Strathdown pigs" which arose from the smelting of iron from the Lecht mine, upper Conglass-side, at the Abernethy furnaces.
spinning mistresses and wheelwrights; and the distribution of
wheels and reels, and awarding of premiums for the best results.
Grant himself as "undertaker" was to have £50 for extra expenses
and threepence for every spindle of yarn produced.

For pecuniary assistance Grant subsequently relied mainly on
the Commissioners who managed the forfeited estates and who, since
their appointment in 1752, had been taking an increasing share in
Highland development. In 1764, for instance, they resolved that
£300 be given to Duncan Grant for the prosecution of his plan: an
amount which in that season Grant exceeded by just three guineas.

In 1765 and 1766, however, he was still assisted to the extent of
£50 per annum towards his particularly heavy expenditure on
 carriage by the Trustees for Manufactures, who, finding their funds
quite inadequate to meet their commitments outside the Highlands,
requested the Commissioners to relieve them of this expense thence¬
forth.

The difficulties and expense of transporting dressed lint and
seed over what he claimed were some of the longest land carriages
in Scotland were probably Grant's most serious handicap. He lost
horses owing to stormy conditions, bad roads, and accidents such
as the overturning of carts. (2) Horses for hire were unobtain¬
able for all but three months of the year, and even then could only
be had at an exorbitant price, with the result that he was often
obliged to send a man twenty miles or so with lint on his back.

Boat freights, port charges, and damages during transit were other

(1) Forfeited Estates: General Management 11 No.6.
(2) In one half-season he lost two horses (£5 sterling) and a
cart (£6)
handicaps to economic working. The story of sixteen hogsheads of lintseed, two of which eventually reached Strathdown, shows clearly the need there was for a subsidy:

(1) "Prime cost of 16 Hogsheads Philadelphia Lintseed bought of Messrs. McCulloch & Alexander, Edinburgh £48 - 0 - 0

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charges of marking and Shipping at Leith</td>
<td>- 4 - 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion of Insurance and Postages thereannent</td>
<td>-16 - 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freight to Inverness at 2 S.P. Barrel</td>
<td>3 - 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custom house and shore dues at Inverness</td>
<td>- 4 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charges of unloading and putting on Board an open Boat and afterwards a Decked Boat</td>
<td>- 6 - 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freights of the Decked Boat to Findhorn</td>
<td>£2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piloting, shore dues etc. at Findhorn</td>
<td>- 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charges of unloading and housing being last (late) Saturdays night</td>
<td>- 9 - 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carriage from Findhorn to Forres 6D p Hogshead</td>
<td>- 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Alexr. Brodie for his trouble and charges attending said lintseed for 18 Deyes being detained for that time by storms and contrary winds twixt Inverness and Findhorn at 2 sh p day</td>
<td>1 -16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His extraordinary charges freighting Boats</td>
<td>- 6 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being informed of the Boat sailing from Inverness and not arriving at Findhorn sent Express to Inverness</td>
<td>- 2 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postages of Letters to and from Inverness while the lint seed lay there.</td>
<td>- 1 - 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

£3 - 12 - 11½ p Hhd. cost at Forres £ 58 - 7 - 4

Carriages and other charges on 4 Hhds sent to Baddenoch 5 - 14 - 6
(1) contd.

"Carriages and other charges on 4½ to Strathspey £3 - 1 - 6
Do. for Strathdown Glenlivat and Kincairn (Kincardine) 3 - 13 - 6
Do. on Braemurray

\[ \text{£71 - 4 - 6} \]

(2)

"Account of Cost, Charges, Sale, and Distribution of Two Hogsheads Distribute at Rythven in Strathdown and one Half Hhd in Kincairn April and May 1764.

Prime Cost of two and ¾ Hhds with charges to Forres £9 - 2 - 4¾
Carriage of 4 Half Hogsheads to Ruthven in Strathdown
Express to Strathdown Glenlivat and Kincairn and Proclamation at the different church doors 10 - 6
Carriage of one Half Hogshead to Mulochard for Kincairn 7 - 6
For a Break at 10/6d Carriage to Ruthven in Strathdown 15 - 6
\[ \text{£12 - 15 - 10½} \]
Drew or Resting at Kincairn - 19 - 6
Drew in Strathdown 4 - 2 - 3
Allowed by the Board 10 - -
\[ 15 - 1 - 9 \]
\[ 12 - 15 - 10½ \]
Saved on Strathdown lintseed £2 - 5 - 10½
(3) Acoct. of Money received or Resting to me for 16 Hhds Lintseed sold below prime cost in the Countries of Baddenoch, Strathspey, Strathdown, and Braemurray in the year 1764.

Drew or Resting to me for Lintseed sold in Baddenoch £ 8-15-1½
Do. in Strathspey 7-12-7½
Do. in Strathdown etc. 5- 1-9
Do. in Braemurray 10- 2-10½

£31-12- 4½

Allowed by the Honourable Commissioners for each (sic) of the above Countries (X)

40- -

71-12- 4½

Total Received or due

71- 4- 6

Brought over Total charge

7-10½

(X) i.e. £10 for each of the four districts; see (2) above.

Thus the charge of £6 in Edinburgh had risen to £7-5-11d. by the time the two hogsheads reached Forres, and £10-6-5d. at their destination in Strathaven. Only £4-2-3d. of this price was taken from the sale of the seed in Strathaven, that being the first year (1764) when seed was actually sold there. Still to be taken into account were the salaries of "intakers," flax-raisers, and spinning mistresses.

After proclamation at the church door, distribution of flax and seed, wheels and reels took place in the churchyard or at markets. In Strathaven, two men, Robert Grant of Ruthven and
John Grant, Inverourie, acted as "intakers" but both, according to Duncan Grant, were inexperienced and were paid only £5 each. The seed was sold in varying measures according to the locality. No flax had been sold in the district under Grant's care before his taking them over and the plan at first had been to give the seed 'gratis'. Grant, however, justified the sale of it on the grounds that those who bought it gave a great deal more attention to the management of it and to procuring their own seed from it for another year; whereas, when it was free there was a general outcry from those who did not receive the extravagant quantities they were prepared to take. He hoped in time that the seed would come to be sold at its full value. In Strathdown following the Banffshire practice it was sold at 7d per Lippie, Linlithgow measure. In Kincardine, on the other hand, though also part of the Duke of Gordon's estates, it went by the pint (4½d), as in Strathspey and Badenoch.

Of the three itinerant flax-raisers engaged by Duncan Grant at a salary of £15, one, John McIntosh, was constantly employed in Strathavon until the whole crop was sown, the people there being "wholly ignorant of raising flax." Wheelwrights with apprentices were stationed at Forres, Nairn, and Kankyle. Wheels made at Nairn were generally carried on fisherwives' backs and delivered at Cromdale or Mullochard whence they were distributed to the different parishes. Other wheels and reels were assembled at Kankyle on the Spey from parts produced in the coastal lowlands;

(1) The Badenoch and Strathspey intakers had £20 each.
and the wright at this central station was well situated to undertake the repairs which were often necessary owing to the inexperience of the Highland people. Wheels cost 6 shillings and reels 3 shillings each. In 1764 sixty wheels and forty reels for Strathavon and Glenlivet were delivered at Ruthven and Inverourie, the carriage from Cromdale amounting to £1-1-9d.

Where there was a spinning school, the mistress had a salary of £12 per annum provided that she taught forty scholars in that time, three shillings being allowed for each additional pupil. In Strathavon, where there was no school, the itinerant spinning-mistress, Elizabeth Grant, was paid at the yearly rate of £3-12s. The Kincairn and Braemurray areas were similarly served. Girls had to spin from five to eight spindles of yarn before they were allowed to keep wheels and reels, one spindle a week being the average rate of production for beginners. Prizes were given yearly to the spinners of the best quality and greatest quantities of yarn. In 1764, for instance, twenty-four Strathavon spinners were awarded 48lb. of flax at a shilling a pound. At first it had been planned that the extra lint mounting to double

(1) A pound of Lint when spun would sell for 2s 2d.

...
In 1763-'4 Strathavon produced 1088 spindles. Production of yarn increased up to at least the year 1766 when 9,510 spindles out of 11,578 which went through Grant's hands came from the Highlands. Some of the yarn was picked up by hawkers, and owing to a scarcity of good local weavers, the Highlanders generally carried what they wanted for their own use down to Cullen or Strathbogie to be woven. One of the great drawbacks to profitable trade from Grant's point of view was the delay in getting any return from the Highland parts; he could never expect to have his lint returned as yarn in less than six months.

In the Badenoch district Grant encountered some opposition to the scheme, and in this Mackintosh of Borlum and the Rev. Mr. Blair, Kingussie, were somehow implicated. One reason given for the opposition was that spinning raised servants' wages. Mr Grant of Grant, on the other hand, was greatly interested in developing the industry in Strathspey, and between 1765 and 1767 was himself prepared, with adequate backing from the Commissioners, to set up a lint mill, intending it to serve all the surrounding districts including Strathavon and Glenlivet.

The Duke of Gordon's advisers, in planning to have a lint mill on the Conglass or Avon beside the proposed village, may have been preparing to offset the Strathspey proposal with a scheme which would tend more to the betterment of his grace's own estates.

(1) This compares with 5131 from Strathspey, 923 from Badenoch, 400 from Invereven, and 258 from Freamurray.
(2) Forfeited Estates Papers, 1745 ii General Management, No 6: The Promotion of Manufactures in the Highlands and Islands, 1761-1784. Where, in this section, no references have been given, information has been drawn from the same source.
The Old and the New Tomintoul.

Until the 1770's there is no distinct record of the number of subtenants in the various components of Wester Camdell, (1) and what Tomintoul consisted of at the date of the earliest mention of the name in 1669 may only be guessed. The small pendicle of Balnakyle is more prominent in the earliest writs, suggesting that Tomintoul of could then have been little account; perhaps no more than a croft or two dependent on the mains of Camdell. (2) In 1686, however, the Duke of Gordon was granted permission by Act of Parliament to hold a fair "at Tommintoull upon the last Tuesday of July, another to be holden there upon the third Tuesday of September." (3) Tomintoul was probably chosen for a market site rather for its convenient situation at a parish crossroads than for any preponderance over neighbouring places; Lettoch in the Braes of Glenlivet, no more than a farm town, was at the same time granted a market, though a single one.

(1) A rather patchy rental (c.1752-4) lists tenants subtenants etc. of which Glenbucket has least 64 on W. Camdell, Braes of Avon and Achriachen. It is not possible to assign them accurately to the various possessions. A rental of 1712 shows 9 subtenants in W. Camdell. (G.C. Rentals, No.15 Strathavon).
(2) Blaeu's Atlas 1654 - Counties of Aberdeen and Banff - shows Gaulrig, Ach na hyll, Kepach and Camdel, for instance, but not Tomintoul.
(3) Gordon Castle Papers Box 14, Bundle 15, No.11.
However, Tomintoul had very likely expanded into a "clechan"(1) even before 1750 when a detachment of General Pulteney's regiment from Strathbogie made their headquarters there, on account of its strategic position near the ford of Carnagevel (the present Fordmouth) on the Avon, "formerly a noted pass for driving of stolen cattle," as they remark. "Quarter'd on the farmers but oblig'd to lie in barns, and furnished by the inhabitants with blanketts," they kept watch for reiving and the unauthorised carrying of arms or wearing of Highland dress.(2) Lieutenant Oglivie had with him at the Tomintoul post one sergeant and eleven men, and he commanded four outposts stretching across country from Achnahyle to the Cabbrach. An outpost at Inchrory, eight miles distant, was manned by a sergeant and eight men detached from Corgarff.

Some years before the new village had got under way directions had already been given (3) for the making of a road from the Kirk of Inveravon on Speyside, by Morangie and Achbreck to "the Town of Tomintoul." The Kirkmichael people were responsible for making

(1) Just such a conformation is shown in the first plan of the village area (1775). The term "clechan" was in use in the district for a group of huts or houses. e.g. The Clachan Dhu in the shealing country of the Faevait near Inchrory.
(2) Allardyce: Historical Papers 11, 546-7.
(3) By the J.P.s, Commissioners of Supply and Overseers of Roads of the 7th District of Banffshire, at a meeting at Kirkton of Aberdour, 9 August, 1773. (G.C.P. Drawer 111, Bundle 45.)
(4) i.e. in the sense of "farm-town."
the section from the "Hill of Kirn"(1) to Tomintoul, and three local supervisors - James Gordon of Croughly, Robert Grant of Ruthven, and John Grant, Inverlochy - were appointed. Irrespective of future developments of which there may or may not have been prior knowledge, Tomintoul had become the focal point of the parish and the natural terminus for a road entering the parish from Glenlivet to meet the military road.

In 1769 the Duke of Gordon was in need of a surveyor and through his chamberlain, James Ross, offered to engage George Brown of Aberdeen who, however, found it more profitable and agreeable to work as a free-lance.(2) Lord Fife had at this time dispensed with the services of a surveyor, Thomas Milne, who had served him "very properly" for two years and was recommended as being "Sober and diligent . . . and very capable of his business." In May, 1770, Milne was ready to enter the duke's service at a salary of £30 sterling for the first year and £35 for two succeeding years, living at the duke's expense while at Gordon Castle or any other of his houses, with two shillings a day board wages when elsewhere.(3)

Milne was by no means immediately available for planning new projects. The duke had many march disputes(4) pending, two of the

(1) In the vicinity of the present Mains of Quirn.
(2) He later mapped Delnabo for Sir James Grant (1804) and Tomintoul (1807), being referred to as "Provost Brown" at the latter date.
(3) Gordon Castle Papers, Drawer XLV, Bundle 22: Surveying.
(4) At one time there were no fewer than sixteen. (G.C. Papers Box 39, Bundle,14).
most pressing being that of the Paevait grazings near Inchory and the bounds of the Forest of Glenevon with the Grants' lands of Abernethy. The Paevait was mapped in 1770 by William Anderson, and the much larger survey of the Forest occupied Thomas Milne for the greater part of the summer of 1771. Among the latter's many commissions during the next three years were general surveys of Strathaven and Glenlivet, and then, in 1775 he produced a beautifully executed "Plan for a Village at Tamantouel." (1)

It was not until April 1777 that the matter was taken a step further when surveyor and factor, both named Milne, met on the ground to mark out the lines of the street and square of which a more detailed plan (2) was made. One copy of the original plan was

(1) Gordon Castle Maps and Plans, No.65.

"1775 May 25th. To eight days in Strathaven making out upon the ground Tenements for a Village at Tamantouel and Plots of Ground for Improvement £3-0-0.

To men assisting me at Do. 4-0

June 5th. To drawing-out a sketch of the village upon a Rude draught not charg'd.

To drawing a Clear Plan and contents of the Tenements of the new town intended at Tamantouel with Remarks 5 days £1-5-0 £4-9-0 "

(Gordon Castle Papers, Land Surveying, Press 111. a.l.) The "Remarks" do not appear to be extant.

(2) G.C.P. Maps and Plans No. 64.
PLAN for a VILLAGE at Tamantouel

For the Moors

References
A. The Square, sitting house.
B. B. D. E.
C. Andrew, A. Gray's house.
D. Frank, former.
E. John, George, and Barnard.
F. Thomas, George. 
G. Charles, Captain.

Improveable Moor a redish barley soil

Meadow

Roads

Places of Houses

State of Chains

Conglais

Strans

Bellavair

Maine of E, B:

Reference
A. Art's
B. Art
C. ABS
D. Art

£5

£10 a.

£20 a.

£50 a.

£100 a.
held by the Strathevon factor and the surveyor, and another by Ross at Gordon Castle, to enable them to understand each other when there was occasion to correspond about the village. (1) While engaged in this work the Milnes put up at Camdelmore Inn. (2) Though some feus were earmarked for certain people little progress was made and twenty months elapsed before the adjoining lands were divided. (3)

The main interest of the first plan lies in the fact that the proposed village is shown superimposed on what was then the existing lay-out of the land between Conglass and Avon. The lands of Tomintoul are shown, bounded on the west by Mains of St. Bridget (including Balnakyle), Foordmouth and part of Upper Cults. The arable land is in two main portions of approximately 25 and 16 acres, a track running through them to St. Bridget's, and three smaller lots. Between and around these are patches of grassland. Flanking the head of the arable lands on the east are the houses and yards.

(2) Bill "To Entertainment Mr. Mill and Surveyor at cutting off and setting feus at Tomantouel Aprile 1777 - 11s. 8d. signed by John McKenzie. (Press 1. d. 4. Factors' Accounts 1773-1784). One or two of the applications for tenements including Mackenzie's are in Thomas Milne's excellent writing.
(3) Gordon Castle Maps and Plans No. 63: "Lands of Tomintouel as acred and Plotted off upon the ground, Decr. 1778."
of James Gow, William Grant, Alexr. Stewart, and William Findlay. Near the top of the ridge beside an outlying piece of laboured ground is Alex. Allan's house and yard. From Tomnabat a streamlet runs down between these to a "Bleechfield and Watering Place", evidence of lint cultivation. The military road from Corgarff to Inverness is shown to lie where the present "back-dyke" on the Avon side of the village is, and scattered on either side of it are eight dwellings, mostly "cott" houses (i.e. with no land or yard attached), several of them in the possession of women. The western half of the proposed village overlaps all of these but the eastern (Conglass) side is clear of all previous development, being placed on "Improveable Moor" of a "redish hazely soil." This probably accounts for the variations in rent, from seven shillings to twenty-five shillings per. acre, as late as 1825.

The village with its complement of land is shown to take up a rectangular area roughly 660 by 580 yards. In the centre is the "Square of 300 feet" (i.e. sides one hundred yards long), and the tenements are numbered up to 56. This is crossed out, presumably because a different system of numbering was later adopted. Off what is now the N.W. corner of the square is a building in the shape of a cross, "The Itinerant Meeting House," and close behind the tenements on the south-west corner are a school green and school. A note, "The Schoolhouse to be built on No122" (i.e. where the school now stands) has been added near the margin. The lands of the village extend more to the Tomnabat end because at the north they have to stop short of the moss in the vicinity of Conglass, evidently more extensive then than now. Ballavilair,
Miln of Achriachan and Strans beside the Conglass are included; there are paths (pencilled) from them in the directions of Tomintoul. A T-shaped "Popish Meeting House" is on the moor between the new village and Ballavlaire.

The more detailed plan of the middle portion of the village makes it clear that the road to Glenlivet was intended go go direct from the Square to the ford at Strans, (1) and not by the present exit. Feu duties at this date were fixed at 1s.8d., 2s.6d., and 5s. for approximately 578,889,1326, and 1400 square yards; and to some of the feu names of prospective feuars have been added.

In the 1778 plan (2) the original Tomintoul lands have been divided, the arable into twenty-one lots, mostly 1 1/2 - 2 acres, some with a portion of moor added; and the grass into four lots. In all there are 42 acres of arable and 14 1/2 of grass in what comprised the original Tomintoul.

(1) There was no bridge over the Conglass as late as 1813; but one is shown on an 1825 map to which additions were made in 1841.

(2) "1778 Decemr. To eight days at Tamentouel dividing the Lands there into acres \(\frac{7}{6}\) p day \£3-0-0
To my assistant same time 8
To men assisting setting out the acres 10
To Horse hire and Travelling Expenses to and from Tamentouel 15
To Drawing a Plan of the same with the contents and Estimates 10-6
\£5-3-6

(Gordon Castle Papers Press ill.e.l.)
Though the village itself was planned some three years before the division of the lands into lots took place, it was with the redistribution of the lands that the new project first got under way. William Gordon's tack of Achriachan and Wester Camedel (1767) had been sub-set by him to thirty-six subtenants, Tomintoul being in the possession of twelve tacksmen and five cottars. In pursuance of the policy of advancing the rents to allow Glenbucket to sit rent free in St.Bridget, the money rental of Glenbucket's former lands had on his renunciation been immediately raised by £14 to £103-6-1d, Tomintoul amounting to only £17-4-8d of the total.

The next step was the elimination of the cottars of whom there were six, all but one of them women. Their rents in no case amounted to more than five shillings, two women indeed sharing a rent of half-a-crown, and another two a rent of five shillings. They paid no stipend or customs other than a reek hen each, by which it would appear that the co-tenants had separate houses. These cotts were on land that was actually required for the village feus, although after 1778 it was for a time included in the lotted lands (mainly lots 22 and 23). The cotts were added to the tack of William Grant, a Chelsea pensioner who had joined the Laird of Fyvie's regiment, but the cottars do not seem to have been obliged

(1) Unless otherwise stated rentals are quoted from Rentals No.15. Strathavon etc., Gordon Castle Papers.
(2) "one for each reeking house." Rental, c.1752-4. G.C.Rentals. No.15.
(3) 81st Regiment of Foot.
to remove forthwith. One of them, Helen Farquharsone, died early in January, 1776. Robert Farquharson, them minister of Kirkmichael, applied for permission to use her house as a schoolhouse and "for preaching in now and then," until a house could be built for the schoolmaster.\(^1\)

There had already been much local support for the proposal to locate the parish school at Tomintoul "as there was a prospect of his grace doing something at that place." Camdellmore was temporarily the site of the school but the young schoolmaster had been threatening to leave the parish if a house were not speedily built for him.\(^2\)

Some attention was paid to the remoter parts of Strathavon by the S.P.C.K. schoolmaster but, so far as religious worship was concerned the parish could not be ill-served by a single church at Kirkmichael. Mr. Farquharsone, having consulted his parishioners was of the opinion that the house, which it was intended to build by subscription, would "answer two very good purposes, for a schoolhouse and a place of worship. The latter we stand in as great need of as the former. Tomintoul on account of the bridges that are put up is equally as centrical for the country as Camdale."\(^3\)

Alexander Allan, "Charity" schoolmaster in Kirkmichael from 1752\(^4\) and himself a tenant in Tomintoul had been superseded by

\(^1\) Gordon Castle Papers: Letters, Drawer III. Bundle 72.
\(^2\) Ibid.
\(^3\) Ibid.
\(^4\) S.P.C.K. Records, No.56: Register of Society Schools 1710-1761.
another Society schoolmaster in 1772, "owing more to a spite against him than his own merit." There was a good deal of local sympathy for him and he had been well recommended for the post of parish schoolmaster then vacant but possibly the fact that he was "ane old man" told against him. In 1773 the factor reported that he and his "numerous young family" were in straits for food. (1)

Nothing more is heard of him and he may have left the district, for his lease of Tomintoul land expired in 1774 and the small property was thereupon added to Malcolm McGrigor's portion.

Thus by 1777 the Tomintoul holdings had been reduced to eight and the rent increased to £19. 5s. by the addition of conversions for some of the services. (2) One more Tomintoul holding, that of James Smith or Gow (also called Panton) was given up in 1777; and, the majority of the leases given under Glenbucket having expired in 1778, Mr. Milne, the factor, was able to report on 20th May: "All the Tomantowl tenants will be removed, except one (William Grant in Fyvie's regiment) who has a year to run after Whitsunday first, in order to clear the place for the accommodation of the feuars and for laying out the houses properly. Pelnacyle as it will not answer for Tomantowl for some time may be sett for the six years." (3)

(1) G.C. Papers, Letters, Drawer 111 Bundles 38 and 39.
(2) The rental of the Davoch of Achrischan and Wester Camdel had risen to £134-9-8d. When William Gordon first took it over it was £41-13-4d. He himself drew nearly £90 from subtenants apart from customs and services before his removal in 1773.
(3) Gordon Castle Papers: Military Papers, Box 12, Bundle 2.
It is clear that from the first the village was planned on generous lines with ample space for development. It was intended to take in a sweep of territory from Strans to Balmakyle whose tenants were included in a list (1) of those summoned to remove. A part of Fordmouth was added to the Tomintoul lands in 1778, by which time the rental had risen to £21-7-4. Some of the tenants in the more outlying possessions originally intended for inclusion in the scheme, were continued in them, but without leases. They were to be obliged to give up their land in whole or in part upon six months' premonition. (2)

With the completion of these preliminary measures aimed at clearing the ground to be feu'd and consolidating the adjoining arable grass land in the hands of the more substantial tenants, the way was ready for a start with the new village in the year 1779, the first year for which feu duties were charged.

The lotted lands it is true, did not at once reach their full rental. There was still a year of William Grant's tuck (now lots 16 and 17) to run at the old rent; in 1780 two lots (in grass) were vacant; and lot 22, with many of the old houses no doubt still occupied, and 23, where flax-raisers had their watering-place and bleach-green, were still unvalued.

Only a proportion of the tenants of the lots actually held feus in the village. Of the former tenants Malcolm McGrigor, a veteran of the 'Forty-Five, continued in occupation until at least 1791; ...

(1) G.C. Papers, Box 32, Bundle 6.
the widows of William Grant, soldier, and Peter McAlpin, "out" in the Forty-Five and for a time forester with the duke, continued to hold lots; while Donald Riach succeeded his uncle, James Riach, as tenant of the land near his home of Ballinriach on the southern outskirts of the village (lots 19 and 20 under the new arrangement) but was not successful in gaining the feu he sought in the following petition, June 1778:

"Petition of Donald Riach in Bellinriach of Tomintoull.

Most Humbly Sheweth,

That some years before Col. Morris Regmt was raised Your petitioner's father died and left him and two brothers all young and they having one uncle, the care and charge of them was left to him, but he was oblig'd to enter into the Colonels Regmt, went to India and never returned, So your petitioner and his brothers had none left to take care of them whereby they were reduced to very great loss and hardships, That your petitioners brothers when they grew up went to Ireland where they now live in a good way, But your petitioner not inclining to go abroad stayed in the country and lived in Tomintoull all his lifetime and has a wife and two small children - That he is willing to take off ground and build a house at Tomintoull and will find undisputed surety for that effect, and what he proposed to Mr. Miln the factor, but he insists that your petitioner should enlist in your graces regmt. which he quite declines and as his uncle was taken away, he hopes Your Grace will dispense
"with him\(^1\) and order the factor to give him off ground in Tomintoul and receive his cautioner for building a house thereon and he shall ever pray etc."\(^2\)

James Gordon of Croughly took over three lots of land as well as one feu; and Evan McDonald, a Fencible\(^3\) from the duke's territory of Kincardine, Abernethy, was a newcomer accommodated on the land about the village. By the year 1791 the number of tenants of the lotted lands had increased to eleven, and the rental of that date, £22-6-1ld., remained unchanged until 1802 at least.

When the duke decided in 1774 to erect his new town of Fochabers the first step proposed had been the building of an inn\(^4\) and it is noteworthy that the first recommendation in the proposals concerning Tomintoul was the erection of "a right publick house for the accommodation of travelers and others."

Strathavon had been badly served in this respect. The inn at Camdelmore was by 1770 in such a state of disrepair that Charles...

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\(^1\) The Muster Roll of the North Fencibles 1778 shows that Donald Riach, age 30, enlisted at Tomintoul on 30th June, 1778. In 1825 when he was about 77 years of age he was continued in his home and part of his croft rent free.

\(^2\) Gordon Castle Papers: Letters Drawer IV, Bundle 102.

\(^3\) In the Duke of Gordon's "Northern Fencibles" 1778-83. v.J.M. Bulloch's "Territorial Soldiering in N.E. of Scotland" p.122.

Man, who was vintner there from 1767, complained that "when passengers call and observe the poor appearance the houses make on the outside they are almost unwilling to enter in or stop, at any rate until they are prevail'd with, and many for that reason have passed by."(1)

A great drawback was that the innkeeper was a subtenant of the tacksman of Fodderletter and Candelmore and dependent on him for a sufficiency of corn land and pasture of which Candelmore was always short. (2) Charles Man had no more than an oxgate which he found insufficient for the maintenance of his own horses quite apart from the needs of travellers' horses, and in consequence he was put to the expense of buying in corn, straw and hay. Courts and other public gatherings were held at the inn, but only the infirmity of some of the old witnesses had decided the arbiters in the Faevait controversy to hold the hearing there in 1770; and for that occasion Man had had to lay in stocks of provisions from as far off as Forres.

(1) G.C.Papers, Box 23, Bundle 6.

(2) A memoir of 1712', for instance, mentions it as "Capable only to be accommodat in ffaill,divot, grass etc from the uther side of the water."

(i.e. Torrans etc which were subsequently set with Candelmore) G.C.P.7/1/6.
About 1774 Charles Man was succeeded by John Mackenzie and his wife who had kept the inn at Grantown for nine years, but the Mackenzies seem to have fared little better, for we find Lieut. John Grant, Rippachy, a cousin of Mrs. Mackenzie, complaining to James Ross at Gordon Castle of the scarcity of provender for his horses and adding that "she has met with several disappointments since she came to ye country and is as yet without a single ridge of land which is a very great disappointment to one in her way who would wish to supply and accommodate travellers in a gentle and easy way."  

In 1776 Mrs. Mackenzie addressed a petition to the duke pointing out that Camdal was not very advantageous for her and that she had been offered a choice of a tenement in the proposed village, where she was very willing to reside. She did not however, feel able to undertake the expense of providing her own house and offices "because that the road is quite shut up from the month of January till the first of May yearly;" but if his Grace would undertake the expense of building the necessary accommodation she would willingly furnish it.  

In March 1777, John Mackenzie professed himself willing to build directly "a house of seven feet high in the walls with two rooms

(1) Gordon Castle Papers, Box 40, Bundle 14.
John Mackenzie is among the first feuars in Grantown: Feu No.35.
vide Forsyth, "In the Shadow of Cairngorm", pp. 344-5.
(2) G.C.P. Letters, Drawer V Bundle 106.
(3) Ibid. Box 23 Bundle 33.
"to accommodate passengers providing the timber be led to Tomintoul."

The duke indeed offered wood from Glenmore free of charge but Mackenzie preferred to buy it in Abernethy if he were ordered "a fraught of the country horses to bring it hom." Another stipulation made by Mackenzie was that an order should be given "to stop the huts of Tomintoul from selling ale or whiskie as I will becom to pay all duties and that they do not." (2)

Strict instructions were given to the Strathavon factor that Mrs. Mackenzie's accommodation should be attended to when the corn and grass land came to be divided. (3) There were no new houses yet on the village site and Mrs. Mackenzie, informed that William Grant or Findlay had disposed of all his effects and was about to leave the country, requested in consideration of the ruinous state of the house at Camdell that she be allowed to use his house while the new inn was under construction. (4)

Thus we find Mrs Mackenzie (5) from December 1779 in possession of the nine lots of land subjoined to Findlay's house and yards, an

(1) Ibid Letters Drawer 111, Bundle 86.
(2) Gordon Castle Papers; Letters, Drawer 111 Bundle 86.
(3) Ibid Letter Book No.41. p.204.
(4) Ibid Box 40, Bundle 14: Miscellaneous Papers.
(5) This is the Mrs. Mackenzie of whom an extravagant account is given in the Old Statistical Account, according to which she had accompanied her husband's regiment abroad as sutler. The couple it seems returned from the wars with considerable funds. Robert Grant, Rothes, in March 1777, recommended John Mackenzie to Mr. Ross as "an honest harmless man in very good circumstances." G.O.P. Letters, Drawer 111. Bundle 86.
additional lot of grass (26) being added in 1780. They were also
given three feus (33,34,35) on one corner of the village square.(1)

The duke, after having consulted Lord Auchinleck, had already in
1776 determined to grant feu charters upon the village tenements or
leases for 99 years, whichever was most agreeable to the people who
settled there. Feu duties, he expected would be what most people
would wish, but he charged his factor to warn them of the one
objection which would not be apparent to most of them: namely, the
great expense of expending the charter and infeftment and of sub-
sequent entries and conveyances. Ample time was to be given the
Tomintoul people for consideration of this question.(2)

Several applications for feus had been made by 1776, the
applicants all relying on some local person of standing to attest
their characters as "very honest, harmless" men. Andrew Morrison,
described by James Gordon, Croughly, as "merchant in Tomintoul"

(1) The first distinct evidence of the inn functioning at Tomintoul
is a bill (Sept.1783) for entertainment of the duke and party for
eight days while setting the tacks of Glenlivet and Strathvon:
£31-10s. On that occasion, £2-7s. was also paid, to Mr.George
Cumming and his servants, for the use of his house as a writing
room
(Cumming had tenements 30 and 31, formerly held by McAlpin).
(2) G.C.F. Letters Drawer 11, Bundle 13.
"some persons of his busings will be proper objects for the benefit of the place" - was apparently a recent incommor to the district. The "hut" he lived in was "like to come down and supported by posts," and the duke had no objection to his choosing a feu, other than those on the square, and building at once. There is no trace of Morrison in the subsequent lists of feuers, however. (1)

Robert Grant, Ruthven, writing in September 1776 to recommend Patrick McAlpin who was later given two tenements in the village, states that McAlpin had two sons officers in the East India Company's service and that one of them "has been lately at home at whose desire I make this application, he also desired me tell you that he has left money with his father to build a neat little house on one of the wings, and that he shall next year remitt cash to build an elegant front for his own accommodation if ever he comes to the country, as he was born in that town that he also expects to die there." (2)

Early Nineteenth Century Development.

Progress during the first decade of the village's existence appears to have been slow. Up to the year 1791 no more than five persons held the feus, eight in all, between them. The feu duties, varying from 1s-8d. to 5s. per feu, amounted to £1-8-4d. and were already at that date £16.-11-8d. in arrears, owing, it may have been...

(1) G.C. Papers, Box 23, Bundle 33; Letter Book 40, p.58.
(2) Ibid Box 23, Bundle 33.
to delay over the charters: in 1783 the feuars had refused to pay any duty until they got charters.\(^1\)

The transference of the population from the old houses fringing the Tomintoul lands must have been slow: the number of tenants of the lotted lands was in 1791 greater than the number of feuars or of feus taken. In 1794, however, the Old Statistical Account has the information that Tomintoul - which may still have been a combination of the old order and the new - was inhabited by 37 families, and that there was not a single manufacture to employ them. The attempt to encourage and develop the linen industry to any real extent had clearly been unsuccessful.

Despite the great need for home-produced flax on account of the uncertainty and expense of imports from Holland, the Highlands had failed to respond. The people were generally at a loss for want of skilful persons to direct them in the troublesome operations of sowing, pulling, watering, and dressing the flax; and there was a scarcity of lint mills in such areas.\(^2\)

Until at least 1781 parts of the Duke of Gordon's estate continued to receive subsidies of lintseed from the Trustees for Manufactures, and quantities were purchased for his people by the duke. The distribution of the seed was left in the hands of James Ross at Gordon Castle, who held the opinion that he was justified

\(^1\) G.C. Papers: Stated Account, Strathavon and Glenlivet 1773-1798, Press L. d. 4.

\(^2\) In 1772 there were 252 lint mills in Scotland: only 8 in Banffshire. By 1770 the demand for linens was falling off and 1773 brought a trade depression. (A.S. Warden, The Linen Trade (1864). pp. 455, 423, 435).
in leaving out the Highland parts of the estates and concentrating on the lowlands such as the Enzie and Strathbogie, where the people were more sensible of the value of flax, accustomed in some degree to handling it and chiefly employed in manufacturing. (1)

It is not known at what date Duncan Grant of Forres discontinued his efforts to encourage flax-raising in Strathavon. The inaccessibility of the district alone must have been a serious drawback. Once the duke's title to Glenbucket's estate had been established in 1766, it may well be that the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates withdrew the financial support which was vital to Grant's undertaking. By 1789 the Trustees for Manufactures had abandoned their plans. (2)

No considerable growth of the village seems to have taken place before the nineteenth century. A new plan became necessary in 1807, under which date we find the following entry in the account book of a number of surveys carried out for the Duke of Gordon between the years 1802 and 1808 by George Brown:

"1807 June 1st. To making a plan of the lands and village of Tamintoul, with Explanation 6 Folio pages . . . . £6-6s. " (3)

(1) Gordon Castle Papers, Box 40 Bundle 12: Miscellaneous Papers.
(2) Hamilton, "Industrial Revolution in Scotland." p.89.
(3) Gordon Castle Papers, Press Ill. a.2.: Land Surveying.
A second copy of the plan was made in August, 1807, but neither copy has been traced, nor, unfortunately, have the pages of explanation.

It is clear, however, from the preamble to an "Arrangement of the Tenements and Lotts" (1825)\(^1\) that considerable improvement of the strips of land had taken place by that time and that it was found desirable at that date to lay down a new bounding line on either side of the village, down to the lower or "service" roads. By that year pieces of moor had been taken in beyond Brown's line, and George McWilliam, land surveyor, was called on to draw an up-to-date plan of the tenements and extend the lots, John Menzies, the duke's cashier, and James Skinner, factor, "conceiving it to be most convenient for the tenants to give them as much accommodation as could be spared on that side of the village immediately adjoining the end of their present lots."\(^2\)

One quaint feature of the map is a touch of urban imitation in dubbing the north and south portions of the main street "Camdale St." and "Erasmal St." and the various lanes, "St.Bridget Road," "Strathdown St." and so forth. At the Findron end of the village are fifty-one acres of common pasture, and Tomnabat, which had originally been part of the grazing of Wester Camell, is marked "Common Hill." Near Feindouran Moss there are no less than nine limekilns closely grouped. There is still some evidence of linen

\(^1\) Ibid Box 23, Bundle 33.

\(^2\) Ibid.
industry: a bleach green near the bridge over the Conglass.

The "Arrangement of Tenements and Lotts" which should accompany the map(1) is a handbook to tenants and tenements with notes of progress, arrears, and such like. An "industrious and most substantial" tenant is given another lot of land; a widow, who is likely to pay her arrears at Lammas, has land as far as the River Conglass added; one tenant has fifteen feet more than his proper breadth of tenement but he is an old man and an object of charity and will not be interfered with while he lives. A veteran of the duke's 92nd Gordon Highlanders "a poor man without the means of either building or improving," will have to be removed unless he pays up his arrears and builds. Many tenements are still without buildings and in some cases more land is promised once building is completed. As one man, a weaver,"is a tradesman and not a punctual payer it is not thought proper to give him more land." Other tradesmen mentioned are a baker, squarewright, shoemakers (2), mason, and nursery gardener. There are two innkeepers, Peter Forbes and James McDonnell, each with grass either on Findron or near Camdell. Those with strips of the former pendicle of Strans have the liberty of cutting peats in the moss. While from seven to fifteen shillings was the rate per acre for older lots (the feus were mostly 6s-8d. with some at 3s-4d.) the new lots were rented at twenty to twenty-five shillings per acre. Much of this land had already been under...

(1) The map is at the Gordon Estates Office, Glenlivet. Additions were made to it by Alexander Currie in September 1841.
cultivation, being the original Tomintoul land adjacent to St. Bridget and Fordmouth, or that of Strans, Balav Blair, and part of Findron.

In 1825 the village had almost one hundred tenants and the thirty-seven families of 1794 had increased by the year 1832 to 127 families out of the 361 families in the parish. (1) By the year 1842 the population of the village had increased to 530 (143 families); but, with the inhabitants mostly dependent on the produce of their plots, it was the view of the writer of the Second Statistical Account that the village had grown "beyond the maximum of its resources for supporting its inhabitants."

Nearer the mark, it would seem, than the conception of Tomintoul as a new centre of Highland industry, was the development envisaged by Thomas Stuart of Gaulrig who wrote to the Duke of Gordon in August, 1777: "Since you have been pleased to take a particular notice of Tomintoul and have it in view to raise it to a village, I have been meditating upon what might contribute to encourage such an advantageous plan, and amongst other things I find there is one, perhaps, of the most excellent medicinal or mineral wells (2) in the North of Scotland there, which, was it properly laid out, managed...

(2) He doubtless had in mind the iron well of Cnoc Lochy on the northern outskirts of the village.
"and cared for, would add not a little to the improvement of that village."

Stuart had visited the Pannanich wells on Deeside for the purpose of comparison, and had there seen such an assembly of people of rank and property that he was encouraged to visualise Tomintoul as a Highland spa.

(1) Gordon Castle Papers, Box 23, Bundle 33.
The old forest of Glenavon consisted mainly of the upper basin of the River Avon above Glenbuilg and Inchrory, a completely mountainous and uninhabited area. Divided from the forest of Mar, on the south, by a line of Cairngorm peaks, the forest had no such clear-cut boundary to the north where the rather featureless moors and hills around the Caiplich were, for the abundant summer grazing they contained, a subject of long dispute between the Dukes of Gordon and the Grant proprietors of Abernethy.

The Caiplich, though part of the drainage system of the Avon, is somewhat cut off from Strathavon by the six-mile long Craggs of Ailnach, a small-scale Colorado, but is, on the other hand, more accessible from the Braes of Abernethy, to the tenants of which it proved attractive as convenient shealing ground. The charter rights of Glenavon forest did not in any way define its bounds but it was natural that the duke should consider the watershed beyond the Caiplich as the boundary of his winter forest, an area of special importance to the deer stock. There, when they moved down from the high corries of Ben A'an and Ben A'Bhuidh the deer could find excellent pasture kept fresh by the summer grazing of the herds of black cattle.

Along with most of Strathavon the forest came into Gordon hands in the year 1490 when it was relinquished by the Stewarts. The
first mention of it in Gordon Castle documents, however, does not occur until 1546. In a Bond of Manrent of that date James Grant of Freuchie and his eldest son, John, acknowledge themselves to be vassals of George, fourth Earl of Huntly, after their infeftment in six davachs of his lands of Strathavon "with the forest and glen of Glenawne, and keeping of the house and fortalice of Drummyne togidder with the baillory of the lorschipe of Strathoune, providend at my said lord (Huntly) have twa bullis of kye fed in the said forest and glen of Glenawne, like as umquhill erll Alexander his gudschir had...and (th)at the scheill and gerss of Inchrory and hillis of Eynawne be keipit to our saidis lordis hunting quhen he commandis." (2)

(1) Alexander, 3rd Earl; d.1524.

(2) "Miscellany of the Spalding Club" Vol. IV, 214-215.
The editor has a note (p.511) on "bullis", and supposes that "bull", meaning a dry sheltered place, may have been used to mean a number of cattle enclosed in such a place, as we speak of a "pen of sheep."
The verb "bull" or "build", of Scandinavian origin and common to Shetland, meant to drive sheep into a fold or to house cattle in a byre. (Jamieson "Dictionary of the Scots Language"). Circular folds for cattle were common in the hills in the days of the summer shearlings, and possibly the equivalent of what two such folds would contain was the meaning of the phrase.
The "Scheillings of Glenawin and forest of Glenawin" are also included in a contract of 1562\(^1\) by which John Grant and his heirs received Strathavon lands in liferent from George, fifth Earl of Huntly. The Grant possession of these lands was marked by much litigation at the instance of Alexander Gordon of Strathdoun, second son of the Earl, who alleged destruction of trees in the forest and in Strathavon generally.\(^2\) John Grant, fifth of Freuchie, had on his part to take legal proceedings in 1612 against John Forbes of Pitsligo for pasturing cattle in the forest and creating trouble among Grant's herdsmen.\(^3\) In that same year the Grants, after various decreets had been obtained against them, resigned their rights in Strathavon to Alexander Gordon.\(^4\)

This Alexander Gordon who married Agnes Sinclair, Countess of Errol, did not long retain Strathavon in his own possession. With the consent of his son he disposed his liferent in July 1620.\(^5\) His son (also Alexander) was, with his wife, Margaret Grant of Bellindalloch, in the same year given a grant of Dunkinty\(^6\) and other

\(^1\) Fraser, "Chiefs of Grant," Vol. III. 419-421.
\(^2\) "Chiefs of Grant," 1. 183.
\(^3\) Ibid 1. 183.
\(^4\) Ibid 111. 419-421.
\(^5\) G.C.P. 6/3/12.
\(^6\) Dunkinty had come into the possession of the Huntly Gordons in 1614. It was re-disposned to the second Marquis of Huntly in 1637 by Alexander (d.s.p.), second son of the first Alexander of Dunkinty (G.C.P. 8/15/11 and 8/15/17)
lands near Elgin by his uncle, George, first Marquis of Huntly, and was thereafter designed "of Dunkinty." (1) His interest in Strathavon did not end then, however. Until 1623 he held wadsets in Strathavon (2) and in 1633 he was killed while hunting in the forest. Spalding recounts the incident:

"Alexander Gordon of Dunkyntie and George Gordon his eldest son, with some servants, being at the hunts in Glenelg (3) at the head of Strathaven, were upon the 19th August cruelly murdered by certain highland limmers, likeas the laird and his son in their defence slew three of thir lowns, but craftily they presently yerd two of them in a hole, and the third they left lying above the ground, syne went their ways, of whom triall yet could never be gotten, for all the Marquis of Huntly could do they being his own brother's son and brother's oy, whom thir limmers had killed without any known cause. (4) Dunkyntie's second son getting account of this woeful murder, convenes some friends suddenly and takes up the corps of his father and brother in two chests; the head of the third limmer they cut off

(1) G.C.P. 8/15/7.
(3) "Glenbuilg" must be meant. Shaw ("Highland Legends," Edin. 1859) mentions the traditional scene of the murder as the "Allt-an-Thighsearn Duibh" (Burn of the Black Laird). This would appear to be the "Caochan a' Cheannaird Duibh" of the six-inch O.S. map, a tributary of Caol Gheann of Ben A' an, a likely place for the stalking.
(4) Dunkintie shared with the Marquis of Huntly and others in 1624, a commission for the suppression of reiving. (Register of Privy Council, 1st Series, Xill, 414). His assailants in Glenavon were doubtless reivers or poachers to whose presence in the forest he had taken exception.
and set it upon a fork head, whilk was carried by an horseman all the way to Elgin before the corps and upon the 23rd day of August, with great lamentation, they were both buried within the Marquis' isle; and presently thereafter this limmar's head was set upon an iron stob at the end of the tolbooth of Elgin."(1)

The forest which had thus, with Strathavon, returned, in property as well as superiority, to the main line of the Earls of Huntly, was for a time during the Commonwealth held with the rest of the Huntly estates by the Marquis of Argyll. Anne, second daughter of the seventh Earl of Argyll had "in a vain endeavour to heal a family feud" married (1607) George, second Marquis of Huntly.(2) On the latter's forfeiture in 1649, Archibald, eighth Earl and first Marquis of Argyll, tried, it is said, and failed to prevent his brother-in-law's execution.(3) Later, Argyll submitted to the Cromwellian regime, and a "Memorial (1718) of the Duke of Gordon's Titles with respect to the Marquis of Argyle's forfeiture" states that "Archibald first Marquis of Argyle having acquired right to several considerable debts resting by George second Marques of Huntly did apprize the whole estate of Huntly and by virtue of the said appriseings obtained possession on in the time of Cromwell's usurpation and to fortifie his legal right he procured a conventional one from Louis Marquis of Huntly after the right was in his person, his father and elder bretheren being dead, this obligation was extorted from Lord Louis Gordon vi et metu but after such a long tract of time the force will...

(2) Scots Peerage IV.546.
(3) Ibid 1.356.
(4) G.C.P.41/22/20.
With the Restoration, however, Argyll himself was forfeited and executed. (2) Charters were by this time in some confusion, and, as a reward for the "illustrious and eminent services" of the House of Huntly, Charles II in 1662 incorporated the "sheilings and forests of Glenaven, Linburl and Glenlivat" as part of the Barony of Strathavon, and along with the Lordships of Aboyne, Glentaner and others erected them into the Earldom of Aboyne, in favour of Huntly's fourth son. (3)

From 1664 the possession of Strathavon and other Huntly lands by the new Earl of Aboyne (4) was disputed. The grant of lands to Aboyne had been to the value of £400 sterling yearly rent, and for the fourth Marquis of Huntly, ward and nephew of the Earl of Aboyne, it was claimed that the grant in fact greatly exceeded this amount and included forests, hunttings, and superiorities which had not formerly paid a constant rent and should not have been separated from the Marquis's territory. "The saids forrests and woodes," it was maintained, "are of a very great value and without them it is impossible that the marquis his tennents can uphold their houses and sheillings." In 1672 the Privy Council ordered the Earl of Aboyne ...

(1) see "Register of the Great Seal" (1660-1668) No. 232.
(2) "Scots Peerage" I.359; IV.549;
(3) "Records of Aboyne" pp.327-332.
(4) The original Earl of Aboyne, son of the first Marquis of Huntly was killed in the fire at Freindraught. (Scots Peerage" I.100,101.)
to resign to the marquis "Strathaven, Glenlivet and Cabrech and the
forrest of Blackwater, all lying contigue to the said marquis estate
and a great distance from the Earl of Aboyne his lands."(1) Accordingly
in 1673 the Earl of Aboyne disposed Strathavon to the Marquis of
Huntly, and thereafter Strathavon was the property of the Dukes
of Gordon and of Richmond and Gordon.

(1) "Register of the Privy Council" 3rd Series, 111 567-571.
Glentanner and Glenmuick were also renounced.

(2) G.C.P. 6/3/17. A month or so after this disposition, the Earl
of Aboyne wrote to the laird of Cawdor asking his assistance
in recovering some sheep stolen from Strathavon:

" Sir,

Huntly, 27 May, 1673.

Being informed that some men in your land has tue stolen
hoggis belonging to a tenant in Strathawen, and that my lord
Huntlie his maister writ to you for redelyverie of the samyn
ayther to the right owner or to him or them they received them
from, to which (as I am told) ye sent over back ane answer to
Capt. Gordon bailie in that part that the desyr of that letter
should be obeyed, wherof as yet ther is noe performance. Therfor
I entreat you caus answer my lordis letter to his mans satisfactione
whilc will oblige him and me in his absence to give you the lyk
returne, if the lyk caice befall any of your tennants be any
within the bounds belonging to ayther of us. In the mean tyme I
subscive my self

Sir
Your good friend and servant

Aboyne.

For Sir Hew Campbell of Calder

("The Thanes of Cawdor, 1236-1742." p.329 Spalding Club, 1859.)
For more than two centuries Strathavon was in the thick of reiving activity. Even when the inhabitants were not themselves involved in some affray their territory lay athwart the routes of contending clans. Such was the case in the early sixteenth century when Farquharsons on Deeside and the Grants of Freuchie raided each other's lands across the intervening country before meeting to compose their differences at Delavorar in 1527, where the Farquharsons were represented by Finlay Mor, father of the first Farquharson of Achriachan.(1)

During the reigns of James VI and Charles I the disorders occasioned by 'Stradoun' people, or by 'broken men' who had taken up residence in the glen, appear with notorious frequency in the records of the Privy Council. In 1620 the inhabitants themselves along with those of Badenoch, Blackwater, and Auchindoun, were, in typical Privy Council language, denounced as "disordourit and insolent heyland men," their crimes, in addition to the more petty offences of killing deer and 'blackfish' and cutting green wood, being "murthour, slaughter thift and wilfull ressett of thift."(2) That the inhabitants were sometimes the victims rather than the offenders seems likely from the strictures passed in 1630 on some outlaws who "committ all kynde of insolenceis and oppressiouns upon his majesties peaceable and good subjects within the countrie of Stradoun and other parts next adjacent, within the quhilkis bounds, especiallie in Stradoun.... the saids lymmars hes..."(2)

(2) Register of the Privy Council, 1st Series, Vol.XII. 240.
"their speciall ressett and residence." (1)

The influx of Macgregors, many of whom received sanctuary in Grant or Gordon domains, complicated the disciplinary problems of Highland landlords when they had a mind to restrain their tenants' lawlessness, which was not often. The Macgregor refugees could be a heavy liability as when Argyll exacted large fines from their 'resetters', but it has been suggested that they were none the less of some value to those who befriended them:

"There were many powerful motives for befriending the Macgregors in spite of the risk of punishment. It was a better protection against the outlaws themselves than any afforded by the Government. It was profitable despite the infliction of fines amounting to a tenth of the offender's possessions in case of discovery; and there were complaints that landlords were letting farms to Macgregors at exorbitant rents. There was the convenience of having desperate men at hand for hazardous enterprises, and for purposes of defence from others. Most widespread of all and most creditable were the promptings of common humanity, which make the records of the large sums collected from resetters of all classes throughout all the highland counties the brightest page in the Macgregor history." (2)

That Macgregors were already in considerable numbers in Strathavon by the middle of the sixteenth century is clear from the injunction to John Grant of Freuchie in 1563 to expel them "furth of the boundis ...

(1) Register of the Privy Council, 2nd Series, Vol.111, 578.
(2) A.Cunningham, "The Loyal Clans" (C.U.P.1932) p.159.
"of Strathspey, Strathawne and Bra of Strabogy." The Privy Council asserted that they "hes nocht onlie messit theme selfis in greit companyis bot als hes drawn to thame the maist part of the brokin men of the hale cuntre, quhilkis at their plesour birtnis and slayis the pouer liegis of this realme, revis and takis their gudis soronis and oppressis thame."(1)

The account book of fines for resetting the Clan Gregor(2) contains, in the list of those " fynit at the Counsell table" on 1st September, 1613, many names from Strathavon and Speyside. Heritors such as Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch and Patrick Grant of Carron were fined to the extent of £5000 and £1000 respectively but these fines were slight compared with the one of £26,666,13,4d. imposed on the laird of Freuchie.

The raising, let alone the collection, of these sums of money was almost out of the question. Of the twelve Kirkmichael persons on whom such fines were imposed only William McFinla (Farquharson) in Achriachan,

(2) M.S. Book in Register House, Edinburgh
(3) James Grant in Pottletter, £133.6.8d. Finla McCromoyne thair £66.13.4d; John Dow McConell McEan Rowan in Innerchebit, £33.6.8d; Patrick McConlia in Finran, £33.6.8d; Patrick McCaw McKane Galt in Torren, £33.6.8d; John Riauch McGawin in Auchanichyle, £33.6.8d; John Dow McInnische in Tomchlagane, £200; Allester MCeAn Riasuch MCAgwne in Pottirletter, £200; John McGillemitchell thair, £66.13.4d Duncan MWilliam McEan in Auchlony £50; James MWilliam McAllane in Delliweror, £133.6.8; William McKina (Finla) in Auchriachan £100.
(see also Reg.P.C. Vol.X.143 where the names show slight variations in spelling from above, and fines are given in merks.)
James McWilliam in Delavorar, and James Grant in Fodderletter paid a 'composition'; and when the final account was drawn up in 1624 all the other nine fines, still unabated, were outstanding. (1)

Owing to the action of the Earl of Moray, a fresh influx of Macgregors to the northern counties took place in 1624. The earl, who, also held the Lordship of Doune, (2) Perthshire, brought from Menteith and Balquhidder some three hundred Macgregors to be used in quelling troublesome members of the Clan Chattan whom, two years before, he had evicted from their ancient holdings of Petty in Moray. The Macgregors, possibly out of a fellow-feeling for the Mackintoshes, having themselves been subject to letters of fire and sword, proved half-hearted in the task assigned to them and were, as Spalding puts it, sent "back against the gate they came." (3)

In fact, many of them got no further than Speyside and Strathavon where from 1628 employment was found for them in two of the most notorious feuds (one a revival of an older feud) ever to involve the inhabitants of Strathavon and to perplex the Privy Council. A manuscript account has the information that these Macgregors were

(1) see Register of Privy Council, 1st. Series I. p. xxv. fn.
(2) His father, James Stewart, Lord Doune (1581) married Elizabeth, Countess of Moray and became the "Bonnie Earl O'Moray." (Scots Peerage, Vol. 316, 319.)
(3) Spalding's "Troubles" (Bannatyne Club ed. I, 2.) see also A. M. Mackintosh, "The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan." pp. 216-221;
(4) Innerhaddon M.S.: McGregor, op. cit. 11. 56.
commanded by a son of Macgregor of Roro and by McGregor of Glengyle.

In 1559 a Grant of Ballindalloch had been slain by his neighbour John Roy Grant of Carron, and seventy years later an affray in the streets of Elgin resulted in the death of the Ballindalloch grant who instigated it. His slayer was James Grant of Carron, uncle of the laird of Carron who was to be the next victim, when he was outnumbered by Ballindalloch's men in an Abernethy wood. The Ballindalloch faction who had the support of the Earl of Moray were first to get the ear of the Privy Council, and James Grant was outlawed along with many of his associates in Strathavon.

(1) Ruairidh in Glenlyon which was in the possession of the Macgregors from about 1390.

(2) Descendants of Roro Macgregors can be traced for several generations in Strathavon. In the 19th century there were at least three families claiming descent from them. A Macgregor (op.cit.11. 189) thinks that John McGregor who signed the Jacobite Bond at Tomintoul in 1690 was the son of Glengyle.

(3) Outlaws in Stradoun:— put to the horn 30 September. 1628 — Robert McWilliam McGrumman in Belledine (Belniden); James McGrum his brother there; William McWilliam McGrumman thr; James Grant in Inneroure; John Gordom younger there; John Beg, John Bain there; Allan Boyne McFinlay in Innerlochie, John McWilliam McEane there, Robert McWilliam McEane his brother there; John Riache McInraour in Cleuchrie (Croughly); Alaster Dow McInraour in Glenconglas; William Stewart in Tomachlagnen; John McAlaster McEane Riache in Auchinlech...
This particular sentence of outlawry - at this time little more than a formality - reflects the rivalry then existing between the Earls of Huntly and Moray over the Lieutenantship in the North, held at that time by Moray. The accused had failed to appear before the Earl of Moray in his capacity of Lieutenant, and were alleged to accompany George, Marquis of Huntly and Lord Gordon, his son, "at their oasting (hosting) and hunting and all other assemblies and gaddering." (2) James Grant had at first fled from the district but, as we are told, "returned and has associated himself with 40 or 50 broken Highlanders some of the Clanrannald Olangregor and others from Strathpey and Stradoun." (3)

In association with these men James Grant became "ane opin reaver, sorner and oppressour." From the tenants of Ballindalloch, for example, he "reft by way of Stouthreat 120 nolt, 12 horses, 6 mares and 160 sheep." (4) By arrangement with the Earl of Moray, Ballindalloch made use of some of the Clan Chattan and these succeeded in capturing...

(1) They had in fact been attacked by Ballindalloch's men on the occasion when the laird of Carron was slain, and in defending themselves had killed some of Ballindalloch's supporters.
(2) Register of the Privy Council, 2nd Series, IV.4.
(3) Ibid II. 274.
(4) Ibid III.25.
124.

the chief outlaw at Achnahyle in 1630 after a violent fight. On James Grant's return to the district after escaping from Edinburgh Castle, Ballindalloch next employed against him some Macgregors under Patrick Ger Macgregor "an cruel bloody tyrant" who was soon disposed of by Sheumas an Tuim.(1)

An even greater source of reiving activity was another feud between near neighbours, the Gordons of Rothiemay and the Crichtons of Frendraught, complicated by a secondary feud between the Crichtons and the Leslies of Pitcaple. When Viscount Aboyne, son of the Marquis of Huntly, and young Gordon of Rothiemay were burned to death in the tower of Frendraught, the Gordon forces of Banffshire in conjunction with an assortment of Macgregors from Strathavon and Speyside, and Camerons and Macdonells from the west, were loosed on the Frendraught lands on the River Deveron.

The years 1630 to 1634 saw a succession of raids, and the Marquis of Huntly and his bailies were called to account to the Privy Council because "diverse of the name of Gordoun and their dependers and followers in the in countrie have this long time bygane....infested his majesties good subjects in the north parts, especiallie the Laird of Frendraught and his tennents by frequent depredations, slaughters,

(1) "James of the Hill," the name Grant was known by, locally. He had a great deal of local support as well as notoriety (see Statistical Account of Kirkmichael, 1794, Vol. XII, pp. 443-444). The rest of his remarkable career is told in the Register of the Privy Council; see also Browne's History of the Highlands, Vol. I.
"heirships and barbarous cruelties committed upon them."

The reivers did not always have the best of it. On one occasion a party from the Cabrach led by Adam Gordoun in Stradoun and his two sons was pursued, the booty recovered, and three prisoners hanged at Frendraught; on another they were overtaken in Glenfiddich and the cattle recovered; and, on yet a third, they were completely scattered by Frendraught's force of foot and cavalry.

A Macgregor Chartulary states that for their part in pillaging Frendraught's lands "the Gordons now afforded settlements to some of the Clan Gregour whose descendants are still in that quarter. Glenstrae had as appears obtained lands in Strathavon." The Privy Council Register certainly shows Gregor McGregor, the laird, and his brother Patrick to have been in Delnabo in 1631, when outlawed at the

(1) Reg. of Privy Council. 2nd Series V.,405.
(2) Browne, "History of the Highlands" 1.309.
(3) Macgregor, op.cit.11,38.
(4) He succeeded as McGregor of Glenstrae on the death of his uncle who was executed after the battle of Glenfruin in 1604. He was often known by his mother's name of Murray. He married Margaret Sinclair, widow of the John Grant of Carron slain by Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch. She was of the Sinclair of Ardoch. McGregor had sold his Glenstrae property in 1624 and gone to Leybega in Stirlingshire not far from Ardoch.
instance of Crighton of Frandraught. They may have been in the
district for some time previously because their father Ian Dubh,
brother of Alasdair of Glenstrae 'Laird of Macgregor', appears to
have taken refuge with the Grants for a time after the murder of the
king's forester in Glenartney in 1589. At Abernethy in 1592 he gave
a Bond of Manrent to John Grant of Freuchie. He returned to take
part in the raid on Luas and was killed at Glenfruin (1603) but appears
to have left his sone with the Grants who at that time held Delnabo
with other Strathavon lands from the Gordons.

(1) Gregour McGregor of that Ilk called the Laird of the McGregor
Margaret Sinclair his spouse
Callum Bayne McGregor in Strathdoun
Allaster McGregor McConnell there
Patrick McGregor in Delnabo, the Laird's brother
Callum Bayne McGregor in Bailibeg
Gregour McInduy householdman to the Laird of McGregor
John McGregor in Cambell
Callum Oig Servitor and householdman to the said Laird of McGregor
Dunean McLaurie and Gregor, McEanduy his man
Donald McGregor in Bailibeg
Patrick McGregor dwelling under the Laird of McGregor in Strath-
swin.
Callum McGregor father brother son to Callum Oig

(2) "Chiefs of Grant" Vol 111, 183-4.
(3) "Patrick McGregor or Murray, known as Patrick. Roy, second son of
John Dhu nan Luarag, was during his minority under the care of
the Laird of Grant." - MS. Account, "Hist. of Clan Gregor" 11. 15.
(4) The McGregor renounced the lands of Delnabo in 1633 and returned
to the south.
The next Strathavon raid of which we hear was in another direction. The Marquis of Huntly had been appointed lieutenant in the north by Charles I in 1639 and Sir Alexander Gordon of Cluny brought to Aberdeen for him a shipload of arms. Donald Farquharson of Monaltrie, the Marquis's bailie in Strathavon, was having some of these brought home by his servants when the latter were attacked by Alexander Strachan of Glenkindie on Donside, an ardent Covenanter. The result of this was that Donald Farquharson and his Highlanders took an early opportunity of plundering the Laird of Glenkindie's lands in May, 1639.

It was shortly after this, in 1641, that a force of 120 men was levied to suppress such disorders, the Commissioners including Strachan and Robert Farquharson of Invercauld. The force seems to have had little success, however, owing to its deployment over a wide area and the ease with which outlaws could acquire powder and lead from chapmen and others.

Some particularly heavy raiding took place in 1689 and 1690 on the lands of Lord Forbes on Donside. As a prominent Whig and Covenanter Lord Forbes, as well as his son, the Master of Forbes, attracted the attentions of the neighbouring Highlanders; and his attempts to instigate measures against the lawless bands to the north of his estate drew further unwelcome attention. From a number of farms

(1) Spalding, 'Troubles' pp.84,99,114.
(2) Reg. of Pr. Coun. 2nd Series VII,pp.L11,164-170 (Contrast Spalding pp 225-6)
(3) William, 12th Lord Forbes b.1620; succ.1672; d.1697.
(4) Logie, Edinbanchorie, Marchmarre, Westhills, and Windseye.
raided in 1689 and 1690 cattle, horses, and sheep to the value of nearby £4000 Scots were lifted. A band of men from Speyside had been joined by Strathavon men, but before they could reach the safety of upper Glenavon on the return journey they were headed off by John Forbes of Inverernan, the Earl of Mar's bailie for the district, and other Strathdon residents. Of the twenty or so named as participants in the raid twelve were from the Braes of Strathavon.

(1) 82 cattle, 472 sheep, and 18 horses.
(2) John Farquersone in Dilavarar, now in Delnabo.
John McLachlan in Dilavarar.
Alaster Grant in Bellsbegg now in Dillivera but residing at the Coine.
John Meldrum in Capack in Tirriesoules land (i.e. Keppoch held in wadset by the Gordons of Tirriesoule and Camell.)
Donald Meldrum yr. both invercaulde men, now in Tirriseoule.
William Crookeshanker in Dilavarar.
Alaster Madrinasch, his broyr, yr.

The first three are named as "witnesses to prove," along with Angus Robertsone in Bellniden and William Con in Fodderletter and some of the force which intercepted the raiders.

Such raids, however, were now becoming isolated occurrences and could, in part at least, be ascribed to political feeling after the revolution of 1688. Conditions in general must have improved somewhat when it could be reported to the Council in 1684 that never was there "such quyet and security for above twenty yeirs befor" with what theft there was mostly committed by "fugitives in the mountains forced to steal some kowes or sheip to save them from starving"; but many such optimistic statements subsequently proved to be unjustified. The records of the Council henceforth show, however, that the main sources of disturbance were located in the West Highlands.

Reivers' Routes and Military Patrols.

Throughout these troublous times the secluded valley of the Avon was clearly something of a sanctuary for reivers, sorers and the like, "where they have une peaceable and ordinarie abode and rest unmolested.....as if they were lawfull subjects." To the number of such inhabitants there were generally added numerous rebels who had taken refuge there. The various commissions given to the Earls of Huntly and their bailies in Strathavon scarcely affected the security of the thieves, and when required in 1630 to produce one of his own tenants, Finlay McGregor in Fodderletter, before the Council the Marquis either would not or could not do so.

(1) Register of the Privy Council, 3rd Series. lx.90.
(2) Ibid, 2nd, Series Vl. 209.
(3) Ibid, 2nd, Series Vl. 215.
(4) Register of the Privy Council, 2nd Series, lx.238 (1617); xli 240 xlii. 133 (1622); xlii.144 (1624).
In addition to its being a safe retreat for reivers actually resident within its bounds, the Avon in its upper reaches provided a convenient corridor for the conveying of booty from Banffshire and Aberdeenshire to the upper Spey and Lochaber. To hinder this traffic garrisons were established in Braemar, Inverlochy, and Ruthven of (1) Badenoch in Charles the Second's time, and an order in 1664 charged "the baylies of Strathaven and Badzenach and the Laird of Grant's baylies in Strathspey throw whose bounds all driftes of catell robbed doe ordinarily pass, to be shireffes in that part for putting the late Act of Parliament anent roberies to execution both as to tryall and recovery of the goods robbed." (2) A year later orders were given for another watch of 24 men to be commanded by John Grant, younger of Ballindalloch, and William Farquharson of Inverey "for keeping the country from robberies and depredatious:" (3) and in 1667 the Earl

(1) During the domination of Scotland by the Commonwealth and Protectorate after 1651, Colonel Lilburne, C-in-C of the English Army in Scotland, had had garrisons at "Ruthven of Badinoth" and "Brae of Marre". ("Scotland and the Commonwealth," Scot.Hist. Society, p.117)
(2) Register of the Privy Council, 3rd Series l. 638.
(3) Ibid 3rd.Series, ll. 68.
of Athol was commissioned to raise a force to maintain peace—"to watch upon the braes....and quher theives and brokin men doe resort."

This commission was to last until 1669, the earl being paid £200 sterling to help to raise the force, and to it has been ascribed the origin of the Black Watch, although, as is shown above, there were earlier attempts at creating a 'watch'.

Subsequently numerous other commissions were issued up to about 1680, by which time the Strathavon people appear to have put a considerable check on their reiving proclivities, the most troublesome areas being those west of the Spey. The fact that there were Gordon lands there too, in Lochaber, may have helped to promote an easier passage for the thieves through upper Banffshire on their far-reaching forays.

The situation was little different in 1724 when General Wade reported to King George the First:

"The clans in the Highlands, the most addicted to rapine and plunder, are, the Cameron's on the west of the Shire of Inverness...

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(1) Register of the Privy Council, 3rd Series II 324-329.
(2) In 1641 commissions had been granted to certain noblemen, including the Marquis of Huntly, to raise a force consisting of a "captane and six score men," to suppress disorders; the force to be maintained out of the fines imposed by circuit courts of Justiciary, or failing that out of H.M.'s Exchequer to the amount of one thousand pounds sterling. (Reg.Pr.Coun. 2nd Series, VII. 164-170.) In 1644, application had been made to the Privy Council for a "Supplie of moneyes for mantenans of ane watch." (Reg.Pr.Coun. 2nd Series, VIII. Miscellaneous Papers No.134)
(3) Register of the Privy Council, 3rd Series, II 111.87; IV.135; V.
The Mackensie's and others in the Shire of Ross who were vassals to the late Earl of Seaforth, the McDonell's of Keppoch, the Broadalbin men, and the McGregors on the borders of Argyleshire. They go out in parties from ten to thirty men, traverse large tracts of mountains till they arrive at the lowlands where they design to commit depredations, which they chuse to do in places distant from the clans where they inhabit."

In military reports after the Forty-Five attention was drawn to Strathavon's share in the reiving traffic: "Here live several thieves who correspond with those of the west Highlands, and do a deal of mischief by the assistance and information they give them. (1)

(1) Allardyce, "Historical Papers" (New Spalding Club) I.134.
(2) An interesting case of this kind appears in the Gordon Castle writs (Drawer 11.Bundle 10). John Grant, Ruthven, writes (22 June 1726) to the Duke of Gordon on behalf of Thomas Gordon in Tomachlaggan who has had some cattle stolen, apparently by Angus Cameron in Camnuseraeht. With the latter at the reiving there was someone living in Strathavon. Grant wants his Grace to write "Lady Wym's Chamberlain" to ask her to send Angus Cameron and John Cameron in Dunne, and Donald Cameron in Arlerick "who can prove against the out hounter in Strathaven and your Gr.may give them a protection of eight days time to come to this country and eight days to return home after the court since Thomas is content to pass from Angus Cameron in case he prove against his copartner in Strathaven and lett the sd Angus Cameron be a witnesse with the two other forsd witneses who knows their secred's. The sooner they were sent the better for Thomas Gordon in regard that John Steward in Scallon is persheuing him for three cows of his that was taken away with Thomas Gordon cattel because the sd Thomas Gordon lett away Angus Cameron while he was prisoner."
"In this country are the hills and glens of Binnavin which are very extensive and convenient for sheltering or concealing stolen cattle and horses."

In the summer of 1747 a trial was made with several military posts on the Don, Gairn, and Dee, and one at Inchrory, meeting-place of three glens. Garrisons were small, only one corporal and eight men being stationed at Inchrory, for instance, but even as they formed they had success, forty-three head of cattle being recovered from some Rannoch thieves. Only at Inchrory was any difficulty experienced by soldiers in subsisting on the country, and this it seems, whether from Jacobite sympathies or not, was due to the obstructionist tactics of the Strathavon factor, John Grant of Tombreckachie. The Duke of Gordon, ostensibly at least, disassociated himself from his factor's attitude and expressed his gratitude for the protection afforded to the country by the military.

The country people were advised to see to their cattle regularly and inform the nearest post within 24 hours when animals were missing. Herdsmen in the glens were expected to give intelligence of the movements of reivers and stolen cattle, due rewards being promised for any effectual help, as well as penalties for any connivance at reiving activities or assistance given to the thieves.

This plan was soon extended and a system of weekly patrols between out-posts on varying days put into operation during the droving...

(1) Allardycce, op.cit. 11.504.
season (June to December). The counties concerned were expected to supply the necessaries and the local proprietors to furnish wood and assistance for the making of "small shieldings or huts for covering the parties."

The routes taken by the reivers were by this time well-known:

"Betwixt Don and Spey they must pass through the mountains of Glenoughty and Glenavin, and afterwards fall into the mountains of Abernethy, or further south take the route formerly mentioned, but at any rate all the plunder from the four shires must pass betwixt Ruthven of Badenoch and Blair." (1)

The Ben Macdhu-Cairngorm Massif encloses the upper end of Glen-avon so that reivers were forced to diverge where the Lairig an Laoigh crosses the Avon either down the Nethy to the middle reaches of the Spey or by a difficult southern route down the Derry and thence by high cols to the Feshie, after which there was still the Ruthven garrison to evade.

The latter route is fairly well marked for us on O.S. maps by the recurrence of the word 'meirlach' (Gaelic, robber) in place-names along it: the Gnapan and Laggen a Mheirlach in Glen Avon, and the Preas and Clais nam Meirlach between Glen Lui Beg and the young Dee. (2)

During 1747 the Inchory post kept a detachment of three men at the "Foord of Carnagavall" (i.e. the present Fordmouth near Tomintoul).

(2) That this was probably the more natural route for the reivers to take may be judged from the story told by Seton Gordon of two Inchory ponies which strayed from the lodge and took this very route to Glen Feshie in an effort to regain their former home on the western seaboard. (Cairngorm Hills of Scotland," p.47.)
which was known to be "one of the passes throb which they often drive their plunder." This was the most northerly point protected at that time, the main patrol route lying to the south in very rough country (1) "through Elick Caiplich, Lagganamhearlich (on the Avon near Faindouran), Loch Avin, Glenbuilg."

In 1750 when a sergeant and eight men were again stationed at Inchory, with a smaller unit in the Braes of Abernethy, a moving patrol of a corporal and six men took over some of the patrolling from the headquarters at Corgarff. On one occasion, for example, leaving Corgarff at 4a.m. they crossed the hills from Donside to Torbain on the Avon and continued across country to the Aliach and the Braes of Abernethy returning via Inchory; a very strenuous journey. (3)

"The parties at Inchory, and the Braes of Abernethy," it is reported, "are quarter'd tolerably well in country huts, are supply'd with oat meal from the country, the country people supply them also with other provisions, which consists of mutton milk and eggs at reasonable rates, but they have no firing except what they gather from the hills." (4)

... ...

(1) 'Elanguish' is meant; also known as the Pass of Altanarroch when approached from the north by another gully. Elick lies north of Tomintoul. cf. Allardyce op.cit. ll.545.
(2) Allardyce. op.cit. ll. 490-491, 504, 507.
(3) Ibid ll.545-546.
(4) Allardyce op.cit. ll.544.
In the summer of 1750 a further disposition of troops - this time from Strathbogie - was made, with headquarters at Tomintoul and smaller detachments at Achnahyle, the Braes and lower Glenlivet, and Cabrach. This was clearly to protect the escape routes from Strathbogie and lower Banffshire by the Deveron and Blackwater, Glenfiddich and the Suis, and Glen Rinnen, whence reivers would make for the ford on the Avon at Tomintoul en route to Abernethy.

Reiving it seems had little chance to thrive in these conditions and the detachments were often more concerned in seeing that the proscription on Highland dress and the carrying of arms was effective. Some trouble too was caused in the Strathavon district by agents recruiting for the French service. One named Stewart is mentioned and Lieut. Ogilvie, in charge at Tomantoul, had strong suspicions

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(Allardyce. op.cit. 11.546.)
about "one John Grant brother to Grant of Blairfindie" doing likewise. Lt. Ogilvie had aroused the hostility of the local people by arresting the priest, Mr. Grant, who was said to have harboured Stewart, and he found it difficult to extract information from the inhabitants. By the end of the year the district seems to have been in a very settled state and the final military reports in October and November, 1750, are: "Nothing extraordinary."

With the establishment of these military posts at strategic points conditions in Kirkmichael had become favourable for the development of the Forest of Glenavon as a grazing ground after its having "lyen waste" for several years.

Grazings: The Forest and Lettermore.

It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the Glenavon forest was fully exploited as a grazing ground. Whether or not its potentialities were realised before that time, it is clear that the first concern of the dukes – their factors sometimes felt otherwise – was and continued to be the preservation of the deer; and it is probable, too, that, until more settled conditions were attained after the Forty-Five, large-scale grazing in such a resort

(1) This was very probably the same John Grant, who showed antipathy to the Inchry patrol in 1747. The duke's factor in 1742-3 was John Grant in Castletoun (of Blairfindy) and subsequently John Grant of Tombreckachie, possibly the same person. The two places adjoin each other one on each side of the Livet. Several Grants of Blairfindy were out in the Forty-Five. (Tayler "Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in the Forty-Five," p. 286)

(2) see Blundell's "The Catholic Highlands of Scotland" (1909) Vol I. pp. 62-3.

(3) Allardyce op.cit. 11 504-7; 544-7, 563-4, 579, 584.
of reivers would have been attended by too many risks to prove attractive to owners at a distance from Glensavon.

Leases of the forest were given during the early part of the century, and at times the office of forester was invested in the tacksman of the grazing. Little or no salary was attached to the office which usually went to one of the more "substantial" tenants but some concessions and privileges were normally granted.

"It seems the Magrigors were the antient foresters," states a (2) 1753 document but the names of none are recorded until about the year 1700 when we find that of John Farquharsen, probably of the Allargue family on Donside, an offshoot of the Achriechan Farquharsens. In 1711 he was succeeded by Grigor Grant or McGregor of Gaulrig and Delavorar. In the "Act of Forrestrie" appointing McGregor (10th February, 1711) there is no mention of his having any grazing rights.

(1) It is stated in 1710, for e.g. that Duncan McPherson of Cluny and his predecessors "have always been Forrester for the Duke of Gordon (in the Forest of Benalder) and as such have sole right to the sheallings of Camsnamgrieve and Inversalder;" and for some time after 1735 Cluny McPherson and his sons acted as foresters - "for nothing". (G.C. Papers Box 10, Bundle 15, No. 2)

(2) G.C. Papers. Vouchers 1750-54 Press 111. a. l.

(3) A descendant, Robert Farquharsen "in Downndow of Gorgarff" made a declaration regarding the forest in 1766. (G.C.P. Box 39/18) Dunandhu was a pendicle of Allargue.

(4) In 1766 he is referred to as "Vic-can-dy" being in fact a great-grandson of Ian Dubh (second son of Duncan VII of Roero), who settled in Strathavon about 1624. His mother was a Farquharsen and he was married to Marjory Grant of Easter Elchies. He died in 1717 in which year his sons, John and James signed an undertaking to call themselves Gordons (printed in Spalding Club Miscellany Vol. III. p. 234.)

in the forest; he is obliged "to keep in and preserve our deer within the said glen and forest ungone astray to other places and from being hurt and destroyed by strangers or others without out warrant and the said Grigor having the assistance of the country for that effect as formerly when called." Combined with this was the task of preserving the woods in the glen and the driving and pointing of all strange cattle therein. His salary was a mere twenty merks Scots yearly whereas for any failure to carry out his duties a penalty of fifty merks was incurred.

It appears that during Grigor's charge of the forest the grazing was in the hands of the Gordons of Tirriesoul and Camdel (wadsetters in Strathavon from 1681 to 1721) who had also Inchroary and Glenbuilg adjoining the forest, for in 1718 it is noted in regard to Alexander Gordon that "the rent of the lands of Camdel is five hundred merks which is said he maketh yearly in grassing in Glenaven including the benefits of the salmon fishing one the linn of Aven". 'Glenaven' cannot here be taken with certainty to mean the forest but it is significant that after the redemption of the wadset three successive tacksmen held the forest along with the same lands of Camdelmore (i.e. Easter Camdel), Inchroary, and Glenbuilg.

The next appointment of a forester was in 1721 when Robert Farquharson of Achriachan and James Shaw of Crathiensaird elsewhere (1) Strathavon Rentals show that out of his tack duty of 214 merks he was allowed fourteen merks as 'forester fine'.
(2) "Memorandum pertaining the wadsetters of Strathdoun and Glenlivet." (G.C.P. 23/6).
(3) According to A.M. Macintosh ("The Farquharsons of Achriachan") James Shaw of Inchroary, probably a son of James of Crathiensaird, married a daughter of Robert Farquharson.
given as of Deldounie) were appointed jointly "to keep and preserve the said foresst and deer thereof from being encroached upon or molested..... and for their encouragement to execute this commission faithfully and diligently (were empowered) to take in and graze as many cattle in the skirts of the forest as they think will not disturb the deer." The grazing rights in fact cost them four hundred merks yearly for a nine years' lease with the option of extending the lease by a further ten years, in which case they could be obliged to continue as foresters.

At that time Robert Farquharson had also a share of Glenbuilg and Inchory which amounted with the forest to a very considerable area. It is not known to what extent he made use of the forest for grazing low-country cattle, but for ten years Grant of Tamore's cattle shared the Inchory grazing, and they probably had the run of the forest too. What is known is that after two or three years' partnership of the whole forest area Shaw and Farquharson disagreed about the management of it and divided the forest between them, Shaw taking the southern half and Farquharson the northern.

Farquharson had some trouble with Abernethy tenants who shealed along the Caipiich and even ventured into the Feith Buidhe, particularly one, Grigor Grant in Toberaie. For the purpose of preventing or breaking any prescriptive rights, a court was held there on the afternoon of 6th July, 1728. According to the "Instrument of Interruption" Farquharson threw down "three peats and as many divots (1) G.C.P. 10/15/15.
(2) Various Farquharson relatives are known to have shealed in the forest, particularly in the Loin.
(3) G.C.P. 23/22. A six-inch map (O.S.Sheet XLV 2nd.ed.1902) of part of the forest marks the site of a "Bothan Raibert" towards the head of the Feith Buidhe, a notable grazing tributary of the Caipiich. This was doubtless, Robert Farquharsons sheal. The foundations of the bothy can still be distinctly seen at the junction of the Feith Buidhe and a smaller burn.
... said (Grant's) sheall or hutt."

Farquharson's tack did not run beyond nine years. It was taken in 1731 by John Gordon younger of Glenbucket and in 1735 by James Gordon alias McGregor. Like Farquharson and Shaw, the younger Glenbucket was required to furnish two deer annually to Gordon Castle and thus he may very well have been forester but there is no mention of this requirement in James McGregor's tack.

At this time an interesting experiment was made on Conglass-side. In 1722 Robert Farquharson had been required to give up his shealings of Lettermore and Blairnamarrow, and for many years after this little seems to have been made of this grazing amounting to nearly 300 acres—much more if the Lecht hills are included. In 1735 work was begun on the building of an enclosure at the Lettermore and the accounts contain numerous discharges for work done there in that year and in 1736. John White was engaged to manage the park, his "Expence in seeking in...

(1) Present on this occasion were:-
James Grant of Ruthven, Bailie of Regality.
William Gordon of Minmore.
John Stuart in Urarmoll (Urarmore) fforrester of Glenaven.
Donald Farquharson Younger of Achreashan, and
George Cumming Younger of Tombreasachsie.

The presence of another forester of Glenavon suggests that Robert Farquharson may have relinquished or been relieved of that office, unless Stuart is the "John Stuart of Bellisterack" (Balchorach) who shared Inchory and Glenbulg with Farquharson and may have been co-forester in place of James Shaw.

(2) Son of Grigor, forester in 1711.
(3) G.C.Papers Box 23 Bundle 2.
(4) An 18th century map shows this to have been of 140 acres with feal dykes.
(5) Probably John White in Inverchebit, 1735.
The Letter-more.

Building a brick single and storey

House with a flat roof but not French.

M- 0. 30 -
"cattle to grass at Lettermore" being 4s.6d. sterling. His salary for two years, "attending the grassing of cattle," was £3 sterling paid in meal, namely nine bolls at 4/4 Scots each.

The return from this grazing venture for the years 1737 and 1738 was altogether £12 so that at the normal rate of a merk a head that meant little more than one hundred head of cattle per season. A note adds that "There was nothing made of that park after the 1738 during the curatory; at least the park-keeper has not computed for any more to the curators." A discharge for the year 1742, however, shows that the park was again in use, the park-keeper being Angus Stewart in Findron. He was paid £3 Scots (5/-ster.) for repair of the duke's part of the inclosure in addition to £5.6.8. Scots for herding the duke's cattle in Lettermore and Bellinlaggan. Some years later the Lettermore was still causing concern to the duke's factors as is shown in an undated (probably 1750-'60) memorandum of "Items for the Duke of Gordon when he goes to the Highlands."

"Your Grace will look at the grassings of Lettermoir and Blairnarrow and see what method can be fallen upon most likely to bring them to a settled rent. You will notice they never did pay rent, but a little since the Curatorie and the bad years quite run it done again. They were pendicles taken off Cambdell and Achrischan and Your Grace ..."

(1) Accounts 1734-40 during the duke's minority. Register House R51/37. The Curators were Henrietta, Duchess of Gordon, George Gordon of Buckie, and John Gordon, Merchant in Edinburgh.

(2) The wadsetters of the parish seem to have been partly responsible for maintenance of the dykes for a 1735 reference mentions "stenting the same upon the wadsetters." R 51/37.

(3) Bellinlaggan (of Cambdell) a mile or two distant from Lettermore was vacant 1740-42. Oats and bear were sown there for the duke, and the grass, as it appears, used intermittently with Lettermore.
"will remember are reserved by a late agreement."

There is no record of the renting of Lettermore before 1764 when Thomas Gordon of Fodderletter had it. A year later it was again "not sett", the loss to the rental being £66-13-4d. Scots. (i.e. 100 merks) but in the following year it must have been held by James Macalea for in 1767 Robert Farquharson, miller at Achriachan made an offer for it on hearing that Macalea was dispensing with it, and , was given a lease at £5 rent. From then until 1791 Lettermore was held either by Robert Farquharson or Robert Smith.

Little or no attention seems to have been paid to the Forest of Glenavon for some years after the start of the Lettermore venture. The accounts of 1734 to 1740 during the minority of Cosmo Third Duke of Gordon, show that there was a forester of Strathavon in 1734 (salary £2) and from 1735 to 1737 (£3) but these items are included among entries concerning not only deer forests such as Gaick and Benalder but also Huntly and Gordon Castle parks, and it is not clear whether the Strathavon forester at this time had any responsibility for the deer forest or was concerned only with the woods of Strathavon. Probably the latter was the case. There was no forester at all during the year 1738 and for the years 1738 to 1741. £4.10. Ster. was paid to "Sundrys for overseeing the woods of Strathavin." During 1741-42 Alexander Grant in Bellibeg though styled "forrester of Glenaven ...

(1) Gordon Castle Papers Box 40/9.
(2) A cousin of the Robert Farquharson mentioned previously.
(3) A few months earlier, Macalea had taken a 17 years' tack of Scalan and Tomalienan in Braes of Glenlivet. G.C.P. Box 23/3.
(4) G.C.Rentals Press Ill. a. 15.
(5) In 1747-48 the supervision of the woods, Strathavon and Glenlivet together, was made quite a distinct charge, held by a Drumman Thomas Ingram, until 1754, when he was succeeded by John Stuart in Torbain. (Strathavon Vouchers Press l.d.2.)
"and Strathaven" was paid (again,"for overseeing the woods of Strath-
aven") only £18 Scots (£1.10s. ster.) half the rate of pay in 1735-37. Some allowance of meal or other concessions may possibly have been made for taking charge of the deer forest but the explanation seems rather that the forest was neglected, a neglect which, having started in the minority years of the duke, was to continue until 1747.

Listed among "Waste Lands and Shortcomings"for the years 1743 to 1747, a total loss of £125 stg., the forest was a matter of concern to the factors but in 1747 John Gordon of Cluny, the duke's cashier saw an opportunity to effect a solution linked with the forfeiture of Glenbucket's estate of Wester Camdell and the Braes of Strathavon, held in heritable bond from the duke. He writes to the duke on 1st April, 1747:-

"As there's now a Declarator obtained at your instance giving you a right to the meales and dutya of the lands in Strathaven wedsett by Glennie (i.e. Glenbucket); so I have this day intimated to the factor to remove the tenants, unless they take in wt these lands the forrest at the former rent, namely 450 merks which you have lost yearly for some time past. If they would not take it, I'll find good people to take both."

It is unlikely, however, that such a high-handed proposal would have commended itself to the duke. At any rate, quite a different method - that already tried at Lettermore - was adopted, and Thomas of Fodderletter was engaged to undertake the management of the forest...

(1) Accounts 1734-40; 1744-49. Register House R 57/37.
(2) Ibid.
(3) G.C. Papers Box 40 Bundle 9.
(4) His father George Gordon "late merchant in Ruthven of Badenoch" took wedset of Fodderletter in May 1714. A week or so previously John Gordon of Glenbucket had taken wedset of the same lands from the duke for 6000 merks but it is clear that George Gordon had advanced the money of which Glenbucket acknowledged receipt at Whitsunday 1712 Glenbucket wedset the lands to George Gordon on the same terms receiving an additional 200 merks for procuring the wedset. Thomas Gordon was the father of Guthbert, inventor of dyes, who graduated M.D. at Aberdeen. There had been another family of Gordons in Fodderletter until near the end of the 16th century.
for grazing. In the summer of 1748 two hundred and eighty cattle were grazed at a merk per head and after deducting £67.1.4d. Scots for the wages of three herds and other expenses, a balance of £123.12s. Scots (10.6s. sterling) was left. This was a poor return compared with the old rent of £25 sterling (i.e. 450 merks) and the accountant gives the explanation that "the people were out of use by the long neglect and lying waste of the forest to send their cattle thither until he set the same going by means of the said Thomas Gordon and encouraged the tenants through the country to send their cattle thereby giving them his own obligation to be accountable for such of their cattle as might be lost whereby its to be hoped that in a little time this will again become a good rent to the duke."

This hope was well realised in the very next grazing season when the number of cattle grazed rose from 280 to 1100, and deductions of the herds' wages and maintenance (£12.4.4. Sterling) and Thomas Gordon's "pains and traveling charges" in soliciting cattle left a net profit of £466.14.8d. Scots. The year 1750 was another good season with 1099 head of cattle but, for reasons shortly to appear, the following year brought a very abrupt drop to 620 with slight variations from that figure during the years 1752 to 1754. The proceeds in 1751 were

(2) Ibid. p.72.
(3) 618; 651; 661.
(4) £345.9.11d. Scots.

It is interesting to note that cattle from Gordon Castle were at this time sent as far off as Lochaber to graze and were sold there (for £142.10s. stg. in 1747) by the duke's overseer of the Lochy fishings which provided much salmon for the French market. (Ibid p.72)

A small stock of cattle was also put into the Forest of Gaick in 1750 at a cost of £388.16s. Scots.
sufficient to exceed the former rental by a few pounds after
deducting payments amounting to £10.6.4d. stg. for cattle lost in
1749, but thereafter they fell far short of it. The grass mail
of the 651 cattle grazed in the forest in 1754 was no more than
sufficient to meet the losses of cattle during that and preceding
summers, so that the effort to make the forest grazing in the duke's
hands a commercial success had failed.

Expenses for one year generally amounted to £20 sterling or
more, requiring the proceeds of 360 to 400 grazing cattle at a merk
per head to clear this sum, and a further 450 head of cattle to
make good the former rent of the forest, so that upwards of 800
cattle were required in one season to produce the revenue which
formerly accrued to Gordon Castle without the immediate concern of
the duke or his factor. Could the level of a thousand head of
cattle have been maintained the grazing would have been reasonably
successful but the opening of many new grazings elsewhere seriously
reduced the Glenavon totals after the peak years of 1749 and 1750.

At first the greatest number of the cattle came from Moray,
with Speyside and Nairnshire providing the other contingents but
the year 1751 brought a sudden drop to nearly half of the Moray
total with a still bigger drop in those of Speyside and Nairn.
Thereafter the Moray total remained fairly steady, the Speyside
one recovered to something like its highest figure, and the Nairn-

(1) Gordon Castle Papers. Vouchers 1750-54 (Forest of Glenavon)
Press lll. a.l.
shire one was soon reduced to nothing. This suggests that the new grazings, wherever they were, were more convenient for Nairnshire, parts of Morayshire and the middle or upper reaches of Speyside.

Nearly fifty places were represented in the 114 lots contributed from Moray in 1750; over thirty farms in the 59 Speyside lots; and seven in the eleven lots from Nairnshire. Individual herds varied from one to thirty-one head of cattle, the latter (Sir Hugh Rose's) coming all the way from Kilravock. The account books of the forest contain a description of each beast with its markings, generally letters burned on the 'nearest' (left) or the 'farrest' (right) horn — sometimes on both horns — or perhaps "a slit in the farrest lug."

Considering the liability to snowstorms until early summer and the fact that local residents made their preparations for shealing only in May, the dates of arrival in Glenavon were surprisingly early. In 1782, on 29th April, James Gordon of Croughly writes: "There is a very depth (sic) storm on the forest just now"; yet, in 1750 the

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first arrivals, 43 from Moray were in the forest on 28th April, to be followed at intervals of a few days by four other droves in May. The Speyside herds had three different dates of arrival, also in May, while the 134 cattle from Nairnshire arrived in one drove on 11th May. The droving seems to have been better organised in succeeding years, when the complete quotas for the forest are shown to have arrived in one day in the middle or towards the end of May, except in 1754 when 29th April was the arrival date.

The Bill for "meat and drink for Driving Cattle" or the "Entertain-ment of those Imploved for Driving the Cattle out of the forest" was invariably ten shillings sterling. At first only three 'herds'(men) were employed in the forest itself but from 1750 the number was increased to six, the chief one being paid from thirty shillings to £1.13.4d. sterling and the others twenty three shillings for the season. In one year they were equipped with four blankets costing one pound and, in other years, with shoes at three shillings per pair. Twelve bolls of meal were supplied yearly at a cost of £5 in 1750 rising to £6 in 1751 and £7 in 1752. Thomas Gordon's "own trouble and expence" as manager was on one occasion over £8 sterling but was usually about £6.

At Gordon Castle it was felt that the management of the forest was proving too expensive and that nothing could be made by keeping it in the duke's hands unless it were possible to find, as manager, "a clever man" who would make himself liable for all losses of cattle other than those due to natural or accidental causes. The grazing

(1) Gordon Castle Papers - Vouchers (Forest of Glenavon) 1750-1754, Press 111,a,1.
(2) Hide or horn had to be produced in proof of such loss.
was "exceeding cheap and below the value" but there was competition from several other grazings equally cheap, but for which half-a-crown per head might well be got if clients had greater security and the number of cattle was restricted to what the forest could easily maintain.

An alternative solution was to tack it on to Campdelmore as had been done in the past but the proposal most in favour with the duke's advisers was to apportion the forest among the nine davochs of Strathavon at fifty merks per davoch. This arrangement, it was felt, would have the great advantage that tenants, thus having sufficient summer grass for all their cattle in the forest, might be obliged to improve their shealings, as some tenants were already so obliged; or, if they neglected to do so, improvable ground could be taken from them without diminution of rent and given to those who were willing to carry out the improvements.

There is no distinct evidence that this proposal was actually put into effect; only a clause in James Gordon's seven-years' tack of Wester Creuchlie in 1757, requiring him "to take and pay for a proportionall part of the Forrest of Glenaven effeiting to his share of the Lordship of Strathaven." At a later date those at Gordon Castle were uncertain on this point, for we find James Ross writing to Alexander Milne, the Strathavon factor, in December, 1777:

"I beg you will be at pains to inform yourself whether it is true that the Forrest of Aven was formerly divided into shealings among the tenents of the Country - and if so - whether the shealings are.

(1) More than two merks.
(2) The tenth davoch, Delnabo, was in Grant hands.
(3) Gordon Castle Papers Box 7/2/12. The same phrase is contained in Alex. Riaich's tack of Ardgeith and Belnlaggan. 1743. (G.C.P.23/3).
yet known that belonged to each Farm and if possible to get a list of them - You may inform yourself whether the tenants would like to have it again divided into sheallings - so as to make up a good rent for the whole Forrest."

Another matter which had long given cause for concern was the encroachments made by Abernethy people. It was not until the time of Grigor McGregor (1711), the duke's people claimed, that the Grants, following on the forester's marriage to a sister of Grant of Elchies, were given the freedom of the forest, since which time they had maintained possession of the north bank of the Caillich, building bothies there and beyond it to the south. The notion was also current that the Grants of Lurg being in favour with the Gordons had had some form of "attolerance" or permission, in writing to graze cattle in the forest. The Grants of Gartinmore, of Toberaie, and of Auchernach were others who regularly pastured their cattle in the disputed area.

At one time it had been proposed to dispose of this perpetual bone of contention by an excambion involving, on the one hand, the northern part of the forest with Kirkmichael lands west of the Avon as far down as Fodderletter, and, on the other, some of the Grants' lands in the vicinity of Fochabers. Some preparatory or exploratory work, such as the valuation of the lands and woods involved, was undertaken about 1747. The advantage of the scheme was that the Avon would provide a clear-out boundary from Loch .....

(1) Gordon Castle Letter Book No.40 p.483. No reply to this letter has been traced.
Avon to Fodderletter once the shealings of Fodderletter and Inverlochy each on the wrong side of the river to suit the scheme, were exchanged, and the Ellanoe, a portion of Delnabo land cut off by a change in the river's course, was given to the Duke of Gordon.

The duke's 'doers' were by no means satisfied with the proposed exchange but after Sir Ludovick Grant had repeatedly pressed the matter, the duke, while in London in 1750, was prevailed upon without consultation with his law agent in Edinburgh to agree to the bargain, and missive letters to this effect were exchanged. Later, various inequalities in the scheme were made clear to the duke and he seems to have been able to withdraw from the agreement through the timely discovery that the Grant lands involved were the subject of an entail which might render Sir Ludovick incapable of implementing his part of the bargain.

A beginning was made in 1766 with an attempt to have the forest marches settled by arbitration, and in 1771 the matter was finally left to Mr. Innes of Muiryfold as sole arbiter. The natural boundary of the area was clearly the watershed north-west of the Ceillich which flows to the Avon. Added to this were the facts of interruptions and drivings and pointings made by the duke's people, and the right which the duke's tenants had exercised of bringing in 'gall' cattle to the area in dispute. The Grants, however, were able to prove a long possession of parts of the disputed ground and Sir Ludovick claimed as far as the Avon from the loch to Faindouran...

(1) Ellen nuaadh, new island.
(2) Gordon Castle Papers Box 39, Bundle 18.
(3) Ibid Box 23, Bundle 22.
and thence across the Caiplich-Avon watershed to the Ailnach; an unnatural boundary. The final decision of the arbiter produced a march that did not conform too well to the nature of the ground though it had some merit as a not-unreasonable compromise. It was precisely the present county boundary. Mr. Innes had taken pains to examine all the ground thoroughly, camping out in company with surveyors and a few advisers from each side. Both parties had complete confidence in the ability and impartiality of Muiryfold, and something of the principals' attitude to such affairs of arbitration may be understood from the rebuke which was forthcoming from Gordon Castle when there was a tendency for the interdict, in force during the submission for the prevention of hostility, to be overlooked: "the Duke would rather be a loser than not show proper attention to the orders of a gentleman who is so good as to undertake the office of an arbiter." (2)

These words were addressed particularly to Robert Willox, the duke's forester, who had been over-zealous in poinding cattle in the Caiplich area of the forest during the time of the interdict. Willox is worth more than passing mention for not only do two decades of the forest's history revolve round him but he was by far the most prominent character in Strathaven affairs during the second half of the 18th century.

He was a Macgregor and like some previous foresters had a tack of the Gaulrigs near the forest boundary. Willox's appointment was made in June, 1762, by Mr. Bell but it was not until the latter was

replaced at Gordon Castle by Mr. James Ross in 1769 that we find Willox establishing himself as a force in Strathaven affairs. Ross, whose brother was a professor at Aberdeen, was an extremely efficient person but he did not at once have the particular knowledge of local affairs and portions of the duke's estates necessary to be able to cope with - for one thing - such questions as the march disputes pending at that time, and in Willox he found someone whom, it seemed, he could trust to promote the duke's interests with unusual zeal. On the decision over the forest marches with Abernethy, Ross expressed himself "an utter stranger to the whole bounds in dispute....But I see Benchar(1) and Robert Willox think he (Innes) has done the Duke full justice - and I take them to be the best judges". (2) Willox had been an automatic choice to accompany Muiryfold on his tour of inspection. "I know you will spare no pains to set the matter in a proper light," Ross had written. (3) Thomas Milne, the surveyor, who had to concert with Mr. Grant's surveyor in drawing a plan of the area for Muiryfold was advised to put himself "under the direction of Mr. Willox who knows the whole disputes very distinctly and never grudges his travel(4) to serve the duke". (5)

On many other matters, too, connected with leases, rents, and prospective tenants, Willox's advice was sought by the duke's factor so that he soon came to be a quite prolific correspondent, informing, as well as informed by, Gordon Castle on all Kirkmichael matters, ...

(1) Macpherson of Benchar.
(3) Gordon Castle Letter Book No. 37, p. 208.
(4) i.e. travail.
and to be regarded with some fear and suspicion by the residents of the parish. "You need not take any notice that you have any Commission from me in these matters," Ross wrote; "You may be assured that your name shall not be heard of as to any information you send me."

The duke, too, was aware of Willox's usefulness and though at a later date he was to have cause for annoyance at Willox's conduct, he at first placed great reliance on him. "I know the Duke has much dependance on your attachment and activity," Ross told Willox, and when, later, he had roused the whole countryside against himself, Willox could boast: "I take it as a singler faover his Grace did me the honnor to com to my house when in this countrie; it gals my enemies to think I have his Grace countinance."

The duke's official representative for Strathavon was Mr Alexander Milne, but he lived outside the parish, at Braehead (nr. Keith), and was also factor for Glenlivet and Kincardine, so that he was often absent for fairly long periods from Kirkmichael. Apart from his regular visits for collection of rents, setting tacks, rouping of woods and such like, he had to be specially required to go "to the Highlands" when some particular business made it necessary.

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(2) Do. No.35. p.58.
(3) Gordon Castle Papers Box 39, Bundle 25.
(4) See for e.g. Letter Books No.39, p.217, and No.41. pp.6,12.
and perhaps to remain there, rather against the grain - for inn accommodation was the reverse of good - while some piece of work was completed. Milne, as baillie, had the settling of all disputes, some of these involving Willox, and even when appeals were made direct to Gordon Castle the factor was always consulted and the final decision often left to him.

Willox, on the other hand, was ever on the spot to keep Gordon Castle informed of every development, perhaps to negotiate the sale of meal to needy tenants, to promote offers for vacant possessions, and we find him functioning as almost a resident baillie, actively engaged during the Faevait submission in taking declarations of witnesses and upholding the duke's cause during the hearing, or campaigning tirelessly for the duke's right of church patronage. No aspect of parish life was free from his intervention and machinations, whether it was the appointment of a minister or the location of the school. He ran into trouble on these very scores but always he was too useful to be discarded by Gordon Castle. Though he became a sore trial to many people in the parish, Mr.Ross at Gordon Castle always had the measure of him.

Willox was not of local stock. In his dispute with the Stewarts of Torbain over the Gaulrig Moss he was displeased with the attitude adopted by Milne, the factor, and reported to Ross: "When you read the professe you will find what chance a stranger has in a hilland countrie against one of the natives." He affected to show sympathy for those besides himself who were incomers to the parish  

(1) G.C. Papers Box 23 Bundle 6.
(2) Charles Men, at Campdelmore Inn, for e.g. - "a poor stranger in a strang countrie," G.C.P. Ibid.
and encouraged outsiders to make offers for tacks to the disadvantage of the local inhabitants. He doubtless saw a possibility of advantage to himself in promoting the interests of cattle and sheep dealers from outside the parish though what he observed to Gordon Castle was that "the offer of a stranger in this Countrie is of more service to the Duke's intrest than two offers any countryman wood give as they will give any thing befor they let a stranger com among them this is the way in all Hiland Countries." It was possibly from the very fact that he had not a long connection with the district that it was felt he could be depended upon to keep the forest strictly and to poind the cattle of Strathavon people equally with those of other districts when they were found in the forest.

This Willox certainly did from the start, as his intromissions for the years 1762 and 1763 show. Strathavon people allowed their horses to run free in the hills during June and July before the

(1) For instance, one such dealer, James Duncan, Kinloss, is known to Willox and his wife, and from what Duncan writes (G.C.P.23/6) Willox may have had cattle wintered with Duncan or perhaps have bought in cattle for summer grazing from Duncan.

(2) G.C.Papers Box 23 Bundle 6.
season of leading the peats and from the accounts it seems that few could have escaped the penalty for trespass. A few small herds of cattle were pounced but most entries are for one or two animals. Names of Braemar and Abernethy people also abound in the lists and at a later date there is a preponderance of names from these districts and from Strathdon so that Willox gained for himself great unpopularity beyond the parish bounds too, and was constantly "at war with the three Countries." He well knew what reception would await him in these places should God send him there""in a driftie night", as Croughly and the minister had remarked to him.

No returns appear to have been made during the years 1764 to 1771 and Willox's conduct might have escaped notice at Gordon Castle had he not raised complaints from Mr. Grant of Grant that he was pouncing cattle in the controverted ground despite the interdict. The

... (1)

(1) Among those whose fines are "resting" are his own father-in-law - "Mr George Grant minister at Delnabo five cattle" - the amount being scored out; and two previous foresters, Peter McAlpine and John Gayle (Gaul) in Fodderletter, elsewhere referred to as "two common fellows....that durst not draw there breath or so much as pretend to the Duke of Gordon's property for fear of disabling the Gentleman of the name of Grant."

In 1762 the total proceeds for pouncing were £7.3.0.stg. over and above which the owners paid £2.3.1d. to those who watched the pounced cattle. In 1763 - £5.0.4d.; and Willox retained the money paid "for keeping on his own grass", the beginning of quite a profitable little business for himself. (G.C.Papers Press III 1.2.)

(2) G.C.Papers Box 39, Bundle 25.
duke had warned him in 1766 to drive off the offending animals rather than point them until the arbiters gave their directions but now Mr. Grant complained not only of Wilcox's contempt for the interdict but that he claimed to act by the duke's orders and accounted to him for the money exacted. The duke, however, had no recollection of his having lately accounted for any such money.

Wilcox's explanation was that he took bills from Grant's tenants to frighten them off but never made them pay unless the cattle were long in his possession and the cause of expense to himself; many of the Grants were bankrupt and never could pay a farthing so that he generally lost his expenses. One particular experience proved very galling to Wilcox. He had pointed twenty-eight head of cattle belonging to John and Peter Stewart in Loinchoil, Abernethy, and a protest having been taken against him by Mr. Grant, he had kept them for fifteen weeks in the poindfold at Gaulrig and on his own grass, there, watched by two armed men every night. Wilcox had petitioned Muiryfold

(1) G.C. Papers 39/25.

(2) G.C.P. Box 39/25.
the arbiter, for this expense but the latter refused to make the
Stewarts pay, saying, according to Willox, that the duke or Mr. Grant
would make it good.

This claim was remembered some years later when it was proposed
to settle with Willox for eight years as forester and to put matters
on a more distinct footing for the future. He had been recompensed
for the first few years' service by a discount of rent and grassum
on being given a nineteen years' lease of Gaulrig (1765) and was to
have been paid a salary thereafter though this seems never to have
been decided on. Willox's claim included the expense of keeping

(1) "Willox for said Catle
   For an Extract of the Protest. 3 6
   For protesting Donald Mackintosh bill 1 -
   For postage to Edenbrough 8 -
   For Registering (Registering) the
   said bill 2 9
   For a horning 4 10
   For Executing the horning 2 6
   Bringing horn & a Caption with postage 5 -
   £8. 6. 7 (G.C.P. 23/6)


(3) Peter McAlpine, forester in 1761, received 5 bolls of meal for
the year and was to have received "a fee besides which was to
be referred to his Grace when he came home from abroad" but no
cash payment was in fact made. (G.C. Papers 23/6).
two men in summer and harvest and one man during winter and spring to each of whom he gave "one pound ten shillings of rye." In autumn Willox also employed a variety of people as deer-killers, "John McDonald in Minaltrie who served me five years in the forest" and others from Abernethy, as well as Lachlan Doul (Macpherson) of Strathavon. Lachlan had been living in Delsnabo when he was engaged by Mr. Grant, the minister, to kill deer for his son-in-law at a crown each. He killed four or five each year, and seven one year, these being sent to Gordon Castle. He later moved to Gaulrig and had a croft free of rent for three years until Willox contrary to his promise extracted forty shillings of rent, whereupon he moved to Balnakyle, though continuing for one year to kill deer without payment.

Twice at least Willox applied for permission to take cattle to Bynac or Dagrum in the forest and this was certainly granted him on one occasion, as well as to Gordon of Foddaletter. With such

(1) "there meal has been a dear article this years passed. There fire comes to thirty six pounds sterling the meal coms to seventy three bols at nin bols each year." (G.C. Papers 39/25.)

(2) Lachlen on one occasion killed two deer with one shot, a feat also credited by Willox to John Grant Bitteak who killed a large hart and a hind. Lachlen, subsequently a notorious poacher, was during his term as deer-killer kept under observation by Willox and his son Gregor in case he should kill and conceal any deer, and on his return to Gaulrig his gun was always taken from him.

(3) There were shealing places here called the Bothan Dubh near Feindounan. They are shown on Thomas Milne's survey of 1771. It must have been heretofore that Professor Hill Burton (1809-1881) had a boyhood adventure. Losing his way from Loch Avon he came down the Avon instead of returning to Deeside, met a drover in search of black cattle and spent the night under a roof of pine-roots covered with turf - clearly a "scalan" - in company with a crowd of Gaelic speaking men of rough character. Their business in such a wilderness was not apparent and he did not enquire into it but left them "in full snore" on the heather-strewn floor early next morning before crossing the shoulder of Ben A'Bhuidr and going down the Quoich. (see Burton's "Cairngorm Mountains" 1864. pp. 57-59).
privileges accorded by Gordon Castle and many unauthorised emoluments Willox could no doubt have well afforded to carry on without specific salary; and thus, when he was required to furnish a note of expenses over some years, there may have been truth in his assertion that it was "not with a wife (wish) to make the Duke pay it as his Grace has no advantage from the forest but that it keeps his marches with the other heritors and preserveress his dear for Glenfidich." He would have been satisfied to continue on the old terms while leaving Gordon Castle with the impression that he was often out of pocket through his attachment to the duke's interest.

Gordon Castle, however, had by this time more than an inkling of Willox's true character. Willox himself had made no secret of his unpopularity. To James Ross he wrote:— "The Duke of Gordon's woods makes John Stewart (Torbon) have a great many friends whereas his Grace forest makes me have as many enemies, if they were not afraid of the Duke of Gordon and you I wood have a bade footing in this countrie. one thing I observe in this countrie that any man that is attached to his Grace intrest the whole peopell is against him but any man that will oblige the countrie at his masters espences the whole is on his side." (2)

In May 1773 Robert and James Grant or McGregor, tacksmen of Delavorar, had denounced Willox's conduct to the duke's factor. Besides having to share the common pasturage of Gaulrig and Delvorar with Willox whose cattle and goats were continually going to the forest

(1) A house for the duke had been completed at Glenfiddich in the summer of 1774, this forest no doubt being much more conveniently situated for the duke's hunting than Glensavon.

(2) G.C.Papers Box 23/6.
and leading neighbours' cattle with them - a circumstance of which Willox was not slow to take advantage - they also held the grazing of Glenbuilg, which marched for five or six miles with the forest, and were in the habit of pasturing low - country cattle there all summer:

"Notwithstanding your memorialists have been at the greatest pains and the expense of two Additional herds to keep free of the said forest yet they have at different times paid to Mr. Willox upwards of ten pounds sterling who for his own advantage and self interest keeps people ready to catch the cattle how soon they pass the march, and as some of those he keeps about him are not of the best character your Memorialists has reason to suspect that they take sometimes cattle from their property, because Mr. Willox gives them so much for every beast......."

There was the added disadvantage that being the only Strathaven tenants on the march with Lord Fife's pasture they suffered reprisals for Willox's conduct from the Braemar tenants. They were anxious to have as little use made of their names as possible, being assured that Willox would take every method to injure them: "Mr. Willox is so arbitrary that he publickly pronounces revenge and oppression."

(1) cf. the sums accounted for by Willox in the following years:-
1772 - £4.9s. plus £2.18.6d. paid for maintenance of cattle.
1773 - "I do not remember what it was.... a mier triffell..... you wood not take the money."
1774 - £1.17.6d.
1775 - £4.12s.
1776 - £10.19.0d.
1777 - £4.11.6d.
1779 - £9.10.6d.
1780 - £9.0.10d. (G.C.Papers, Box 39, Bundle 27)

(2) G.C.P. Box 39, Bundle 25.
No special action appears to have been taken against Willox at that time but in 1775 his accusers were more numerous, including particular enemies in Lachlan Doul, John Stewart the 'wood forester', and Robert Farquhersoh, the minister. Willox, it appeared, bought and sold a good number of cattle and constantly made free of the forest for grazing forty or more at a time: "How soon one drove are fatt he sells them off and buys more to make up." He took in'gall' cattle on Gaulrig's own shealings leaving little or no grass for his subtenants. His goats in the forest generally numbered three or four score and his brood mares, "who never comes out," at least a dozen, with all their followers, foal', two and three-year-olds. He was further accused of not having accounted for some of the penalties exacted and of making use of venison in his own household; the minister early in October 1755, could specify only four deer so used in that season, though Willox was reputed to kill at all times of the year. He and his son sold many skins to Alexander Fraser, a travelling merchant, and others were sent to Perth to be dressed. In killing deer for his own use Willox, it seems, was cunning enough to use Speysides men who were engaged from time to time. (1)

On the duke's instructions Mr. Ross communicated the substance of these reports to Willox, inviting his answer. While warning him that witnesses would be examined Ross pointed out that the duke knew he had many enemies and therefore did not put implicit faith in all their accusations.

(1) John and Alexander, sons to Fraser in Tulloch of Strathspey, the Laird of Grant's forester. (C.C.Papers 39/25)
Willox denied the charge of inveigling cattle into the forest in order to extract fines for them but admitted keeping "som more than twenty heads of young cattle about the Scribs of the forest which I can not free from it." He rather shrewdly points out that he hardly expected this to be unknown to the duke considering his numerous enemies all round the forest. He outlines poinding cases which involved him in much expense and is at pains to show that he is "very ill used from every corner." Parties under Sir James Grant's ground officer and William Grant in Dell of Abernethie had on occasions raided his cattle from Delnabo and Bellabeg and taken them off to Cromdale.

From various accounts it is plain that Willox was a formidable obstacle to poachers and trespassers in the forest and it was probably this that accounted for his having retained his charge despite his shortcomings. He showed no favour in his treatment of the owners of stray cattle. Janet McDonald of Monaltrie, sister of one of Willox's employees in the forest did not escape with her one 'cowy', nor was Thomas Gordon of Podderletter spared. Willox's receipts for stray cattle from Glenbuilg were greater for the year his son shared that grazing than for seven other years, he claimed.

He recounts the story of Janet McDonald's heifer as an affair of credit to himself. The animal was poinded in August 1772 and thereafter "cried" at several parish churches. As this brought no response Willox had it comprised at £15 Scots (25s. stg.). In March 1774 it was claimed by Janet, and though kept all that time on his "own proper charges" Willox gave her twenty shillings sterling

(1) i.e. quoy or quy, heifer.
for it (for which he produces a receipt) and ordered her to get a
crown more from John Duncan in Braemar who was owing a like amount to
Wilcox, thus satisfied he had given full value for it.

Wilcox was clearly regarded with some awe and Grant of Tulloch-
gorum writes to him in quite deferential and apologetic vein when his
son has a beast among some taken at the head of Loch Avon. On the
other hand, the Grants of Burg, who were in favour with the Gordons,
must have been something of a thorn in his flesh. After a pounding
in 1762 Burg's excuses were accepted at Gordon Castle and Wilcox
ordered to give back the trespass money. Again, in 1768 Wilcox is
taken to task by Burg and when in 1772 he took ninety-nine head of
Burg's cattle in the forest Burg told him he was to lay the "disagree-
able business before his Grace." "Unless the Grants be kept at there
dew distance," Wilcox wrote to Ross on one occasion, "there is no
keeping of the Forrest."

The reports of the use of venison in his own household Wilcox
put down to his having brought home deer killed by poachers when it
was out of season and "only meat for dogs" - why he should have
brought home such venison is not explained - and to the difficulty
of getting tenants to give services to carry the deer from the forest.
A hart might lie three days in the forest, covered with heather,
sometimes partly eaten by fox or eagle, while the ground officer
tried unsuccessfully to persuade tenants to carry it, so that Wilcox
would have to send his own horse and servants to bring it to Gaulrig

(1) G.C.Papers Box 39/25.
(2) G.C.Papers Box 23/6.
where it might lie till rotten.

Willox here astutely touched on a sore point with Gordon Castle. In addition to supplying a man and a horse for one 'long carriage' not exceeding twenty miles each tenant of an oxgate was required to take his turn of bringing deer from any place in the forest to Gaulrig, from which point the 'long carriage' was to operate. There had been great complaints on account of delay in sending down deer from the duke's forests, resulting in the venison's being quite rotten when delivered, and the Strathavon factor had been requested (May, 1770) to put this matter right in his district. In October the tenants of Keppoch and Achnakyle refused to carry a stag from a far-off point in the forest and Willox was obliged to pay two men with horses ten shillings to bring it out to Gaulrig. Willox then sent the officer to Stewart of Drumin whose tenants were due the carriage but was advised by Drumin to hire horses as his tenants would not go, whereupon Willox paid a further ten shillings to a man with two horses to take it to Gordon Castle. These troubles drew the following comment from Mr. Ross to the Strathavon factor in February, 1771:

"I am astonished to hear such difficulty and disputes about performing this service of carrying deer from the forest as it is almost the only service the tenants in that estate are troubled with. It is certainly right that the services be called for equally and impartially but we must have them taught to perform them readily and carefully and to come first to you or to me in case they think

(1) G.C. Papers Box 23/6
(2) Letter Book No. 35. p. 206.
"they have any ground to complain." (1)

If tenants continued to be unresponsive Mr. Ross was inclined to tighten up on all services, such as ploughing and harrowing and assisting to defend the banks of the Avon: "for if they are litigious and troublesome they must be kept strictly to the tenor of their tacks."

Exactly what censure was meted out to Illlox is not known but the duke was assuredly displeased. In the early summer of 1776 Illlox was careful to request permission to pasture his horses in (2) the Caiplich but the duke was from home and Mr. Ross did not care to grant the request without the duke's authority "considering how much he seemed offended with the liberties you was said to have taken there formerly." Ross's report to the duke was that he had not taken upon himself to grant the request "least it should have been a cover for greater liberties." (3) Illlox later that same year drew a harsher rebuff upon himself when he was careless enough to send to Gordon Castle some worthless venison. By the same bearer he had sent a request for some help with his Kirktown harvest and the duke was inclined to grant him the necessary services when the cook arrived to complain of the quality of the venison. His request was thereupon refused and he was ordered to bestir himself to kill full-grown stags fit for eating and to send them as frequently as possible.

(1) C.G. Letter Book No.37, p.67.
(2) It is interesting to note that 'Caiplich' means 'place of horses'.
(3) Gordon Castle Letter Book No.40, pp.29,32.
(4) Ibid No.40, p.122. - As well as Gaulrig Illlox had also a tack of Kirktown of Kirkmichael.
During that year Willox also came under fire from Lachlan Doul who began a process to recover payment for his deer-killing. An additional grievance of Doul's was that about 1760 when William Gordon of Glenbucket held all the Braes of Strathavon and Willox was a subtenant in Gaulrig, Doul had with the factor's concurrence taken over the Mickle Pirach, a piece of improvable land near Gaulrig, on a long lease from Glenbucket; whereupon after he had built a house for his family and sown turnips and potatoes, Willox and some servants had set fire to his house and driven him off to Delnabo where he was obliged to settle under the laird of Grant. (1)

Strangely enough it was not Robert Willox but his natural son, Grigor, who became the legendary character, something of an ogre to his neighbours and famous throughout the north for his 'supernatural' powers. (2) Grigor's stock in trade was a crystal and a bridle won from a water-kelpie by a remote ancestor. A petition from John McHardy, a subtenant of Willox's, in 1779 makes it clear, however, that Grigor was not the originator of this peculiar line of business in the Willox family. Robert Willox, the petitioner states, "gives himself out to be such a favourit with the familie of Gordon that poor people are afraid to mention his opresion besides he acts the conjurer and frights the ignorant in this way and makes a great deal of money by water he gives them of a white stone which he says cures all diseases." McHardy revived all the previous complaints;

(1) Doul was free of rent for the first year but was to have paid £4 sterling thereafter and had actually paid Glenbucket £4 sterling of grassum of which sum and the interest he was still deprived, while the duke, as he pointed out, continued to lose the £4 of rent annually for land which Willox used for pasturing his cattle. (Petition of Lachlan Doul McPherson in Belnakyle. G.C.P. 25/6)

(2) see McPherson, "Primitive Beliefs in N.E. Scotland" Longmons 1929 pp. 164-260.

W.G. Stewart, "Popular Superstitions of the Highlanders" 1851 pp. 150-156

J. Longmuir, "Speyside: Its Picturesque Scenery and Antiquities" 1860 etc.
the forest was "eaten up like a sheep pasture" and all the pasture of Willox's subtenants, too; and he claimed to have seen his own cattle driven into the forest before appearing in the poindfold next morning.

Mr. Ross actually took the step of getting Robert McPherson, Elick, to go privately and inspect the forest on 23rd July, 1779. McPherson found black cattle, horses, goats and "a heap of grazing (i.e. low-country) cattle" belonging to Willox in the midst of the forest. From the poindfold, he reported, Willox must have collected upwards of £20 sterling that season and it was still full of cattle, horses, and wedders.

McHardy had intended, if he got no redress, to wait on the duke himself "when I am certain that his regard for his own people and his humanity to the publick in general will make him remove such a curse." Willox nevertheless retained his charge of the forest until 1794 when he removed from Gaulrig and was granted an annuity of £10 sterling from the Duke. He died before the end of the century and was succeeded as forester by his son, Grigor.

(1) G.C.Papers Box 23 Bundle 6.
(2) In 1777 the duke had been greatly enraged over a similar case in the Forest of Geick, John McLean and his assistant having abused their privileged and taken in cattle for grazing. Both were dismissed. (G.C.Letter Book No.40.pp. 432,442,489)
(3) G.C.P. Strathavon Vouchers 1792-94 Press l.d.6. Willox's signature on the receipt, 31st July 1775, is "Robert Willox McGregor"; he invariably signed his letter "Robert Willox".
(4) His widow is allowed half of her husband's annuity in 1799. (Strathavon etc. Stated Accounts. Press l.d.5.)
(5) "Grigor McGregor Willox": his salary was £5 per annum. (Ibid)
early in 1776 while the duke was feeling keen dissatisfaction with Willox's conduct of the forest he was prevailed upon to advertise it to be leased. Mr. Ross, dissatisfied with the poor return from the duke's Highland property, had always been keen to augment the rental by leasing this large and unproductive area. Captain Grant of Burg, he reported, was willing to give £63 of rent for the forest for a lease of up to three years - "and according to the best information I can get, the sixty guineas are the worth of it. Might not your Grace set it for one year at that rent? and then you could judge what effect the pasturage has with respect to the game." But from the first Ross was very doubtful if any one would offer the rent the duke demanded and Willox was warned to exert himself in keeping the forest very carefully as the duke was "as anxious as ever to preserve it entirely for game."

The figure the duke required is not mentioned but an offer of £100 sterling for a nineteen years' lease was made by James Bryden, a sheep farmer of Kailzie near Peebles. The offer though far exceeding any previous return from the forest may have been hedged about with too many conditions. After three years Bryden was to be free to withdraw from the contract if the ground proved unsuitable for sheep, and the duke had to bear half of any losses of stock; payment of rent was to be suspended for the first two years until the stock began to make its returns - no doubt a disagreeable condition in Mr. Ross's view as he was constantly in need of ready money at Gordon Castle; and the tacksman was to have the right to

drive the forest with "slow hounds or greyhounds" for clearing it of foxes. In addition, Bryden was to require a lease of Gaulrig in order to provide hay for his sheep in severe weather. The duke was naturally hostile to the suggestion of introducing dogs to the forest, and Bryden then proposed dispensing with this condition if the duke were prepared to share losses of stock. \(^{1}\) Finally, however, the duke was averse to the whole proposal and in November Ross wrote that "his attachment to the preservation of deer has made him alter his resolution". \(^{2}\)

The duke was not without interest in the introduction of sheep on a large scale to some parts of his estates but the policy of "retrenching expenses" which he was finding himself forced to apply in view of heavy commitments on alterations at Gordon Castle, forbade any large outlay on his part. Mr. Ross had been delighted when on Thomas Gordon's removal from Fodderletter and Camdell in 1776 the

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\(^{1}\) G.C. Papers, Box 23, Bundle 6.
tacks were set to Captain John Grant of Lurg, "a man very useful to the country and who may be more instrumental in introducing the management of sheep than anyone your Grace could have brought from the South Country unless at a very extravagant expense." In the following February an offer was actually received from a prospective sheep manager but Ross's reply was that he could not give "any encouragement to come north in the view of being employed by the duke of Gordon in the management of sheep - For tho' His Grace would be glad to see some of his grounds stocked with sheep, and in that view would set the ground at reasonable rents to men of character and substance, yet he seems positively determined against taking any concern in stocking the ground himself."

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1. Captain Grant proved a very costly tenant to the duke. He was commissioned in the Atholl Highlanders in 1778, his affairs at that time being in great disorder. He was already tacksman of Delnabo under Sir James Grant and had his residence at Lynachork; at the instance of one his creditors, John Grant of Rothmaise, a poinding of 32 head of his cattle at Lynachork was executed in 1779. In that year he was in arrears to the duke to the extent of £150, legal action being taken against him. His arrears dropped below £40 in 1784 but by 1789 when he was ejected after expensive legal action his debt was over £200. (G.C.P. 23/22 and Press l. d. 4/6). Forsyth ("In the Shadow of Cairngorm") says he made himself obnoxious by his zeal in recruiting and his dissolute life and that he died in the Sanctuary at Holyrood (presumably as a debtor) on 21st December, 1821.


3. Alexander Hodge whose address is given as "Care of Mr. Johnston Postmaster at Tweedsmuir."

At least one of the duke's forests carried a small stock of sheep, for the custom wedders from Strathavon, Glenlivet, and Kincardine (Abernethe) were generally received at Glenfiddich and kept there until required at Gordon Castle. On one occasion, the stock of "meat sheep" at the castle having run short, Ross had ordered in an additional stock for that forest "where there is much more grass than the deer can consume and better pasture for sheep than any here (Gordon Castle) but if your Grace is apprehensive of the sheep disturbing the deer they shall be brought down immediately, tho' I am assured there is no danger of their disturbing one another."

So far as Glenaven forest was concerned, however, sheep and deer were in the duke's view incompatible, but he was prepared to revert to the practice of letting the grazing for cattle. At the beginning of 1782, Mr. Milne, the Strathavon factor, went up country, announced that the forest was to let for the two ensuing seasons, and invited offers. Milne, with a view to keeping it from Willox, was particularly keen that James Gordon of Croughly should take it along with the Stewarts of Torbain who were conveniently near the forest. From Gordon Castle Mr. Ross wrote to James Gordon, remarking that "such is the distress of all the people in the low country for provender to their cattle that I do believe it (the forest) would be very quickly filled if advertised."

(1) Ibid No. 40 p. 23.
(2) James Ross writes on 11th May, 1777: - "I find the Duke is attached to his forests and so averse to allowing any dogs to enter them that it is unnecessary to encourage anybody with the view of taking Glenaven for a sheep ffarm."

Croughly did not regard himself as "a good glenman," and considering the expense of herdsmen and the danger of losses of cattle he felt he could not exceed an offer of £60, although he undertook to add £10 if in the end he failed to persuade the duke and Mr. Ross that he could not afford it. An answer to his offer was hoped for by mid-March to allow William Stewart "to be at travell and pains to get cattle for this season." Wood was required to build bothies for the 'herds' and the assistance of the country people needed for building a poindfold and driving the glen, services accorded in the past to the forester.

Croughly's offer, however, was exceeded by one of £70 from Robert Willox in conjunction with Captain Grant of Lurg. Willox seeing a chance to oust his old enemy, the Stewarts, offered a further £10 if Torbain was included, giving as his reason that "whoever has the forest can not keep there cattle without being in the mercy of the people of Gaulrig and Torbain." Willox, however, finally accepted the forest without Torbain at a yearly rental of £75, "for the purpose of taking in and grazing cattle," and he was required to pay particular attention to accommodating the duke's tenants in any part of his estates and to preserve the marches and the game.

Besides discharging the duties of forester Willox was thus obliged to make a fairly considerable payment for the use of grazings which in the past he had to some extent exploited, free of rent. The new rental showed a great increase on the accepted figure of twenty-five

(1) G.C.P. 23/23. The duke, in fact, finally accepted from Willox only £50 of rent per annum, "on account of the bad years for cattle." (Rental Book 1770-1785, Gordon Estates Office, Glenlivet)
pounds sterling in the middle of the century. The rise in farm
rents was less marked:— Willox's own possessions of Easter and
Wester Gaulrig had risen from thirty pounds in 1772 to forty-two
pounds, fifteen years later. The disproportionate increase in
the case of the forest rent may be accounted for by the great rise
in the price of black cattle after the year 1770.

How Willox fared as lessee of the forest is not known, and
detailed information is lacking as to the use made of the forest
in subsequent years. From 1784 when the Stewarts of Torbain took
it over, the rent showed a sharp drop and unaccountable variations
in following years.\(^1\) In regard to the forest the statistical
Account of 1794 merely has the information that it "contains many
green spots and during four months of the summer and autumn affords
pasture for a thousand head of cattle".\(^2\)

Some green spots remain but many have assuredly disappeared
under the encroaching heather, and it is not easy nowadays in an
area so long given over entirely to deer to see where sustenance
was once found for so many cattle.

\(\cdots\)\(\cdots\)

\(^1\) 1784, John Stewart (£31 10s.); 1785, Stewarts of Torbain (£34);
1786, Jo. Stewart (£30); 1787 and 1788, £30; 1789, £21;
1790, Lt. John Gordon and Mr. Forbes, Auchernach (£24);
1791-1792, £27 10s.; 1804, Wm. Stewart (£40); 1805, Robert Smith (£60).

\(^2\) In 1780, James Gordon of Croughly gave it as his opinion and
that of others that "it will graze eight hundred cattle or
there about yearly". (G.C.P. Drawer V, Bundle 123.)
IV. Recruiting in Strathavon.

From Cromwellian times the army had gained the reputation of being the enemy of civil liberty, and the eighteenth century was well-run before this stigma, and the disrepute into which the profession of soldier thereafter fell, began to be eradicated. (1) Far from any honour attaching to the service given by him, the ordinary soldier was for long an object of contempt and ridicule, and his ignoble life a popular subject for caricature. The harsh discipline endured in the army, as in the navy, and the floggings meted out to those who attempted to quit what was ordinarily a life-long engagement, were well publicised in eighteenth-century newspapers. The uses which had sometimes been made of troops to enforce the collection of customs, to suppress conventicles or quell rioting had all helped to engender public animosity to the army, while many citizens had particular cause to resent the billeting of troops (made legal in 1689) to which they were subject, especially harassed innkeepers whose regular business suffered greatly from the presence and behaviour

(1) No medal, for instance, was issued to soldiers in the ranks since that authorised by Parliament after the victory of Dunbar in 1650 until the 'Waterloo Medal' was granted to all ranks on the representations of Wellington who thought "it would have the best effect in the army." See The Letters of Private Wheeler, edited by Liddell Hart (1952), pp.185-6.
of such unwanted and unprofitable guests.

From a military stand-point, and often enough from a consideration of the soldier's own comfort, the dispersal of troops in bad quarters had nothing to recommend it, but it was not in fact until 1792 that adequate provision of barracks was undertaken. There were, however, more serious drawbacks to a soldier's existence. The hazards of battle were as little compared to the sickness and fatigue to be endured on a continental campaign, while the colonial service made increasingly necessary by Britain's overseas rivalry with France was, on account of the privation and disease and neglect which had to be suffered, the most detested of all. The strictest of measures had in such cases to be taken to conceal the destination of troops in order to prevent desertion; the transportation service was execrable, troops frequently being confined in port for months with smallpox and fever in their midst, before the start of the loathsome voyage; and once at their destination no hope need be entertained by the troops that attention would be given at home to their needs for...

Edward E. Curtis, The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution, pp 54-55. (Yale University Press, 1926)
C.U.P. 1953.
inconsistent with free government and an instrument of tyranny.

Even in 1739 the sight of new barracks being erected in London gave cause for "dreadful apprehensions." Despite a new policy, started in 1689 with the first Mutiny Act, and providing for the maintenance of an army, the size of which was to be determined by the annual vote of Parliament, the army continued to be the sport of politicians. The Act indeed was not passed with any regularity until the reign of George I, and then not without opposition, and thereafter the size of the national force fluctuated constantly. The Peace of Ryswick was no sooner concluded in 1697 than controversy broke out over the future of the army which was thereupon reduced. The war of the Spanish Succession, a few years later, necessitated an increase, only to be followed by the inevitable drastic reduction after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. The Jacobite rising two years later caused the hurried raising of new regiments, but in the two peaceful decades that intervened between the main Jacobite attempts there was constant agitation to reduce the army below the minimum strength of 18,000 fixed by Walpole, with the result that in 1745 Britain was almost bereft of regular forces and largely dependent on an ill-conditioned militia. No permanent measures having been taken to improve the army, the war with France in 1756 found it in such a state of inefficiency that Hessian and Hanoverian troops had to be introduced for the defence of the country. Not even with the Treaty of Paris (1763) was the need for a stable...

(1) Scots Magazine, Vol 1.53.
force, in peace as well as in war, recognised, and the neglect continued.

The constant cry of those whose policy had determined the condition of the army was that Britain could always rely for protection on her navy plus a national militia. Such was the plan advocated in Scotland by Fletcher of Saltoun. When, however, Parliament in 1757 passed a Militia Act requiring men obtained by ballot to give three years' service, the Act proved unpopular and led to rioting in England. The exclusion of Scotland from the provisions of the Act gave great offence to Scotsmen. Such discrimination was bitterly resented as a breach of the Act of Union, and there was much protesting, by the magistrates of Edinburgh for instance. The resentment which was felt has, nevertheless, all the appearance of a political grievance, inspired by the indignity offered to the nation on account of "the stale reproach of Jacobitism," rather than by any ardent desire of Scotsmen in general to bear arms. When after four unsuccessful attempts between the years 1760 and 1793 the Militia Act was finally extended to Scotland in 1797 the Act indeed proved even more unpopular than it had done in England, more especially in the

(2) Scots Magazine. Ill. 464.
(3) Pay was to be one shilling per day. Militiamen were to be exercised within six miles of home for not more than six hours per day, and were under no compulsion to serve out of the Kingdom. Scots Magazine. XX. 618 et seq.
(4) Jas. Ferguson, John Ferguson 1727-1759, p.177.
south of Scotland. It had to be postponed for a year, the quota of men being reduced. The new measure introduced in 1802 was equally unpopular.

Two lowland regiments, the Royal Scots and the Royal Scots Fusiliers were the only Scottish regiments to fight in the British service during the wars of William III and the Marlborough campaign. No other Scottish regiment was added to the British forces engaged abroad until the Black Watch, following the sordid episode of its deception in 1743, became involved in what many Scotsmen no doubt considered to be England's wars. The estrangement between the two nations, aggravated by such affairs as the imposition of the Malt Tax, had increased rather than diminished since the first discontent with Union, and while Scots people remained unsympathetic to England's foreign engagements, it was common enough for individual Scotsmen to engage in the service of France.

A small proportion of Scotsmen had nevertheless served in independent corps which from Charles II's reign, and to a greater extent from William III's, formed part of the military establishment in Scotland. The scheme to recruit on a larger scale (up to 4,000 men) from the Highland clans, envisaged by the Earl of Breadalbane in 1691, did not come to fruition, but from 1693

(1) J.M. Bulloch, Territorial Soldiering, pp. XLV-L111.
(2) Tullibardine, A Military History of Perthshire, 1, 29-42.
Independent Companies were on the strength of various regular regiments in Scotland and were re-attached to others as the garrison forces were changed. These companies were engaged to help in the general pacification of the Highlands and, in particular, to use their knowledge of the country and their native language to hinder reiving, but General Wade's reference to them in his report of 1724 is not flattering and explains the fact that they were disbanded in 1717. Small parties, of thirty Highlanders each, nevertheless continued to be attached to the four permanent garrisons of Inverlochy, Fort Augustus, Glenelg, and Ruthven as guides, and on Wade's recommendation the Independent Companies, increased to six, were revived in 1725, again under Highland officers but with a greater insistence on proper discipline.

It is to Stewart of Garth that one must turn to learn what little appears to be known of the Highlander's attitude to such service. Though the officers of the companies were drawn from

(1) Tullibardine, op.cit., 1, 43-46.
(2) Allardyce, Historical Papers, 1 137-138.
(3) Of interest to Strathavon is the fact that No.1.Company, for the protection of Strathspey and Badenoch, was commanded by Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch (at the junction of the Avon and the Spey) until December 1733. He had likewise commanded one of the earlier companies in 1715, and appears on the muster roll as early as 1712.

Tullibardine 1,46,49-50.
Col. David Stewart, Sketches etc. (1822 ed) 1. 241.
(4) Tullibardine, op.cit., 1, 48-50.
Whig clans, the ranks were open to all and the limited numbers required to complete the companies probably set a scarcity value on places in the ranks, enhanced for the clansman by the prospect of freedom thereby from the degrading restriction on the carrying of arms. In a country so devoid as the Highlands were of anything in the nature of industry or commerce it would be to some an acceptable employment which, though not at first amounting to a military career, afforded an agreeable enough occupation in familiar surroundings. How far the private feelings of those recruited were at variance with the nature of their duties, and what opposition the 'watch' encountered from their fellow-countrymen do not appear. Stewart was able to quote the Englishman Burt in support of his view that the Highland recruits were of a much superior type socially to the ordinary English soldier whom the Highlanders held in low esteem. The two Strathavon men who are known to have served in the ranks of the 'Watch' near Inchmorery were nevertheless no more than subtenants of a few acres each.

Both Wade and Burt were aware of, and perplexed by, the intimate association which existed among all ranks of Highlanders in and out of the army, and which contrasted sharply with the coarse treatment and barbarous discipline which the English soldier had to undergo. This alone would have deterred clansmen from joining established units for regular service, but the Highlander had, in addition, no intention as yet of making himself liable for foreign

service which under prevailing conditions he considered no better than the base punishment of transportation to the colonies. It was evident enough even at a later date when in 1739 the Black Watch was increased to ten companies and formed into a regiment of the line that the men were not willingly to be pitchforked into colonial warfare.

Despite the stand the Black Watch made, however, numbers of them in fact suffered the dreaded fate of being 'drafted' into other regiments and sent to the West Indies, but it was the eventual success of this experiment, ruthlessly conducted, that paved the way, first for the rather hesitant and, at first, ill-supported venture of Forbes of Culloden and Lord Loudon in raising twenty companies from the loyal Hanoverian clans in the fateful year of 1745, and then for the bolder step taken by Pitt, on the suggestion of Wolfe and Forbes, in 1756. Initially, the Earl of Loudon's men did no more than act as a militia territorial force - the captain of the Grant Independent Company experienced difficulty in enlisting men through their fear of being retained after hostilities had ceased - but they subsequently saw some service with the Duke of Cumberland's army in the Netherlands before being disbanded after the peace of 1748.

Had Pitt, when war again found Britain unprepared in 1756, not had the daring to turn to account that very traditional

(1) George Mencry The Life and Letters of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, pp 199-256.
(2) Ibid, p. 236.
(3) Stewart, Sketches, 11, 4-13.
influence of chief and laird which Government policy had attempted to stamp out but which nevertheless continued to be the dominant social factor in the Highlands, it would seem safe to assume that, in face of the vile conditions prevalent in the army, the response to a recruiting campaign in these parts would have been negligible. As it was, this new approach to the recruiting problem discovered reserves of local patriotism and, under the new conditions of honourable service and comradeship which were made possible, no difficulty was experienced in raising five Highland regiments between the years 1757 and 1760. These regiments which served in one or other of the theatres of war, North America, India, or Germany, were all disbanded following the peace treaty of 1763.

At the outbreak of the American revolution Britain was once again faced with a critical shortage of troops. Other than militia her total land forces numbered about 48,000 men, and two thousand German mercenaries had to be procured to garrison Gibraltar and Minorca. In spite of a War Office order reducing the term of service to three years or the duration of the war, the lack of sympathy for the government's colonial policy, and the exemption from the later Press Acts which could be gained by enlisting in the militia, made England less productive of recruits, while it so happened that Ireland at the start of the war was experiencing an exceptional spell of agricultural prosperity. Scotland, it seemed, was the likeliest source of manpower.

(1) By 1781 this figure was raised to 110,000, of which 56,000 were in N. America and the West Indies. Curtis, op. cit., p. 51.

(2) Ibid. p. 53.
Thus it was that in the critical year of 1778 world events were not without repercussions in the Banffshire highlands. In Strathavon, indeed, the early months of that year were probably marked by more social disturbance than the district had experienced since the aftermath of the Forty-Five.

With the military setback suffered by the British in America, the prospect of French intervention, and the possible invasion of an ill-defended Britain, the need for new levies was urgent. "The present ardour of the Highland gentlemen is great to be employed in His Majesty's service," Lord John Murray had already reported to the Secretary for War in 1776. (1) The response from Scotland's nobility was indeed ready enough; not so much, however, out of a disinterested patriotism as from a spirit of emulation and sense of family pride which grudged a rival any precedence or preference shown in the commissioning of the regiments. Despite the costliness of such ventures, Highland chiefs, intent on maintaining the tradition of their family influence, were by this date apt to feel slighted if not called on to raise a regiment from among their tenants; while the possibility of being supplanted on one's own territory by a rival laird was a worse indignity.

While duke and earl, then, were eager to promote their honour by raising men, and the humbler gentry to accept commissions in the regiments, common men were, however, by no means universally attracted to the notion of military service. Much had been done since 1759 to satisfy the Highlanders' military inclinations,

(1) Ibid. p. 53.
and by the 1770's recruiting conditions had become difficult.

Strathavon in particular appeared to have had its fill of soldiering with the 89th Regiment, raised in 1759 for the young Duke of Gordon by his mother, who had remarried and wished to find a command for her American husband, Major Staats Long Morris; and when, in 1775, a company was secured in the 71st (Fraser's Highlanders) for Hamilton Maxwell, brother of Jane Maxwell, fourth Duchess of Gordon, recruits of the right calibre did not come too easily. Her brother being abroad at the time, the duchess had undertaken to raise his complement of recruits, and some for Lieutenant Skelly, from the duke's estates. The interest and assistance of the principal Strathavon tenants had been solicited, and Robert Willox, Gaulrig, had something to say about the response (1st January, 1776):

"They are very backward to enlist in this country......I will go to a market that is in Kincardine this week to see if I can make out a recruit for her Grace. There is one Duncan McGrigor in Glenelgian you have his bill for five pounds of a fine for the woods. I spooked to him and promised to do all in my power to get down his fine if he wood enlist, he promised me if any attack was made on him by any recruiting party he wood enlist with me directly. (4)

If John Stewart, forester of Glenfidich wood make a pretence

(1) No muster roll exists to show the extent to which Strathavon supported the Dowager Duchess; but see Tomintoul chapter (above p.96)
(2) The requirements were: minimum height, 5ft.4in; age, 16-30
(3) Mr. Inchrory, Strathavon.
(4) He and John Stewart, Torbain, forester of the Strathavon and Glenlivet woods, were in possession of Beating Orders.
"to apprehend him for the hilland dress(1) he would enlist. He is a good recruit. Unless mines (means) is used with such fellows there is no catching of them."(2)

Apart from "two or three unfitt for the purpose", only two Kirkmichael men(3) came forward. The duchess had refused a recruit(4) from Robert Grant of Ruthven, being anxious to complete her numbers with "some tall able bodied men to mix with a parcel of fine young lads who look slender at present". (5)

The methods generally in vogue among recruiting parties were themselves a clear indication of the difficulties experienced in "making" recruits. The law relating to recruiting was on some points obscure, and full advantage of this obscurity and of the prevalent ignorance of such matters was taken by recruiting parties.

The "softening-up" process took the form of applying the right admixture of whisky and bagpipe music(6) - the whisky was always

(1) The prohibition on Highland dress was not removed until 1782.
(2) G.C.P. Drawer IV, Bundle 72.
(3) Absalom Grant, age 17, height 5'4" labourer.
James Stewart, age 16, height 5'3½" labourer.
(4) James Macdonald, "a lively clever boy....of small size....will endure more fatigue than a man". The Duchess was sure he would be taken by another recruiting party "not so scrupulous as to size". G.C.P. Drawer IV, Bundle 72; Letter Book 39, p. 426. Of the 89 men finally enrolled 14 were under 5'4".
(6) "The musick and the whiskey are powerfull in rousing the martial spirit, or even creating it," wrote Charles Gordon of Braid (13 May 1778) advising the Duke to enliven his recruiting with some good pipers. G.C.P. Drawer XII, 2.
more readily procurable than the music - with a certain amount of twitting of the intended recruit by the company assembled at inn or market place, it being in such places that the assault was most frequently made. The pipes, it has to be noted, were not unfealingly successful in achieving the proper response: at St. Sair's Fair on one occasion the pipes at the head of a recruiting party had his pipes broken by rioters. (1)

Once the enlisted man had accepted - or more properly, perhaps, been prevailed upon to accept - the King's money, the law as a safeguard against abuse required that he appear before the nearest (2) Justice of the Peace or other magistrate within four days of his enlisting and not before twenty-four hours had elapsed thereafter. At this hearing the recruit had the opportunity to dissent from his enlistment if prepared to return the enlisting money and pay twenty shillings "of charges" or "smart"money. On this point there was much confusion. The law implied that the money might be paid before the J.P. or within twenty-four hours after appearing before him; (3) whereas the common practice among recruiting officers was to allege (4) (1) G.C.P. Drawer X11. Bundle 4. " " (2) "the next justice of the peace of any county, riding, city or place, or chief magistrate of any city or town corporate (not being an officer in the army)" quoted in Session Records XX. 597/11 (3) This was first enacted by the Mutiny Act of 1694 (5&6 William and Mary, c.15, sec. 2) which continued in force until 1697. Thereafter it was not until the Mutiny Act of 1735 (8 Geo.11.c.2) that this provision was once again on the Statute Book. v. Clode The Military Forces of the Crown, 11, 7. (4) Once had the meaning of "loss" or "damage", and appears to have been used in the same way that "damages" and "compensation" are now used as alternatives. (5) G.C.P. Drawer X11. Bundle 2.
that payment had to be made within twenty-four hours after taking
the money. In either case the recruit was entitled, following
his enlistment, to have complete freedom to think the matter over
cooly, and, if he was inclined, to obtain the necessary smart
money. It was generally contrived, of course, that the enlisted
man was inveigled into spending the first twenty-four hours in the
company of the recruiters, and kept well supplied with drink, after
which he would be taken before the J.P, if necessary by force, and
under the impression that the time allowed for dissenting had
expired.

The safest procedure for withdrawing, provided there had been
an opportunity to obtain the money, was to make the payment
immediately on appearing before the magistrate. It was always
unwise for an enlisted man, who was not under constraint, to be
absent from his usual place of residence within the four days, since
a "recruit" who absconded was thereby deemed to be properly en-
listed. On the other hand, an officer, who failed to produce his

... ... ... ... ... ...

(1)"If such person or persons within the space of 24 hours shall
delay to return and pay such money as aforesaid, he or they
shall be deemed and taken to be enlisted" (Session Records XX
597 No.11). The weakness of the law was that it did not say
precisely at which part of the procedure the twenty-four hours
began, but the above clause follows immediately after an
explanation of the dissenting and discharging procedure which
seems to imply that the twenty-four hours ran from the time
of appearance before the J.P.
recruit before the magistrate within the four days, was liable under the Mutiny Act. (1) However, notwithstanding an officer's or sergeant's liability in damages if the use of liquor, threats, and other forms of constraint was proved, intimidation and oppressive methods were almost the rule.

It was such abuses that caused proprietors to put people on their guard against the "rapacity of adventurers" whose commissions depended on the number of men they could "trepan". (2) An intending officer was entitled to enlist in consequence of the Beating Order (3) issued from the War Office. The regular practice was to give copies of this subscribed by himself to some of his countrymen who were quite unconnected with the army but could use this authority to attest recruits. Such civilian "recruiting officers" or "decoy ducks" often caused more concern to proprietors for the havoc done among unsuspecting youths than did the regular "sergeant kite" whose Highland dress and cockade bespoke his trade. (4)

(1) From the year 1689 until 1879 a Mutiny Act containing the code of regulations for the Army was passed annually. (See Bell, Dictionary of the Law of Scotland.)
(2) "The impressment of soldiers by the direct orders and under the sole authority of the Crown, absolutely ceased after the Revolution of 1688; but an officer holding a Letter of Service to raise a regiment, or the man enlisted by him - not being in pay until their numbers would entitle them to an establishment - might have stronger inducements than ever influenced the agents of the Crown to press men into the regiment." Clode, op. cit., II, 8.
(3) "...authorize you by beat of drum or otherwise to raise so many men" (v. Clode, II, 584.)
(4) The term "recruiting officer" was quite commonly applied to those in possession of a Beating Order. The opprobrious terms applied to regular or irregular recruiters, by those who were harried by them, reflect the feelings often engendered in a recruiting campaign. They have also some etymological interest. The word "trepan" - of obscure origin but thought to have been slang - though by this date (c. 1770) used as a verb had originally been used as a substantive and applied to a person who acted as trapper or decoy, or to animals and such like, e.g. "A Trepan in the waters" (1686). cf. "decoy duck". "Kite", a bird of prey, was likewise used figuratively of a person who preyed upon others. v. Oxford English Dictionary.
The freedom with which besting orders were bandied about may be judged from the Strathavon factor's report (18 March, 1778) of an incident which occurred at Inverlochie during a roup of some corn and straw, at which the Strathavon minister and his Deeside cousin, Lieut. John Farquharson of the Atholl Highlanders, were present in the hope of recruits. The minister, observing the intoxicated condition of John Stewart, the Strathavon forester, passed a besting order to David Ross, a squarewright then working in the parish, and Ross succeeded in getting Stewart to enlist. Stewart, Mr. Milne adds, "has gone this day to lodge his dissent and smart money with a J.P." (1)

The Highland parts of the Duke of Gordon's estates, extending over a great part of Inverness-shire, Moray, Banffshire, and Aberdeenshire, were the areas most vulnerable to the tactics adopted by recruiting parties, not only because of their remoteness from Gordon Castle but also because of the few Justices of the Peace in such areas. In regard to Strathavon James Ross, the Duke's cashier, had reported that "the people there are the more exposed to violence and imposition that they lie at a distance from any Justice of the Peace;" and he had more than once urged the duke to nominate Justices and Commissioners of Supply in different parts of the estates for conducting some of the duke's affairs. Other than those at Gordon Castle, the duke's only resident officers were stationed at Huntly, Ruthven (Badenoch), and Inverness. The factor for Strathavon, Alexander Milne, was...

(1) G.C.P. Drawer IV, Bundle 98.
(2) G.C.P. Letter Book 41, pp.65,122.
responsible also for Glenlivet and Kincardine (Abernethy), and, owing to his age and infirmity and the frequent severity of the weather, could not be relied upon to make journeys from his home, Braehead near Keith, at short notice or to make lengthy stays in upland parts. While recruiting was in full swing in the north-east, then, the duke's chief reliance for the prevention of disturbance, illegal recruiting, and the loss of tenants to rival corps, was on his principal tacksmen in the district.

The duke, however, was not among the first to receive an order to raise one of the new levies. Government approval of his recruiting proposals was withheld for some months, and in the meantime affiliations had been formed in Strathavon with two regiments already recruiting. These were the 77th or Atholl Highlanders and the 81st (Aberdeenshire) Regiment of Foot.

The raising of the 81st was a particularly bitter pill to the Duke of Gordon. He had been most anxious to secure a command for his brother, Lord William Gordon, by raising a force from his own tenantry; but a cousin, the Hon. William Gordon of Fyvie, son of the second Earl of Aberdeen, nipped in and in some way (it was said by claiming to have the backing of the duke himself) acquired the right to raise a regiment from those very counties which in great part acknowledged the Duke of Gordon as superior. Bitterness was inevitable. "Although the estate and influence of the Aberdeen family lay in the lowland districts of Aberdeenshire," wrote

(1) Raised in 1777 by 4th Duke of Atholl; served in Ireland; disbanded 1783.  
(2) Col. David Stewart, Sketches of the Highlanders Scotland (2nd ed. 1822) 11.139.
Stewart of Garth, "it was from the Highlands that Colonel Gordon expected to fill his ranks; and, as an inducement to the young men to enter more readily, the Highland garb, to which they were then extremely partial although prohibited by severe penalties, was to be the regimental uniform."

The Duke of Gordon, unwilling to accept this rebuff, had set out for London. En route he wrote to James Ross (Edinburgh, 23rd December, 1777):

"It is very certain there will be several new levies, as Lord Macdonald has already got the offer of a regiment which he has accepted the command of — I hope Lord William has also got one but I have not heard from him owing I suppose to his expecting me in London every day. I beg however you will stop all the recruiting on my estate as much as you can telling the tenants etc that as I shall probably have a regiment to raise I expect they will keep the men for me. All the factors should be wrote to. Ld. Macdonald informs me that officers are to get their rank according as they raise their men and the first completed regiment will be the 72nd and so on as they are raised — you may easily imagine I should not like to be behind with any body."

A few days later he had reached London and repeated his entreaties that the factors and principal tacksmen should endeavour to prevent "enlisting in any corps whatsoever not excepting Col. Gordon's."

(2) "of 980 men then embodied about 650 were from the mountains." Stewart, op.cit.ll.139.
(3) G.C.P. Drawer IV, Bundle 95.
Ross lost no time in sending instructions to Huntly and Strath-
von enjoining the factors to publish the duke's wishes and double
their diligence to prevent recruiting: "I'm convinced His Grace
will be as forward as any man of rank in the Kingdom to offer his
services upon this occasion - and of course will undertake to
raise a regiment. In that view I must recommend it to you to meet
with the principal leading people of the estate; and be at pain
to impress them with the proper sentiments for supporting the duke's
interest upon this emergency and assisting him to raise his men as
quickly as possible. If there are any gentlemen in your bounds
fit for bearing commissions and who could raise men you should
advise them to lose no time in making application."

The duke, desired by Ross to make a speedy return to the
country if he was resolved to raise men, had, as it transpired,
been unable to make any progress in London. In his absence the
interests of his family in Aberdeenshire were being undermined by
Gordon of Fyvie who had engaged the support of the Earl of Aboyne's
family which might more naturally have gone to the duke.
Influential people were being "picked up in all corners:"
Macphersons, Macdonalds, and Camerons on his grace's estates were,
owing to the duke's enforced inactivity, being secured for other
corps.

(2) G.C.P. Letter Book No.41, p.8.
coast which was being subjected to raids by French and American privateers, finally determined the issue. The Duke of Buccleuch had offered to raise Fencible men in the south of Scotland and the Duke of Gordon followed suit with a similar proposal for the northern counties. Approval for a battalion of Northern Fencibles, one thousand strong, was received in a Letter of Service dated 14th April, 1778. Field officers were to have companies and consequently the duke of Gordon as Colonel had a company to raise for himself.


(2) For purely defensive i.e. 'territorial' or local service; truncated form of "defensible" in use in 14th and 15th centuries: By the 17th century its use seems to have become almost confined to Scotland - "Fencible men, as the Scotch call them." It was used of all men aged 16-60, liable for such service. Highland chiefs used the term in respect of their own personal force. Lists (incomplete) of the Duke of Atholl's "Fencible Men", 1705 and 1706, show that he then had a following of about three thousand men. (Atholl Chronicles, Vol.II. appendix)

(3) The Duke of Gordon's proposal (31 March 1778) was exactly modelled on that of the Duke of Buccleuch. The rivalry with Buccleuch persisted during recruiting. On 13th May, Charles Gordon reported to the Duke of Gordon from Edinburgh that Buccleuch was not yet one hundred strong: "I make no doubt your Grace will soon get and keep ahead of him." G.C.P. Dr.III.2.


Expresses soon conveyed to the duke's factors the change of plan, Ross exhorting them to use their "best endeavours to promote his Grace's wishes and to support his honour upon this occasion." The nature of the service would, it was felt, commend it much more to the ordinary men than to the officers who would prefer to be on the army establishment. At the same time Ross expressed to the duke his hope that the country would not be too much drained of necessary servants, and his concern over the great expense likely to be involved at a time when finances were suffering the effects of the war. The Bank of Scotland had just made a demand for £3,500 due by his Grace, and it was no easy matter for Ross to find ready cash to meet the duke's London expenses.

Despite the loss of men about Huntly through big bounties offered by competitors, instructions were issued that the duke was to offer "an allowance only of one guinea and it is determined not to give more balanced by the fact that they are staying at home to defend their own country which they may be assured is the case as they may see from the enclosed copy of one of the attestations and besides his Grace has empowered me to give them a paper to that purport into their own custody."

(1) Officers were not entitled to rank or half-pay after reduction of their corps except those who came from half-pay or out of established regiments. v.Grose, Military Antiquities, 1.193.
(2) A fixed sum was allowed to a new regiment for recruiting expenses etc., and the Colonel "got the men at so much more or less as his personal influence or good fortune enabled him to do". Cioe op.cit.11.4. v. Manual of Military Law (1929 ed.) p.175.
(4) Leithhall was offering twenty guineas. Ibid p.32.
Meanwhile, during the months of uncertainty regarding the duke's possible commitments his estates had not been left unperturbed. The recruiting war had been carried into Strathbogie, the northern cradle of the Gordons, and there were frequent reports of riots in Huntly where Alexander Leith had made the headquarters of his recruiting party. The duke's displeasure was vented on Bailie Wight who, having been too ready to attest every recruit brought to him, was dismissed from his office of baron bailie depute.

Strathavon, too, was "much disturbed." Despite Robert Grant of Ruthven's optimistic opinion that "this country will be as safe as any in Scotland" and that he knew no country that had more aversion to a military life, recruiting was going on "more briskly than the duke would expect." In order to avoid giving any excuse to recruiting parties, tenants and their servants were repeatedly warned to lay aside "every thing peculiar to the Highland garb," which, as the dress of the soldier, marked an illegal wearer out for the attentions of the party and was taken to show that he was disposed to serve in that capacity.

Captain Stewart, Parkbeg, and Lord Pife's factor and his son were reported to have made for Strathavon and Glenlivet on recruiting business, but the main danger to the duke's interest

(1) Ibid. passim.
(2) nominated to a captaincy in 81st Regiment, 22 Dec. 1777. He succeeded to the estate of Rannies in 1789 and became Leith-Hay.
(3) Huntly later redeemed itself by offering through Messrs. Forsyth, local merchants, to raise one hundred men for the duke. Letter Book 41, pp. 60 ff.
(4) G.C.P. Letter Book 41 pp 12, 41, 81; Drawer XII, Bundle 2.
came from within the parish. Among those who had taken up "the
trade of recruiting officer" was the minister of Kirkmichael,
(1) Robert Farquherson, and he was closely concerned in the first
incident to ruffle the calm of the countryside.
(2)
Charles Stewart of Drumin who was the first of the Strathavon
tacksmen to lose a servant gave to the local factor an account of
the manner in which the man was enlisted:
(3)
"On the 22d ulto I sent Davidson to a burial from Inverourie
where Mr. Farquharson made up to him and recommended a military life
in the strongest terms, and he says promised to procure him a
(4) Halbert which he agreed to accept of, then carried Davidson
with him from the churchyard to the manse and from that to Ruthven
(5) (6) (7) (8)
where C:Grant Lurg, Clunemore Mr.Willox, and the landlord

(1) A member of the Macgregor family who settled at Belavorar in
the 17th century, and used the surnames of Grant and Gordon
for a time. They left Strathavon temporarily for Clunymore
about 1735 and this name was often used thereafter, no doubt
to distinguish them from other Grants or Gordons.
(2) Robert Willox (Macgregor) Gaulrig, the Duke of Gordon's (deer)
forester of Glenavon.
(3) January, 1778.
(4) i.e. to have him appointed to the rank of sergeant, denoted by
the halbert. Grose (1786) 1.136: "Halberts were commonly
borne by the guards of the great officers of the army, and
also by a set of chosen men, appointed to protect the colours;
at present they are only carried by serjeants of the battalion
companies in the infantry."
(5) Captain John Grant, younger of Lurg (Abernyethy) then resident
in Strathavon.
(6) Robert Grant, grandson of John Grant (d.1743) Bailie of Regality
in Strathavon.
"were in company. Soon after Mr. Farqurson joined them Davidson was called on and Capt Grant asked him if he was willing to serve his majesty to which he answered in the affirmative providing he was made a serjeant, to which Capt Grant answered how could he expect a halbert as he could not write. Davidson replied he could, upon which the Capt took a slip of clear paper and desired him to subscribe his name at the foot or end thereof, which he did and upon the Capt's looking at the subscription he said he believed it would do and desired Davidson to withdraw. I am of opinion that Davidson's attestation was filled up above his subscription and I question much whether or not Mr. Farqurson was properly authorised to enlist men at that period (I mean had a Beating Order) or that Capt Grant is a Justice of the Peace."

Robert Grant, Ruthven, writing on 24th January 1778, put a different complexion on the matter:

"If the person would not have taken him another that moment was ready for him, whence he came in here, and Mr. Willox who is keen for the dukes honour and glory interposed and told that he had orders to allow none to enlist in the dukes land; Davidson then reply'd that if Mr. Farqurson would not instantly give him money, he would go to another lairds or heretors land and get money that night. In short he pressed himself on the matter. I saw him attested and

(1) G.C.P. Drawer XII.2.
(2) Grant himself had a Beating Order but shortly afterwards professed himself "determined not to accept of a single man belonging to his Grace the Duke of Gordon nor any in his land but will do all in my power to protect them from others."

G.C.P. Drawer XII.2.
and Clunymore and I sign'd as witness's. Lurg was the Justice.

"(1)
The minister was hurt at being "reproached for the greatest of crimes ingratitude": "I knew Davidson so well that I would not give him money till two gentlemen shou'd be present - he was so keen that I was oblig'd to rise from my dinner and go over to Ruthven with him to be attested when he heard Lurg was there. All the gentlemen there present declared he was like a made (sic) man for joy and wanted a pistol from me which I did not chuse to give.... was I oblig'd to raise men wou'd try different plans before I wou'd think of trepaning anyone that belongs you."

(2)

Had Davidson been recruited for the Atholl Highlanders the minister's part in the affair would have been less surprising, as he had two cousins, one resident in Strathavon and the other on Deeside, who were officers in that corps. All these were descended

(1) G.C.P. Drawer IV, Bundle 97; Even if Lurg were a J.P. he would have been disqualified from acting owing to his being an officer in the army. See page 2, note (3) of Barn, Justice of the Peace, Vol. IV. p. 210.

(2) G.C.P. Drawer IV, Bundle 97.

(3) He was enlisted for Capt. Elphinstone of Glack. (G.C.P. Drawer VI.190)
from the Achriachan line of Farquharsons. 1) Dr. Charles Farquharson, son-in-law of Thomas Gordon of Fodderletter, had been appointed lieutenant in the Atholl regiment (31st Dec. 1777) in which his first cousin, Lieut. John Farquharson of Deeside was paymaster. The latter, too, attempted some recruiting in Strathavon: one of his Deeside recruits was in March 1778 drowned while crossing the Avon near Kirkmichael when the river was made impassable by a swift thaw after a snowstorm.

About the same time Dr. Farquharson and his more distant cousin, the minister, were both concerned in a recruiting episode recounted by Charles Stewart, Drumlan:

"A certain number of the people in the low end of Strathdown engaged a young lade to teach their children (and by the bye I think as there are two schools in the parish one of them should be by turns in the low end) and he set up at Inverlochie upon the 27th ulto."

(1) Their common great-great-grandfather was Robert Farquharson of Allargue (1633 onwards) son of Finlay of Achriachan by his second marriage. (v.A.M.Macintosh Farquharson Genealogies No.1. Notes 1.32.

(2) born 1743; married Grace Gordon, Fodderletter, 1769, M.D. (Abdn) 1776; He was a son of John F. who 'had moved' from Allargue on Donside to Ellick in Strathavon, and Anne Farquharson daughter of the last of the main line of Farquharsons in Achrischan. His father, out in '45, lived at Dunkirk 1768-75.

(3) Son, of Charles F. "Foctair Mhor" who like his brother John, above, had been "out" in '45, but benefitted from the Act of Indemnity and became factor for the Invercoauld estate on which he lived.

(4) G.C.P. Drawer IV, Bundle 98.

(5) To Mr. Milne, 1st February, 1778. (Dr.XII.2.) The story is partly given in J.M. Bulloch's Gay Gordons, pp 205 ff.
"Doctor Farqrsen now Lieut,Robt.Farqrsen in Achriachen, and Mr Farqrsen went from the manse to the Boatmen's house near Inverloch-ie where the former two housed, and the latter went to the school and carried the young man with him to the Boatmen's house where they drank some drams and then they adjourned to the manse and carried the dominie along with them (who is a native of Strathavon). Soon after that a woman in the neighbourhood who nursed the young man got notice of the company he was with, she repaired fast as possible to the manse and asked one of the person's sisters if Stewart (that is the lady's name) was there to which Miss gave a doubtful answer, but promised to inform him soon and accordingly went up stairs, and the woman went in her rear, and upon the room door being opposed the woman saw Stewart and immediately laid hold upon him in order to carry him down stairs but was prevented by Mr Farqrsen who threatened to toss her over the window, if she would not forthwith depart and he at same time thrust or pushed her down stairs and upon her coming to the closet she repeated times begged to be allowed to speak one word to her child as she called him. Upon which Mr Farqrsen over a window desired her begone otherwise he would cause his dogs use her ill, which so terrified the poor woman that she went away home. Next morning she sent me notice what had happened the boy upon which I set out for the manse, but before I got there the whole of them had decamped. I then proceeded to Ruthven and from that to Tomintoul in hopes to fall in with them there; when I was informed they had gone for Strathpey, where you may believe I had followed,
"but the hills being covered with snow and my valetudinary state of health prevented my proceeding any further. Doctor Farquharson has a good many connections in Strathavon, and therefore I have no manner of doubt, if there is not some immediate stop put to his career, but he will continue to harass his Grace's people, in that corner; I do not (wish) you make this letter publick, at same time if you think proper I have no objections you communicate it to Mr. Ross."

Before this letter was actually despatched to Mr. Milne, Stewart of Drumlin received a communication (dated Inverlochy 31st January, 1778) from Charles Stewart, the newly enlisted sergeant, in regard to which Drumlin has the following comment: "Though dated at Inverlochie, from the glassed ink and import it was wrote at an other place." As the principal tenant in the lower part of Strathavon, Drumlin may have been chiefly instrumental in placing Stewart as schoolmaster at Inverlochie; at any rate, the sergeant writes to him with some deference and graciousness:

"Honoured Sir, - Upon my returning from Strathspey from (2) attesting as a serjeant with Lieutenant Farquharson of the Athole Highlanders, it seems an information has been given you that I was prepared and carried away by force, which out of great friendship made you take the trouble to come up here in order to relieve me, for which I return you most grateful acknowledgements, and in justice to Lieutenant Farquharson and others who might perhaps be blamed in decoying me, take this opportunity of informing you

(1) G.C.P. Drawer XII, Bundle 2.
(2) i.e. before the nearest J.P.
"that no bad usage was offered me and that I was, as I still am, most desirous and happy of the opportunity I have got of being a serjeant with an acquaintance; and the reason of my leaving the country by night was to be kept from being persted by women, who, I dare say, wished me well and might have thought I was drunk, which was not the case.

"All I regret is that I took the step without consulting you, and I hope you will not be offended or blame anyone but myself, as I wrote my attestation with my own hand. I would have seen you at Driimin in a few days but have orders to go over to Strathdon, as my master has gone to Strathspey who is good enough to say will dispense with me most freely if any of my friends could procure me to a higher rank in the army, which I have an ambition for. I will give myself the pleasure of seeing you upon my return from Strathdon if I thought you are not offended." (1)

(2)

Sergeant Stewart wrote in similar terms to the Strathavon factor on 2nd February, by which time he had attempted some recruiting on his own account as Drumin's letter of the third shows:

"Yesterday two of the boyes that were at Stewarts school (they are what you call between men and lades) went to the school house on order to bring home their books etc. Stewart met them there, gave their books, and then he and they proceeded to the Boatmans and he called for a dram and one after an other till the wife began to suspect he had a desine on the boys, she made a wink at one of them to begone which he did, how soon Stewart missed him...

(1) G.C.P. Drawer XII.2.

(2) Drawer IV, Bundle 98.
"out he went locked the door and carried the key with him which he has yet, at least had it this afternoon but when he found the boy was out of his reach he returned thinking himself sure of the one he left in the house but before his return the door was made open and the boy at the Boat. Stewart made up to him and they crossed together, and how soon they gote to this side the water Stewart offered him money or wanted he should go to a certain house which he declined, and then they graped. Had not appeared by mere accident that one Farquarson in Belntruan came past and disengaged him he surly had made him a sojar before they parted, and if Stewart is not looked after I am persuaded he will have at them yet. I think all the whiskie houses in this Lord/ (lordship) should be laid dry for some time - Beleive me it gives me great pain that there is so little stention paid to the dukes commands."

As there was no one in the district vested with legal authority to give protection in such cases, the boy Stewart was sent to Gordon Castle for safety, soon to be joined by two others, who were given work in the parks about the castle. The Strathavon factor was urged to use his influence to prevent officers getting shelter in the country "especially near the high road." Lieut. Farquharson's intention was to make his recruiting headquarters at the Boatman's near the kirk: "bad quarters indeed, for the country people, as numbers of them will have frequent occasion to pass and repass every day, " as Drumin remarked.

(1) G.C.P. Drawer IV, Bundle 98.
(3) G.C.P. Drawer IV, Bundle 98.
Stewart of Drumlin was commended by the duke's cashier: "If all the gentlemen and principal tenants in the country were to show the same spirit I imagine recruiting parties would find but indifferent quarters and very little encouragement in your bounds - the duke seems determined to put a mark of his displeasure upon such as shall act or countenance others in acting contrary to his inclinations. As I have various accounts of the behaviour of some people in Strathaven, I intend to send the factor to the country to stay sometime in order to give assistance etc and furnish information of the behaviour of every person on the estate that I may report accordingly to the duke." (1)

Though Mr. Ross had been intent on finding methods of preventing all recruiting, and required black-lists of those who were recruiting and those enlisted, he modified his attitude to the extent of giving the Strathaven factor to understand that if a man enlisted voluntarily he was not to interfere, "it being far from his Grace's intention to interrupt fair recruiting." How to deal with the "deceitful impositions commonly practised by the recruiting parties," however, was a problem, because as the duke's legal agent remarked, "though they are guilty of many unjustifiable things they generally fall upon methods to get the poor fellow attested and reconciled to the business." His advice was to wait for "any very clamorous case" before taking legal action; and the affair of yet another Stewart - James Stewart or Berg - seemed to afford better ground for a process than any which had yet come the duke's way. (2)

(1) G.C.P. Letter Book 41 p.66.
(2) G.C.P. Letter Book 41 pp.127,142.
Derg was a servant of James Grant of Achnahyle whose son, Lieut. Charles Grant, was the only Strathavon man to be commissioned in the 81st Regiment of Foot, then being levied. Peter Stewart, servant at nearby Delavorar to Lieut. Grant's brother-in-law, Robert McGregor, had been enlisted by the lieutenant, and an excursion was arranged to have him attested in Strathspey. Derg was persuaded to go with the party as personal servant to the young lieutenant, and, after repeated assurances from the latter's mother that no harm would come to him thereby, he was also prevailed upon to dress for the occasion in Highland garb, with bonnet, feather, and sword that he might appear like an officer's servant.

Accordingly, the party set out from Achnahyle on the morning of 3rd February and arrived for dinner at Burnside, Strathspey, where the attestation of Peter Stewart was carried through before Mr. Grant, the justice, in the evening. Next morning Derg proposed returning to his work at Achnahyle, but Lt. Grant insisted on his accompanying him a short distance to Cromdale under pretence of purchasing a philabeg for his recruit. They called at the house of Gregor Stewart, merchant, who was not at home and then repaired to a public house where Derg was well plied with whiskey. Once Derg was affected by the liquor they repeatedly pressed him to take money in the King's name, but he, reminding the lieutenant of the promises made to him before setting out, as doggedly refused.

(1) 5th January, 1778.
(2) belonging to James Grant a "floater" (i.e. engaged in the floating of timber from the forests of Rothiemurchus down the Spey to the Moray Firth. See for e.g. The Mémoirs of a Highland Lady, Chapter XI.)
to accept it. Soon afterwards they returned to the merchant's house where the performance was repeated and attempts made to force the money into his hands. Apparently drunk, Derg was helped into bed and money inserted in his pockets during the process. Awakening during the evening he went back to Burnside and was followed there by the lieutenant. A search having produced some money from his pocket, Derg threw it down, but the justice refused Grant's plea to attest the "recruit" until twenty-four hours had elapsed from the taking of the money. Another night was to be spent at the merchant's but Derg, warned by a servant girl of the plan to have him attested next day, slipped away in the early hours of the following morning (Tuesday, 5th February) and returned to Achnahyle.

There Derg remained until the evening of the 7th February, the night before the lieutenant reappeared. In the interval Lt. Grant had addressed a petition to Burnside as a result of which the justice had heard witnesses and concluded that Derg had received enlisting money: "But also considering that he is not now present and that it is alleged that he was, or pretended to be sick or drunk, and that the reason of his making his escape might be to provide and pay the smart-money, therefore the justice allows him twenty-four hours after twelve o'clock of this day (5th Feb) for providing and paying the smart money; in which if he fails, the justice adjudges him to be a soldier in the said regiment." (1)

An uncle of Derg's, William Stewart in Letterbeag, called at

(1) Session Records XX (1779-80), 597, No. 11.
Achnahyle to offer smart-money for his nephew but Mr Grant refused this, saying they would have their recruit. Afraid that he would yet be taken by force, Derg left Achnahyle that evening and put himself under the protection of James Gordon of Croughly, who a day or two later had instructions from Mr. Ross to send Derg to Gordon Castle.

Steps were thereafter taken at the Duke of Gordon’s instance for a suspension (granted, 24th March) and reduction of the proceedings before Burnside to prevent Stewart’s being arrested by Lt. Grant as a deserter, and to raise an action for injury and damages. Lieut. Grant and his recruiting sergeant in the meantime busied themselves at Kairth and Elgin markets and elsewhere. At Elgin they succeeded in trepanning a country fellow, William Largue, from Lord Findlater’s estate, and carried him off at night by force. Warrant was granted for the apprehension of both officer and sergeant but Findlater’s people were unable to track them down in Strathavon. The Strathavon factor was thereupon asked to employ someone to locate Largue and inform him of the efforts to help him.

Towards the end of March Strathavon enjoyed a quiet spell while Lt. Grant and other recruiting officers were out of the district, but early in May the Derg affair took a dramatic turn

(1) Session Records XX, 597/11
(2) G.C.P. Drawer X11,2. Old Tin Box 1. Bundle 27.
(3) G.C.P. Letter Book 41, p.129.
after Charles Grant and his father came back from a review of the regiment. Hearing of their return Derg took it into his head to go to Achnahyle along with two witnesses to demand the fees for his work. The Grants promptly made him prisoner as a deserter. They refused him a bed at Achnahyle, kept him there throughout the next day, and then forced him as he says to march throughout the night to within eight (Scots) miles of Perth, where they lodged him in the Tolbooth. The money they left with the jailer for his maintenance he refused to touch. Croughly could get no one but Derg's sister to go to Perth. She carried a message from Croughly advising her brother to stand firm against the Grants, and brought back letters recounting his misadventure and adding that, as advised, he had his black and white plaid and tartan bonnet, and that if he had to be a soldier he would rather go with the duke. (1)

Ross at Gordon Castle had meanwhile got in touch with the prison governor with whose firm (John Richardson & Co.), as it happened, he had previously had dealings over the sale of barrels of salmon from the duke's Lochy and Spey fishings. On 30th May, Richardson wrote to Ross informing him that a few days previously Derg had escaped along with a few others. Derg had in fact reached Strathavon by the 28th and Croughly considering the place unsafe for him had him sent once more to Gordon Castle. (2)

Subsequently, judgement was given in favour of Stewart or Derg, Lord Braxfield (12 Augt. 1778) finding him "not duly enlisted;"

(1) G.C.P. Letter Book 41, pp. 158, 193; Drawer XII.2.
(2) G.C.P. Letter Book 40, p. 120; 41, pp. 173-4.
and when, following a petition from Lieut. Grant, the case came under review in the upper house, the Lords adhered(1) and found expenses due to the amount of £21. The money was not easily - possibly never - recovered. In 1782 the state of the debt due by Lt. Grant to James Stewart was given as over £41, interest, expenses of hearing, etc., having added to the principal. In April 1783, on the disbanding of Fencible Corps, Mr. Lambert of Berwick was applied to in an effort to apprehend Lieut. Grant for the debt when the 81st arrived there for disbanding after service in Ireland. But Mr. Lambert was absent from Berwick when the first division to which Grant belonged passed through en route to Stirling where it was disembodied.(2)

Further annoyance was caused to the duke by Captain John Grant younger of Lurg's having accepted a commission in the Atholl Highlanders.(3) Connected with the Grants of Freuchie, Captain Grant was established on their Delnabo property (feued from the Duke of Gordon) with his residence at Lynachork, when on the break-up of Glenbucket's estate, being on good terms with the Strathavon factor, he took a tack of some small properties on the Conglas, much to the annoyance of the former tenants. When the Gordons of Fodderletter, in 1776, likewise foundered under a load of debt, Lurg made the most acceptable offer for their tack of Fodderletter, Camdelmore, Torrans and Tombracks. He was regarded by the duke's cashier as a good "catch" and, with his connections in the droving business, likely to bring some prosperity to

(1) 29th July, 1779. Session Records XX. 597/11.
(2) G.C.P. Old Tin Box 1, Bundle 27.
(3) From half-pay, 25 Dec. 1777 (Tullibardine, Military History of Perthshire, 1, 76-7).
By the terms of his tack Lurg undertook to have some of his family live on Camdelmore and to effect various improvements in agriculture, building dykes and houses. Some of these he did accomplish. (1)

It was fully expected of Lurg - on the duke's estates at least - that he would not indulge in the violent recruiting methods too commonly practised; (2) concern was felt rather for the effect of his commission on the property leased to him. The consequence, as Ross saw it, "must be that you give up all concern in the farming and dealing in cattle. I therefore wish to have some conversation with you about the possessions you hold of the duke, because they were given in the vein of your occupying them for your own account, and consequently remaining as a residenter in the country." (3)

Even before the date of his commission Lurg's affairs were already in some disorder; and by the time his new regiment was nearing completion he was considerably in arrears to the duke and others. The Merchant Banking Company attempted, on a warrant as "in meditacione fugae", to have him apprehended at Perth, but Lurg deforced the messenger, made his escape, and began a bout of legal ...

(1) G.C.P. Letter Book 39, pp. 446-7, 463; Box 23, Bundle 22; Plan of the Improvements, G.C. Maps and Plans No. 22. Lurg continued to live at Lynachork, though he did build on Camdelmore a house "about fifty feet long and seven feet high in the side walls" which was still unroofed in 1779.
(2) He appears to have given such an undertaking. (Letter Book 41, p. 158.)
fencing with his creditors. (1)

At the end of 1778 he returned to Lynachork to engage in some recruiting, and, aided by the indulgence shown him by the Strathavon factor, he for many years fobbed off the duke's cashier with worthless promises and partial payments of his debts until finally ejected from Camdelemore and Fodderletter in November, 1789. He was retired from the army on 29th June, 1780. (2)

In some quarters, however, he was still considered to be useful. James Saunders, writer in Edinburgh, wrote to William Tod, the duke's factor, on 30th October, 1790, when the Marquis of Huntly was endeavouring to raise a company for the Black Watch: "As I most heartily wish the Marquis success in his recruiting business, a thought has struck me that may be of use to him, and also to that vagabond my friend Jock of Lurg. He is certainly one of the best . . . .

(1) G.C.P. Box 23, Bundle 22. Letter Books 42, 43, 44, passim. Atholl Chronicles, Vol. IV, p. 79, has the following notice of Lurg: "One of the captains of the 77th, John Grant of Lurg was a very hopeless character. Through ill success in some cattle-dealing transactions he was in a bankrupt condition, and when on his way to join the regiment in Ireland with recruits in 1778, he was arrested for debt in Perth; As it was thought that his men would refuse to go on without their officer, if he was detained in gaol, the Duke became cautioner for him, and eventually, on the failure of Grant, had to settle the debt. Captain Grant continued in Scotland on recruiting service and as he would not join the regiment, was returned absent without leave and the Colonel (James Murray, son of Lord George, uncle to the Duke) determined to try him by court-martial whenever he could get hold of him. Eventually, in the autumn of 1779, he made his way to Ireland, and had nearly reached the regiment when he met some of the officers who informed him of the Colonel's intentions; the result being that he returned to Britain without joining."

(2) Atholl Chronicles, IV, 83.
"serjeant kites in the Kingdom. I therefore sent for him this afternoon and pointed out to him where he might find a more powerful advocate as to his possession of Campbel than any man in the island, and that was the marquis; and that by bringing his ten or a dozen recruits, he might wipe off a deal of the stigma that is presently thrown out agt him and perhaps might obtain the dead warrant recalled that is presently issued agt him. He seemed to relish the thought much and proposes setting out from this Monday and to be with you at Pitmain Wednesday morning but as I know from experience he is not a very true tryster. I trouble you with this in case he does not take the Badenoch route that you may if the Marquis approves of it please send for him and confirm on this subject. I know perfectly if he embarks on this business he will save the Marquis (1) and you both a world of drudgery........ I hope the Marquis will beat all of our south country dons and show himself to be the Cock of the North and that his country produces men and not sheep." (2)

Lurg's Strathavon recruits of 1778 were chiefly from among his own servants and the losses of Strathavon men to outside regiments

(1) In 1795 Lurgs arrears to the Duke of Gordon stood at over £250. They were included among arrears of "people dead and out of the country, or bankrupt arrears," (G.C.P. Vouchers, Press 1.d.7.). Forsyth (In the Shadow of Cairngorm) says Lurg died in the Sanctuary at Holyrood, 21 Dec.1821.

(2) G.C.P. Drawer XII. Bundle 12.
were not, in spite of the disturbance caused, exceptionally heavy. (1)

The duke’s own recruiting campaign opened in the Strathaven district on 3rd May, 1778, with a gathering of the chief tacksmen at the public house of Deskie at which the factor did his best to enter into "the spirit of recruiting". It required the warming effect of the whisky, however, to rouse the company to any enthusiasm for the duke’s cause, after which they mostly expressed their readiness "to follow His Grace in any station he was pleased to appoint them". (2) In the event that meant they would probably put themselves to the trouble of sparing a servant or two for the regiment.

(1) "List of Men enlisted in Strathaven and Glenlivat.
Lt. Chas. Farquharson for the Atholl Highlanders.

Strathdown

Charles Stewart Schoolmaster at Inverlochy
Charles Stewart in Achlichmy
John Riach servt to John Innes there
Colin Campbell from Tamintoul
Stephen Wilstone from Braes of Glenlivat
Lt. Charles Grant Achnahyle of Fyvies Regt.
John Stewart servant to Achnahyle
Peter Stewart his Brother, Serv. to Robt. McGregor Delavorar
Wm. Grant from DellaVrogat
Wm. Grant Pensioner from Tamintoul
Rbt. Grant alias Bowie in Achnarrow - Deserted
Capt. Grant Lurg of the Athol Regt.
William Fraser shoemaker in Tamintoul
Charles Stewart servant to Lurg
Charles Stewart servant to Do.
Alexr. Stewart servant to Do.
Lt. John Farqrsen from Bremar of the Atholl Regt.
David Ross Wright, sometimes living at Manse of Kirkmichael
Mr. Robt. Farqrsen Minr. for Capt. Elphingstone Glack
John Davidson servant to Drummin
A Servt of Fras. Grant in Dellore Glenlivat carried off through force by Capt. John (Dow) McPherson."

G.C.P. Drawer VI, Bundle 190 (18th Century: undated).

(2) G.C.P. Drawer XII, Bundle 2.
One man who wrote and "figured" well was keen to secure the much-prized halbert but for the commissioned ranks there were few, or none, in the countryside of sufficient substance to command more than a Lieutenancy. "If his Grace could appoint a subaltern or two in this country it would, I find, be of great use to the recruiting," wrote Milne. (1)

From Kincardine and Badenoch the response was poor, and it was felt there that some form of compulsion would be necessary. But on a visit to Tomintoul in May, 1778, Milne "did not find them so quite backward as at last time. Robert Grant the first man I attested has been of use in convincing severalls of them that they are not to go out of their native country as its not enie easie affair to get the generality of them satisfied on that head." (2) Memories of the Black Watch incident of 1743 died hard and the subsequent treatment of the Atholl Highlanders (3) showed that there was indeed some basis for the prevalent misgivings on the question of "drafting". Foreign service had too long been resorted to as a punishment in the army and savoured rather much of the not-forgotten penalty of transportation to have any appeal. (4) The duke's personal guarantee on this score, however, was of some avail. "I wish," wrote Milne, "you could send up a few more of the letter of service and recruiting instructions in order to get them satisfied, with two or three more of the beating orders."

The stimulus of music, considered necessary by Milne, was not so easy to provide: "As far as I can learn there is only one man...

(1) Ibid.
(2) G.C.P. Drawer XII, Bundle 3.
(3) The regiment was ordered to India in 1783 after completing its service in Ireland. The order was defied and later countermanded.
(4) From 1765, drafting officially, had ceased except by consent or as a punishment inflicted by Court-martial. v. Clode II, 1-4.
"in these countries that plays on the pipe whether he plays or winds his pipe with his mouth or bellows I cannot as yet say but shall see him the morrow and endeavour to bring him with me to Tomintoul and otherways settle with him." In this connection Lieut. Godsmah, Drumin, made the suggestion that "a number of boys be sent to Inverness to Mr. Blair the music master to learn to be fifers to the Duke's regiment." (1)

To assess the recruiting potential of the district, lists were drawn up of "all the men in Strathaven, 1778" and of the "Young men in Strathaven fit for serving as soldiers in his Grace the Duke of Gordon's Regt." (3) Nearly a score of people in Strathaven and Glenlivet acted as recruiting agents. John Grant, Achnahyle, professing himself ready to do anything in his power, provided one recruit and the levy money, while his son was claiming the duke's first Strathaven recruit Robert Grant, Findron, as a deserter from the 81st. (4) The factor, no doubt unaware of all the circumstances, had been greatly pleased by the cheerful and ready manner in which Grant had enlisted and shown a lead to the gentry of Strathaven and Glenlivet. Mr. Ross from Gordon Castle personally enlisted some recruits in Strathaven and the Duke himself paid a visit to Tomintoul in July, 1778, in which month local recruiting reached a peak of eleven for the month.

(1) Drawer XII.2.
(2) numbering 502 men, exclusive of Delnabo and Achlany held by the Grants. (G.C.P. Drawer XII. Bundle 7.)
(3) Two lists one containing 55 names and the other 96. (Ibid)
(4) G.C.P. Drawer XII. Bundle 4.
(5) On the 12th October 1778, Lt. Charles Grant complained to General Skene that the Duke of Gordon had refused to give Grant up as he came under the proclamation pardoning deserters who returned to duty. (Drawer XII. Bundle 9.)
Mr. Miln, in preparation for this visit had ordered all men "in both countrys" to attend the duke at Tomintoul but was afraid from what he heard that there would not be "a punctuall attendance of severalls." His misgivings were justified and a list was later compiled of 63 men who "refused to go to Tomintoul upon the dukes message," all of them from the Braes of Glenlivet.

The duke when at Tomintoul had been especially keen to procure the enlistment of James Riach but the latter had given some offence to the duke owing to the crowd's having "put him in such confusion that he had not presence of mind to reflect on what his grace said to him." Riach later expressed remorse for his conduct and was willing to enlist if a livelihood was ensured for his wife and children, though he declared that he "never inclined to be a soldier." (2)

A very similar incident occurred in 1793 during the second raising of the Northern Fencibles, when a Robert Grant, guilty of some rudeness towards the duke owing to his "fasting in the morning, a little whiskey in the afternoon, and the crowd around him at the time attacking him all at once," expressed sorrow for his behaviour and put himself at the duke's disposal without conditions and even without the bounty money. "It is possible that the causes assigned might produce the effect," observed the Kirkmichael minister who made Grant's excuses. Indeed, the harrying tactics of the crowd on these occasions often took a virulent form, and at least one wife had to appeal to Gordon Castle because of

(1) G.C.P. Letter Book 41, p.215; Drawer XII. Bundle 7.
(2) Drawer XII, Bundle 4.
(3) Ibid, Bundle 23.
the "teasing" to which her husband was subjected by the duke's recruits. (1)

There were some willing recruits. Alexander Cameron, the priest of Strathavon wrote to James Ross from Findron (26th July, 1778): "The importunity of the bearers, Will. Shaw and Will Stuart, two fine fellows, for whom I always had a particular regard, which their engaging amongst the fencibles has increased, obliges me to trouble (you) wt the present letter. They hope you will, and it will be an addition to the other obligations under which you have laid me if you do, take some notice of them. They are a little anxious about their billets - they would desire to serve in the same company, in the duke's if possible." (2)

When, in consideration of the difficulty of obtaining sufficient recruits, an enactment was made in 1778 (3) for the compulsory enlistment of certain classes of individuals - chiefly those guilty of some indictable offence and who could not prove the steady practice of some trade or employment (4) - no wholehearted approval of this method of recruiting was forthcoming from the Highlands. A succession of such measures had been enforced in England throughout the eighteenth century and before, (5) by which criminals and debtors ..

(1) G.C.P. Drawer XII, Bundle
(2) Ibid, Bundle 3.
(3) 18 Geo. III, c. 53: "Act for the More Easy and Better Recruiting of His Majesty's Land Forces and Marine." Since the Government feared to interfere with the harvest, the operation of the Act was at first confined to Scotland, the Cities of London and Westminster and parts of Middlesex.
See Curtis, op. cit., p. 58.
(4) Provided they were aged 17-45 and at least 5 ft. 4 in. in height. Harvest workers were, on production of certificate, exempt between May and October.
Close, Military Forces, II, 10-19, 48.
Other than the particular categories specified, the ordinary impressment of soldiers by authority of the Crown had ceased after 1688.
had been released from custody on condition of enlisting, and those without any settled mode of living were permitted to be impressed. Such measures were in the opinion of Grose(1) very ill-judged, "tending to destroy that professional pride, that esprit de corps which ought most assiduously to be cultivated in every regiment". (2)

It was a matter of personal pride to such as the Duke of Gordon to ensure that corps levied by them were representative of the best of their people and as free as possible from any undesirable element. Charles Gordon of Braid writing to the duke from Edinburgh (11th July 1778) reports that Lord Frederick Campbell was averse to making use of the "Comprehending Act", as it was called, it being "beneath the idea of Fencibles to incorporate Comprehensibles among them", but suggests that the duke might with advantage be less discriminating: "I understand your Grace is now scrupulously nice in the quality of your Fencibles. Might it not be proper in view of being first compleated to reserve your weeding untill you have supernumeraries." (3)

The duke's cashier while "expecting little good in this corner from the Comprehending Act", kept the possibility of its use in view, however, and asked to be informed by the Strathavon factor if...

(1) Military Antiquities I, 100.
(2) Of the Act of 1779, which replaced the 1778 one, Grose says that "all the thieves, pickpockets, and vagabonds in the environs of London, too lame to run away, or too poor to bribe the parish officer, were apprehended and delivered over as soldiers to the regiments quarters in the very towns and villages where these banditti had lived". Desertion on a great scale was the natural outcome.
(3) G.C.P. Drawer XII, Bundle 3.
those who were unable to pay their arrears of rent "but are fit for being Fencible men". In the following year Ross himself went as far as Edinburgh to have three Highlanders liberated and enlisted in the duke's regiment. (1)

For the operation of the Act in Kirkmichael five constables (2) were appointed. They held warrants empowering them to bring before a meeting of the Commissioners of Supply and Justices of the Peace those comprehended in the Act, but there is little evidence of activity on their part. One of the few local men held under the terms of the Act was Swan McDonald who was enlisted by James Gordon, Croughly "after being in John Stuart's Meser (messenger) hand as Constable". "I gave him a shilling," Croughly adds. "He entreated much for leave to stay to Wednesday first to bring home some fire for his wife and children who has a house in Tomintoul to which I agreed if he can be wanted till then against which time you may send a runner for him otherwise I will send him with a line to you." (3)

John Grant, Lynachork, in sending a recruit to Gordon Castle had this to say: "If you think it necessary you may attest him a second time. I only made him sign the attestation and take the oath in case he might repent. I had an other good young fellow whom

... 

(2) William Stuart in Torbain
James Riach in Croughly
John Gordon in Inchmacape
James Cameron in Ballinleish
William Cameron in Tombreck
The number appears to have been added to at a meeting at Banff on 24th July, 1778.
Drawer XII, Bundle 3.
(3) G.C.P. Drawer XII, Bundle 4.
"I made the Constables bring to Harlhaugh but as there was no court
we did not get him made. Braehead (Milne, the factor) has taken his
master bound to present him next court. This boy is a fine recruit
and his father who is a tenant or cotter of Mr. Willox's is a very
fit object and can well be spared."

Robert Willox, the deer-forester, always conversant with the
misdeeds of the duke's tenants, whether wood offences, muirburn, or
poaching, would have been capable of indicating not a few to whom
the law might be applied, but appears to have contented himself with
one such recommendation which, however, was not acted upon: "There
is one Robert Cruickshank from this country (Casfuar) that listed
with Braehead. What made him list was in order to protect his son
from being a shoger. The son is a very handsome recruit. Three
years ago I met him hunting and took his gun, which I delivered to
the Duke of Gordon. The fellow thought to shoot me and brunt
priming at my breast. I think that brings him within the Comprehend¬
ing Act. If you think proper, I shall cause apprehend him and send
him to his grace's regiment."

It was the 14th August, 1778 before James Ross at Gordon Castle,
greatly in arrears with affairs of estate management, was able to
announce: "My concern and hurry about recruiting being now over I
sit down to attend to my own business." All but one of the duke's

(1) Ibid.
(2) Dr. Xil. 4. The son's name (James Cruickshank) does not appear in
the muster roll. He had been out with greyhound and gun hunting
hares when confronted by Willox who overpowered him. Willox put
the attack on himself down to the general ill-feeling against
him because it was well-known that he had sent in a list of those
who had taken wood. G.C.P. 29/24.
(3) G.C.P. Letter Book 41, p. 229.
Strathavon and Glenlivet recruits, thirty-nine in number, were by that time enlisted. Though there were tradesmen such as weavers, tailors, squarewrights (joiners), carpenters, and several farmers among them, the majority are described simply as labourers.

Recruiting continued, with less intensity, into 1779, there being several delays before the regiment was completed. Although the duke allowed only one guinea as bounty, additional money had perforce to be offered and these extra payments were on Ross's instructions entered as having been made to wives.

A certain amount of bargaining was inseparable from the recruiting transactions, it being, indeed, part of the factor's policy to offer inducements to procure recruits. There were some instances of tenants, using their sons as inducements to secure a bargain. Donald Stuart, subtenant in Ellick, with two sons in the Northern Fencibles and "two other youngest boys who may yet serve his Grace if he ever has occasion for them," fell back on such methods when in straits for seed bear which he could not get locally and had not the money to buy elsewhere. He received a firlot on promising to pay 6s.8d. (2)

One Strathavon tenant put his proposition even more bluntly to the duke (10 July 1778):

"May it please your Grace, Donald Shaw, present possessor of the small farm of Delnaloine on the banks of Conglass is desirous of presenting his eldest son to your Grace' service: his lease being out at Whitsunday first, all the favour he asks is a continuation

(1) G.C.P. Letter Book 41 pp.259,480.
(2) G.C.P. Box 40, Bundle 14.
"of the same lease for the five subsequent years, (1) a favour he hopes will not be denied by your grace as the same has been granted to several others, and as it would, from many circumstances be the next thing to impossible for him to remove or otherwise do for himself without his son." (2)

The duke, no doubt finding the granting of such concessions more to his liking than the payment of large bounties, in a few cases gave his own undertaking in writing. Copies of only two such obligations to Strathaven men are extant; one in 1778, (3) and the other, dated 18 April, 1793, to Charles Stewart or Derg (Northern Fencibles): "(As) you have voluntarily enlisted into my regiment, I promise to appoint you upon the reduction of the Corps one of my foresters with a salary of twelve pounds sterling a year, or to some other appointment of equal emolument." (4)

Most cases, however, concerned men who were anxious only to gain some security for their families during their absence.

When the disquiet of the recruiting season was over, and the party and their recruits had left the district for the first muster and their regimental station at Fort George, a return to the normal tenor of parish life was not at once effected. There were the problems of wives left with young families, their winter fuel still to be won; grazing cattle which ought to have been at the summer pastures; house repairs to be done before winter set in; and as the ...

(1) Donald Shaw was still in Delnaloin (Delnlyna) in 1791, G.C.P. Rentals.
(2) G.C.P. Box 28, Bundle 6.
(3) See Bulloch, Territorial Soldiering, p. 99 (Drawer XII, 3. G.C.P.).
(4) G.C.P. Drawer XII, Bundle 223. A sequel to this occurred in 1824 when it transpired that Stewart was then receiving an annuity in virtue of the duke's promise. Box 225, Bundle 33, G.C.P.
season progressed, crops "too long uncut down", for want of harvesters.

Urgent requests for furlough were sent off, but Major Chisholm at Fort George had the reputation of being difficult over the matter of leave of absence, and so it was generally to the duke or his cashier that appeals were addressed. One fencible required leave "to help his father remove his plenishing from his present possession to Findron"; another, "owing to the backwardness of the labouring and the bad season has been kept from casting any fire for his wife". Gordon of Croughly, in endorsing such a request states that "servants are so ill to be had in this corner that it will be charity to indulge the bearer with leave a few weeks in harvest to cutt his cropt and he hopes to prevail on two or three of the recruits to come to his assistance if you will be good enough to make interst for him to allow of it". Robert Grant, Ruthven, appealing on behalf of another of the duke's fencibles, points out that the man's wife "has a young child nursing, has none to aid or assist her in cutting down or ingathering her corns always expecting her husband home for a few weeks and as Mr. Milne promised to procure him a furlough in harvest I begg sir you apply for a twenty days or a months leave for him, as none less can compleat his harvest. There's no such thing here as a man to be got for hire."

(1) In one case in which leave is known to have been granted the grounds were of quite another sort. Willox, Gaulrig, complained that William Grant, one of the men he had recruited, probably a servant of his, had got a furlough to come to him in order to help the dizziness in his head: "he never cam near me but one day and did not stay 2 hours, he promised to com next day but I did not see him yet I am told he pretends to be worse than he really is." G.C.F. Drawer XII, 4.
When similar conditions prevailed in 1798, some wives of Strathaven men serving in the Gordon Highlanders, in difficulty over the ruinous condition of their houses, had them repaired at the duke's expense, the ground officer buying the necessary timber in Abernethy and having it brought home by the 'long carriages' (1) of tenants, or furnishing sufficient home-grown alder trees to make couples and roof-tree. (2)

The widespread disruption of Highland economy in 1778 is apparent in the bad effects that year had on the droving industry: Mr. Tod, one of the duke's factors, writing from Fort Augustus on 10th September 1778, reported that the Falkirk market had been the worst for many years, with no more than ten thousand of the usual fifteen thousand head of cattle, adding "and I believe the one half of them did not sell". (3)

With the exception of the raising of the Marquis of Huntly's short-lived company for the depleted Black Watch in 1790 (discharged 1791), Strathaven enjoyed a decade of respite from recruiting after 1783 when the Peace of Versailles brought the disbandment of fencible regiments. The renewal of the war in 1793, this time with revolutionary France, called for an all-out campaign for recruits for the regular forces and home-defence units, seven fencible regiments being Scotland's portion of the latter troops. So quickly had existing regiments been absorbed by the fleet and the Dutch campaign that England shortly after the declaration of war

(1) A service required of each tenant of an oxgate of land.
(2) G.C.P. Strathaven and Glenlivet Vouchers Press I. d. 7.
(3) G.C.P. Drawer XII, Bundle 5.
was left with no more than three regiments of the line, there
being no reserves other than Hanoverians.\(^1\)

There was a recrudescence of the old family rivalry between
set about raising the 109th Regiment of Foot (4 April, 1794),
adopting for it the name "Aberdeenshire" which had been the
original choice of name for the Gordon Highlanders (10 February,
1794); while James Leith, a brother, raised the Aberdeenshire
Fencibles (October, 1794) as a counterblast to a second levy of
the Northern Fencibles (1793). By comparison with 1778, however,
this fresh spasm of recruiting was remarkably free from untoward
disturbances and clashes between rival corps, the only trace of
such activity in the Strathavon vicinity being an attempt to enlist
one, James McGregor, servant at Reffreish, Glenlivet, "for one of
the Independent Companies". Having been "rather much tampered
with", he left his employment and took refuge in Strathavon.\(^2\)

Although on the duke's western flank, Sir James Grant of Grant
was engaged in raising the Strathspey Fencibles (1793) on territory
contiguous with Strathavon, no trouble ensued, it having been
agreed not to interfere with one another's estates.\(^3\)

On this occasion the duke's fencible recruits were secured with
remarkable expedition, the whole regiment being completed in six weeks
- by the middle of April, 1793. Strathavon, visited by the Duke of
Gordon in March, furnished seventeen of them and Glenlivet twelve,

\(^1\) Fortescue, op. cit., IV, 82-84.
\(^2\) G.C.P. Drawer XII, 12.
\(^3\) H.B. Mackintosh, \textit{Strathspey Fencibles}, 1793-1799, p. 16.
all at the standard rate of bounty (3 gns.) fixed by the Government. (1)

No such restriction was operative in respect of the Gordon Highlanders recruited in 1794, (2) when, in consideration of the more exacting nature of the service, bounties paid to Strathavon men soared, in one case to £21. (3) The bounty of five guineas per man allotted by the Government (4) was in a few cases sufficient but fifteen guineas was more usual. An additional inducement was offered to local recruits by the Strathavon people. Dr. Bulloch has quoted (5) an interesting report from the "Aberdeen Journal" of 28th April, 1794:

"At a meeting of some of the Duke of Gordon's tenants in the Parish of Kirkmichael and Strathdown, it was resolved in testimony of their gratitude and attachment to the noble family under which they and their predecessors had lived for generations, to exert themselves to assist in enlisting volunteers for the Marquis of Huntly's regiment and for that purpose they resolved to give three guineas of additional bounty over and above every other bounty to any good recruit from their own country, who shall voluntarily...

(1) G.C.P. Drawer XII, Bundle 12.
(2) Twenty-five privates were recruited from Strathavon and district, eight of them from the parish of Kirkmichael. (See Bulloch, Territorial Soldiering, 256-252.) Recruits were required to be between ages 18-35, but youths aged 16-18 were accepted if "grown lads at least 5 ft. 3 in."

The average age of the Strathavon men was 22½ years.
(3) Paid to Robert Mackay recruited by Mr. Smith, Cambridgeshire. G.C.P. Dr. XII, 22.
(4) The extra guineas were expected to be forthcoming from the funds raised from commissions. (v. Bulloch, The Gordon Highlanders, 15-14.)
(5) Territorial Soldiering, p. 214.
"enlist with the Marquis of Huntly, or with Captain John Gordon of Coynachie, or with any of the subscribers to the present bounty for his lordship's behoof; and they also resolved to give the same additional bounty to every good recruit from any other country who shall voluntarily enlist with James Gordon in Craughly (Croughly), Robert Macgregor in Delavorar, or William Stuart in Bellantruan, for the Marquis of Huntly's Regiment."

Gordon of Coynachie who in 1784 succeeded Alexander Milne as factor of Strathavon, had resigned his factorship to become paymaster of the Gordon Highlanders. The situation he left behind in Strathavon was, from a chamberlain's point of view, not a happy one: arrears had risen from £370 in 1784 to £1226 in 1793. (1) Coynachie carried the factory papers with him as far as Gibraltar whence they were returned in November, 1784, but previously from the "Diana" Transport at Spithead, he had sent to Gordon Castle a list of arrears, with this comment: "It is a most shameful arrear, I wish my successor may have a more agreeable business of it than I had. I'm not at all sorry for want of that employment." (2)

The next concerted effort of the parishioners of Kirkmichael was the raising of a company of Volunteers in 1798, one of five then raised in Banffshire. The Militia Act had been extended to Scotland in 1797 but it was natural enough that a Highland district accustomed to the raising of fencibles from among its people should exercise its choice of raising a Volunteer force in preference to

(2) Ibid, Bundle 6.
submitting to the obnoxious militia ballot. (1)

The Strathavon resolution was expressed as follows:— "The inhabitants of the Parish of Kirkmichael and Inveraven, County of Banff, having a just sense of the duty they owe to their King and country in the present alarming crisis, do hereby humbly propose to form themselves into an Association or Company of Volunteer Infantry under such officers as the Lord Lieutenant of the said country may recommend; to consist of sixty Privates, three Sergeants, three Corporals and two Drummers; together with one more non-commissioned officer on constant pay, to train the men and teach them the use of arms.

"They engage to turn out one day each week for exercise and in case of actual invasion or imminent danger thereof, to serve in any part of the military district to which they belong; to be paid, clothed and armed by Government, in terms of Mr. Dundas's printed letter of the sixth of April last." (2)

By July 1799 the company was still without arms but was characterised by Lord Fife as being "completely disciplined and fit for any service". Subsequently, on the reconstitution of the volunteer forces in the district Lord Fife dispensed with the Kirkmichael Company on account of its being too remotely situated to prove effective in his scheme for coastal defence.

(1) From at least 1758 in England, volunteers had been accepted for the militia, first as individuals and eventually as separate companies. This was regularised by an Act of 1794. v. Manual of Military Law, Chap. IX, Sections 84-87, 120, 126.

(2) J.H. Bulloch, The Independent Volunteers of Banffshire as Raised in 1798.
This decision did not result in the complete exclusion of Kirkmichael men from military service. A development of some consequence to Strathavon had been the emergence during the last decade or two of the eighteenth century of an officer class of professional soldiers from among the sons of the duke's tenants. Members of the Achriachan branch of Farquharsons had held commissioned rank in the Jacobite forces, (1) and John of Glenbucket's regiment in the Forty-Five had been officered largely by Strathavon men, (2) of whom well over one hundred were 'out', with at least seventy more from Glenlivet. (3)

But it was with the duke's granting of commissions in his fencible corps under the system of "raising men for rank", and subsequent promotion to established regiments, that we have the beginnings of the remarkable part played by Kirkmichael parish in the provision of officers for the British forces in the

(1) Donald Farquharson (1708-95), captain in regiment of Moir of Stonewood; John Farquharson, Millick (Dunkirk, 1766-75), captain in Monaltrie's regiment, and father of Dr. Charles Farquharson, Lt. in 77th Regiment.

(A.M. Mackintosh, Farquharson Genealogies No. 1, Notes 7, 34. Tayler, Jacobites of Aberdeen and Banffshire in Forty-Five, pp. 167, 171.)

(2) Thomas Gordon of Podderletter, John Gordon of Minmore, and Gordon Stuart of Drumin, captains; John Grant of Inverlochie, adjutant; Mr. McAlpin, standard-bearer; John Gordon of Clashmore, Alexander Grant of Nevie (killed at Culloden) and James Grant of Blairfindy, lieutenants; besides two sons of Glenbucket.

(Reported in 1783 by Mr. Tod, factor to the Duke of Gordon. Scottish Review, XVII, pp. 126-7.)

(3) Ludovick Grant of Grant reported (12th Sept. 1745) to General Cope that, whereas in the year 1715 nearly 500 men had marched from these districts, "Glenbucket did not get above 130 men to go with him from Strathdown and Glenlivet". Yet the names are known of 120 Kirkmichael men and 73 from Inverraven, who were 'out' in the '45.

(Tayler, op. cit., pp. 17, 418-447.)
nineteenth century. The farms from which notable military men were to come did not exceed fifty pounds in annual value, and only the Gordons of Croughly could make any pretension to being scions of a noble line, the connection if real being a remote one. (1) More substantial holdings were to be found just outside the parish in lower Glenlivet, and Alexander Milne had in May, 1778, informed Gordon Castle that he considered Mr. Grant, Minmore, William Gordon younger of Minmore, and Charles Grant, Tombreackachy - all Glenlivet men - "the only proper men for holding or accepting of commissions either in Strathavin or Glenlivat". (2)

The incorrigible William Gordon of Glenbucket, then as ever in the throes of insolvency, had in February 1776 written to the duke soliciting commissions for himself and his son, John: "As I am like to have an addition of a greater young family, it is thought, if we got a good birth (sic) by two good commissions in the militia it might be a great help to our living." (3) The duke's reply, through Rose, was that he would not have him or his son "depend upon for obtaining commissions in the militia. For besides that his grace is uncertain who may have the disposal of these commissions, he is doubtfull if it would be for your interest to get into that service as none of the officers (except...

(2) G.C.P. Drawer XII, Bundle 2.
(3) G.C.P. Drawer IV, Bundle 72.
the adjutant) get pay but when actually employed." (1)

It was of course important for the duke's purpose to apportion commissions over his territories in such a way that officers would attract a following from as many different districts as possible. Duplication of commissions in one area, then, was inadvisable, and for a time the Gordon family of Minmore, held the field in the Strathavon-Glenlivet area.

Robert Grant, Ruthven, was in August 1780 told that there was then no vacancy for his son. Robert Willox, Caulrig, was also disappointed in his application for his sons, one of whom, however, received an appointment as cadet in the East India Company. (2)

The first of the duke's commissions to go to a Kirkmichael man fell to John Gordon of Croughly who was appointed an ensign in the Northern Fencibles (18th March, 1782). The five other sons of James Gordon (1726-1812) followed their brother in adopting a military career and fourteen grandsons as well as eight great-grandsons of the name of Gordon served as officers in various parts of the globe: an outstanding record. (3)

Other products of this military burgeoning came from the...

(1) C.C.P. Letter Book 39, p. 437.
(2) C.C.P. Drawer V, Bundle 126; Letter Book 42, p. 448.
Macgregors of Delavorar, (1) the Stewarts of Achnahyle and Lynachork, (2) and the family of Samuel Middleton of Inverourie. (3)

The value to the community of such an outlet for its surplus manpower is apparent in the situation of Robert Gordon of Lettoch who wrote to the Duke of Gordon on 22nd April, 1799. Owing to the reduction of the Northern Fencibles in which he had been an ensign he was "once more under the disagreeable necessity of living in the country quite destitute of any employment", and asked to be remembered if a vacancy occurred in the Aberdeenshire Militia. (4)

Of James Gordon's six sons only Robert, the fifth, remained to farm Croughly when his brothers sought military advancement in other climes, but he found soldiering a useful adjunct to farming. He held the rank of lieutenant in the duke's fencibles in 1797, and afterwards in the Strathdon Volunteers Company, subsequent to which his father applied to Gordon Castle in the hope that the duke might secure for Robert a commission in the militia as a means to enabling him "to improve the farm and pay the rents". (5)

(1) The family of Captain Robert Macgregor (d. 1616, aged 80), Clan Alpine Fencibles: Captain Charles Macgregor, d. Delavorar, c. 1830; Peter, Lieut., 17th Regt. of Foot, killed in East Indies, aged 26; John, Lieut., 58th Regt., killed at Buenos Aires, aged 17; James, Lieut., 84th Regt., d. Delavorar, aged 32.


See New Statistical Account of Kirkmichael, 1845; Jervise, Epitaphia II, 69 et seq.

(4) G.C.P. Dr.XII, 28,

(5) ibid.,
V. Landholding.

It was in the year 1490, when the Gordons of Huntly were very much in the ascendancy, that a grant of Strathavon was made by King James IV to Alexander, Lord Gordon (later third Earl of Huntly) following the resignation of the lands and barony by Sir Walter Stewart, great-grandson of King Robert II, and grandson of the notorious "Wolf of Badenoch." The Stewart connection with Strathavon was not at once severed, since Sir Walter retained a liferent of the lands of Kilmaichly and Drumin which had been granted to him in 1471; and Stewart families denoted by the names of these two properties continued in the district for three hundred years as vassals of the Gordons.

Wadsetters

Drumin lies just outside the bounds of Kirkmichael and in the parish of Inveraven, but as a result of his marriage to Isobel Gordon, daughter of John Gordon of Buckie, Thomas Stewart of Drumin fell heir in 1637 to Buckie's wadset (1626) of the lands of Wester Inverourie and Wester Inverchebit within Kirkmichael. These properties continued in the hands of the Drumin family until 1735 when the wadset was replaced by a heritable bond and tack of Drumin and Dell (the 'easter' part of

(1) Resignation Charter etc. in Gordon Castle Papers, Box 6, Bundle 1; see also Register of the Great Seal, 1424-1513, No. 1971.

(2) Register of the Great Seal, 1424-1513, No. 1021.

(3) The genealogy of the family of Drumin is traced in Burke's Dictionary of the Landed Gentry, p. 1304.

(4) G.C.P. 6/16/6 and 6/16/8.
Inverchebit) which was not discharged until 1767. The remainder of the Drumin wadset had been rouped in 1735.

Stewarts apart, the northern end of Kirkmichael parish was for long very largely the monopoly of the Grants of Carron. Their first appearance in Kirkmichael was in 1555 when they took over Inverchebit and Kirkton, the next Gordon territory to be added to their holdings being Culquoich (1592). Between 1626 and 1677 Kirkmichael lands acquired by them were Inverlochie, Balnedin, Delvrogat, Inverourie, Easter Inverchebit, Over Drumin, Glenconglass, Tomachlaggan, Elick, Ballintruan, and Achlichny. This extensive wadset was finally broken up when the lands were rouped in the year 1736, Colonel Grant, who was in arrears of annuities, being then on military service in the West Indies where he was killed in 1741. Subaltern rights over Elick and Glenconglass had early in the 18th century been conveyed to John Grant of Tomnavoulan, these being thereafter assigned to William Gordon in Groughly (1710) and John Riech in Elick (1712).

The lands of Culquoich in lower Strathavon had indeed been in Carron's hands prior to the charter granted in 1592 by George, sixth Earl of Huntly. In 1577, during the minority of the sixth earl, the laird of Freuchie had been granted a lease of the Strathavon lands of Camdelmore and Culquoich by the Earl of Buchan ("as donator of the ward of George, Earl of Huntly"),

(1) G.C.P. 6/16/11-14; 7/6/1-3.
(2) G.C.P. 23/24.
(3) G.C.P. 6/9/4.
(4) G.C.P. 6/10/4.
(6) G.C.P. 6/11.
(7) G.C.P. 6/11.
the sequel being that in 1587 John Grant of Carron gave bond to
John Grant of Freuchie as his chief "for the lands of Culquoich
in Strathdown."  

Half a century after the Gordon acquisition of Strathavon,
the Grants of Freuchie were in fact well established in the
district as vassals of the Gordons. The eastern section of the
barony of Freuchie lay across the Parish of Abernethy as far as
Strathavon, and in 1491 an excambion had been effected between
the Earl of Huntly and the Laird of Freuchie as a means of con-
solidating their respective properties. Huntly received the
lands of Podderletter, Inverlochy and Inverourie, all on the
Avon, in exchange for some territories in Badenoch. (2)

These Strathavon lands were back in the keeping of the Grants,
however, in 1546, when we find James Grant of Freuchie giving his
bond of manrent to the Earl of Huntly after infeftment in six
davochs of Strathavon. Their Strathavon holdings were finally
resigned by the Grants of Freuchie in 1612 to Alexander Gordon
of Strathavon, brother of the sixth Earl of Huntly, but sub-
sequently the davoch of Delnabo was feued from the Gordons by
the Grants of Auchernach, in Strathspey, in 1638, and later sold

(1) Fraser, Chiefs of Grant, 1156, III. 165-6.
(2) Ibid. I. LIVIII, 72, 76.
(3) The lands were: Delavorar, Achnahyle, Keppoch, Delnabo,
Achnorie, fodderletter, Inverlochy, Findron, Wester Invermurie,
Ruthven, Easter and Wester Camdel, and the Forest of Glenavon.
(4) Chiefs of Grant III. 419-421; G.C.P. 6/13/9. (1)
(5) Sas. dated 10th June, 1638. Banff Sasines Vol.4, 274; and
G.C.P. 23/19.
by the Grants of Auchernach to Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant in 1744, remaining Grant property until the late 19th century. Despite a clause in the charter which required the vassal in the event of offering his lands for sale to give the first offer to his superior, Delnabo had been sold to Sir Ludovick, although the Duke of Gordon had been willing to give a higher price than Sir Ludovick. A loophole was left for the vassal permitting a small sum to be paid as forfeit for not giving effect to this clause.

Many Grants remained elsewhere in Strathavon either as sub-tenants or tacksmen. A notable Grant tacksman of later date was James Grant of Ruthven, factor and chamberlain for the Duke of Gordon in Kincardine (Abernethy), and bailie depute of Strathavon in 1722. From the year 1700 he had held Ruthven in tack on security of a heritable bond. The farm remained with this Grant family until 1785.

The Grants of Easter Elchies also had a footing in the parish, in the Braes of Avon, and descendants were in Achnahyle throughout the 18th century. Achnahyle, the Gaulrigs, and Delvorar had been wadset to Alexander Innes of Coxton in 1642.

(1) Disposition dated 10th October, 1744, in Title Deeds held by present proprietor of Delnabo.

(2) G.C.P. 40/10.

In September, 1771, the Duke of Gordon was still hoping to repossess Delnabo after the death of Sir Ludovick. Again, in October 1775, the duke, having heard rumours that Sir James Grant intended to lease Delnabo, wrote that he wished to offer for it. (G.C.P. Letter Books No. 37 p.222; No.39 p.330)

(3) Coxton lies a mile or two south-east of Elgin in the direction of Gordon Castle.
and between that date and the year 1675 had passed to John Innes, brother of Alexander, and afterwards to Robert Grant of Easter Elchies who disponed the wadset to his brother, Robert Grant of Edinvillie, for two thousand merks. At the latter date part of the wadset — Delvorer and Easter Gaulrig — passed to John McGregor in Gaulrig, while in 1679 a wadset right of Achnahyle and Easter Gaulrig was given in favour of Margaret McIntosh, relict of Robert Grant of Easter Elchies, and John Grant, his second son. In 1717 a wadset (for 7600 merks) of Achnahyle etc. was renounced by James Grant and Margaret Grant, his spouse, for a new infeftment (wadset sum 5400 merks) of themselves and their oldest son, Robert. Prorogation of this wadset was granted for seventeen years from Whitsunday, 1724.

Complications had before this arisen in the Braes of Avon wing to the grant of the Lordship of Strathavon in 1662 to the Earl of Aboyne, who, as it happened, managed the Huntly estates.

1) G.C.P. 6/13/1
2) G.C.P. 6/13/2. John McGregor was a son of Gregor, son of John Dubh (who was son of Duncan VII of Roio) who had settled in Strathavon; See Spalding History of the Troubles under date 1636, and History of Clan Gregor II. 226.
   His son, Gregor, forester of Glenavon, married Marjory daughter of Robert Grant of Easter Elchies.
3) G.C.P. 6/13/5.
4) John succeeded his elder brother, Patrick (d.s.p.) as laird of R. Elchies. He married Margaret Grant of Bellindalloch and was father of Lord Elchies.
5) G.C.P. 6/13/11-12. This James (in Achnahyle in 1699) clearly must have been the younger brother of John Grant of Easter Elchies and uncle of Lord Elchies, he having probably acquired Achnahyle on his brother's accession to Elchies. cf. Fraser, Chiefs of Grant 1.506-7 with McWilliam, Letters of Lord Elchies, p. 27.
as ward to his nephew, the fourth marquis, during the latter's minority. A Gordon Castle memorandum, dated 1712, has the information that "when (Alexander Farquharson of) Invercauld dispensed with the interest of Glengairn to be given by the Duke of Gordon to the Earl of Aboyne for making up the portion allowed him of the estate of Huntly by K Charles anno 1660 he gott in wadset the six hundred and twenty merks then of free rent in Strathdoun and the four score merks with power to keep courts free of the countrie bailzie as he had in Glengairn and other conditions specified in the contract."

A rental of the same date (G.C.Papers) shows that Invercauld paid no annuity for his wadset lands in Strathavon, the wadset sum being eleven thousand merks. The eighty merks also mentioned are plainly the "four score merks" referred to in a later contract with Farquharson of Invercauld (1673) as "payed to the said noble marques (Huntly) out of the thrie ploughs belonging to the air of Robert Grant of Elchies." Achnahyle is included in the same rental (1712) as a distinct wadset (for 4,000 merks) paying "four score merks and four kids yearlie," the subtenants being listed, and is at the same time included in the list of subtenants in the Invercauld wadset, paying to Invercauld £53.6.8d Scots of annuity, that is precisely eighty merks.

Ordered by the Privy Council in 1672 to resign Strathavon, the Earl of Aboyne disposed the barony to the Marquis of Huntly.

(1) G.C.P. 7/1/6.
(2) G.C.P. 7/1/1.
in 1673. Thereupon a wadset (1673) was granted by the latter to Alexander Farquharson of Invercauld for the same sum of 11,000 merks, the lands being mainly those previously held by Invercauld, namely Fodderletter, Tombrecks, and Croughly, with the plough of Keppoch.

From Invercauld's son, William Farquharson, Alexander Gordon of Camdel (i.e. Camdelmore in Strathavon) wadset the same lands in 1694, an undertaking that proved very costly to him since he "lost spent and payed by McYeanduy a tennant in Kepoch proven to be at Glenkindies spulzie ten thousand pound Scots. And Lykvayes by the bad yiers (known to all Stradoun) most of it for several yeirs vaist."

Alexander Gordon's wadset of Camdel from the Duke of Gordon had also been acquired indirectly from Farquharsons in the time

(1) G.C.P. 7/1/1, 6/15/7.
(2) Contract dated 18 March, 1693 (G.C.P. 7/1/6, enclosure); Banff Sasines Vol.4(2), 279 (Sas. dated 1694)

Alexander Strachan, of the Covenanting family of Glenkindie, had raised an action before the Commissioners of Justiciary against Alexander Gordon, as landlord, and John McKean Vick Gillenders and Grigor McPherson in Keppoch, his tenants, as being accessory to the depredation carried out by Cameron from Rannoch. The reivers were storm-stayed with their booty in Glenavon for more than a week. Judgment was given against Gordon of Camdell who was decerned to pay about £8,000 Scots. Against this decree, however, he presented a bill of suspension claiming that the Laird of Weem had concerted with Glenkindie to pursue him and his two tenants, using the Rannoch men, Weem's tenants, as witnesses. Glenkindie asserted that it was "the common fame" that the robbery was planned by a "combination of ill neighbours to which Camdell was all along suspected to be accessory."

(4) G.C.P. 7/1/6. (Memorandum)
of his father, James Gordon of Tirriesoule. The first we learn of it is that it was apprised by William Farquharson of Inverey from his own cousin, Charles of Monaltrie. The latter was a son of the famous Donald Og of Monaltrie, who was factor in Strathavon from about 1612 until at least 1639, and who had been infeft in Camdelmore. About 1680, William Farquharson of Inverey granted wadset of the half-davoch of Easter Camdel (Camdelmore) to John Grant of Gaick (presumably Gaick near Grantown, parish of Inverallan) and, in 1681, the latter granted a disposition of the lands in favour of George, Marquis of Huntly. The money to relieve Easter Camdel had been advanced by James Gordon of Tirriesoule, and the property was at once transferred to him and his son, Alexander, in a contract of wadset for seven thousand merks. After three generations of these Gordons (of successively Tirriesoule, Camdel, and Beldornie) had held Camdelmore, this

(1) Royalist colonel; killed at Aberdeen, 1646.
(2) See, for example, Spalding (1829 ed.) pp. 97, 114; and Register of the Privy Council, 2nd series, V. 461, VI. 121-122.
(3) Sas. dated 14 Feb. 1642 (Banff Sas. Vol. 5, folio 50).
(4) G.C.P. 6/13/15.
(5) G.C.P. 6/13/17.
(6) Gordon of Beldornie was a grandson of the first Earl of Huntly and from him were descended also the Gordons of Killiehuntly and Tirriesoule, James Gordon of Tirriesoule being a great-grandson. (The Gordons of Fodderletter were connected to the Killiehuntly branch.) Alexander Gordon of Camdel bought Beldornie in 1703 from a cousin who was in debt, and Alexander's son, James of Beldornie (d. 1746) afterwards bought Kildrumly.

wadset was discharged and renounced in 1721 on payment of the wadset sum to James Gordon of Beldornie, son of Alexander.

Camdelmore was thereafter set in tack, being held by Robert Farquharson of Achrischan, and later, for three years only, by John Gordon younger of Glenbucket. In 1735 a descendant of the Macgregors of Delavorsr (already noticed), James Gordon alias McGregor who had been out of the district at Clunymor®, took possession of it on a heritable bond and tack for nine thousand merks. When this was redeemed in 1768 these Macgregors, who had been styled variously Grant, Gordon, and Macgregor, returned to Delavorar, and Camdelmore was taken over by the Gordons of fodderletter.

The Invercauld wadset, in which John Farquharson had succeeded his short-lived brother, William, as heir to his father, was redeemed in May 1712 when John Gordon of Glenbucket, acting for the Duke of Gordon, paid John Farquharson 5600 merks, the redemption money having been supplied by James Grant of Achnahyle (3600 merks) and William Gordon in Croughly (2000 merks) in order to obtain for themselves wadsets of parts of the estate. William Gordon consequently became "of Croughly" by his wadset of two-thirds of that property on 23rd October, 1712; the Achnahyle wadset has already been noted, but in the rental of

(1) G.C.P. 6/13/18 and 23/16.

(2) The original wadset was for 11,000 merks, and there is no record of any partial repayments before 1712.
1712, it is said to be for 4000 merks.

In March 1714, Glenbucket himself took a wadset of the remaining part of the Invercauld lands: Fodderletter, Tombrecks, and Torrans for 6000 merks; and less than two months later the transmitted the wadset (redeemable on the same terms i.e. 6000 merks) to George Gordon, "late merchant in Ruthven of Badenoich," for the sum of 6,200 merks, the additional 200 merks being euphemistically described as "a compliment to the duke for preferring George Gordon to the wadset."

Glenbucket was then in residence at Gordonhall, Kingussie, as the Duke of Gordon's commissioner for Badenoich, and writing from there on 10th June, 1720, he reported to the Duke of Gordon that he had "found out ane verie responsell tennent for the lands in Braes of Strathaven," Later in that year a tack was given by Glenbucket to George Gordon of Fodderletter and Thomas Gordon, his

(1) G.C.P. 7/2/10.
(2) The break-up of the Invercauld Wadset (1673) thus resulted as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenant</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Achnshyle</td>
<td>4000 merks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21st Oct 1712 Wm. Gordon:</td>
<td>2000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croughly (2/3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Oct 1712 Alex. Parquharson:</td>
<td>1200 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croughly (1/3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 1714 Glenbucket:</td>
<td>6000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fodderletter etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13,200 merks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) G.C.P. 7/2/1.
(4) G.C.P. 40/14.
eldest son, the lands involved being Easter and Wester Gaulrig and Delavorar, "as presently possesst by John Gordon alias McGregor in Keithmore," who in fact had renounced his wadset of them on 11th May in that year. The tack was for nineteen years, the yearly payment being 404 merks. The Gordons of Fodderletter had offered £1000 Scots as grasmum, "notwithstanding which," Thomas Gordon writes from Gordonhall in a declaration of favours, "his grace ordered John Gordon of Glenbucket to grant him a tack of forsd lands for 800 merks."

Glenbucket retained the wadset rights of Fodderletter etc. in his own hands and received in 1725 a prorogation of the wadset for eleven years. George Gordon is thus referred to as a vassal of Glenbucket, a matter which after the Forty-Five caused difficulties over granting entry to his son Thomas (George being dead by 1749), since Glenbucket, his immediate superior, was attainted. However, in 1750 the duke on the grounds that "Glenbucket was but an interposed person" granted a precept of clare constat in favour of Thomas as heir to his father.

(1) G.C.P. 6/13/10.
(2) This tack was actually taken over again in 1722 by John Gordon alias McGregor ("late in Dellavorar now in Gaulrig") for nineteen years after Whitsunday 1722, and for the same yearly duty of 404 merks (£269. 6. 8d Scots) The McGregor paid a grasm of £722 6. 8d. G.C.P. 23/2.
It was not with the families of Monaltrie, Inverey, or Invercauld that the Farquharson connection with Strathavon began or ended, but with a local branch established at Achriachen; and while the Deeside families held possessions north of the watershed between Dee and Avon, the Achriachan Farquharsons were in the like position of having lands on Deeside, mainly Grathie, as late as 1726. Locally, the family extended their possessions for a time to Wester Camden and Laggan of Croughly (a third of the Croughly property not at first in the hands of the Gordons of Croughly); and a notable off-shoot of the Achriachan branch was domiciled at Allargue on upper Donside in Forbes territory.

(1) ORIGIN OF THE ACHRIACHAN FARQUHARSONS, according to the earliest written account, the Kinrara MS. (c.1670) by Leochlan Mackintosh.

Alexander 'Ciar' Mackintosh of Rothiemurchus (1411-1492) (grandson of Shaw Mackintosh, leader of Clan Chattan at Perth, 1296)

1 Farquhar, his 4th son

1 Donald (whose elder brother's family migrated to Atholl)

1 Finla 'Mor', younger son of Donald 'King's tenant' in Invercauld, 1527; killed at Pinkie in 1547.

II of 1st marriage: 4 sons of 2nd marriage: 1. Donald of Castleton (thence the families of Monaltrie, Whitehouse, Finzean, Allanaquioch, Inverey, Tullycairn, and Coldrach)

2. Robert of Invercauld.

3. Leochlan of Bronchdsearg (Perthshire)

4. George of Deskry (Strathdon)

5. FINLAY OF ACHRIACHAN

Based on A.M. Mackintosh's account in Farquharson Genealogies No.1. ("Findlay McIntosh alias Farquharson" -1589)
Forbeses had been predecessors of the Farquharsons in Achriachan, and the first evidence of Farquharson occupation of Achriachan and its mill occurs in 1589 with the letters of reversion granted by Finlay McIntosh alias Farquharson to the Earl of Huntly. Finlay's son, William, was granted a wadset of the property in 1620. To this the adjacent lands of Findron and Wester Camdel were added in 1638. (1)

After the resignation of Strathavon lands by the Grants in 1613, Wester Camdel had been among the lands held by the Gordons "of Stradoun" (later of Dunkinty near Elgin) (2) until 1623, and was thereafter included along with Ruthven and Fodderletter in the wadset of Sir Alexander Gordon of Cluny. (3) The main line of the Farquharsons of Achriachan did not, however, retain Wester Camdel beyond 1664 when John of Achriachan disposed it to his cousin James (grandson of Finlay by his second marriage) then in Achnahyle. James Farquharson's son and grandson continued as wadsetters of Wester Camdel, (4) confirmation (1705) and, finally, prorogation of the wadset being granted for nineteen years after 1721. (5)

(1) G.C.P. 6/14/1 & 2. Finlay's second wife had been Christina Grant, daughter of John Grant of Kindeauxh, and widow of Duncan Grant of Wester Camdel. John and Robert, sons of this second marriage were installed in Crathie and Allargie, respectively.

See A.M. Mackintosh, Farquharsons of Achriachan, pp. 9, 10, 17.

(2) See above, pp. 113-115.

(3) G.C.P. 6/15/6. This was a local family in origin. Alexander Laird of Strathavon, son of Alexander, third Earl of Huntly, made over the barony to his natural son, Alexander, in 1535, but they resigned Strathavon to George, fourth Earl of Huntly, in 1539 on their getting the lands of Cluny near Monymusk in the Vale of Alford.


(5) G.C. Rentals No. 15 (Strathavon, etc.).
The Achriachan family had meanwhile granted discharge and renunciation of their wadset on 14th March, 1709, and had accepted, for the same sum of 2000 merks, a heritable bond and tack of the property dated 6 June, 1709. In 1721 Robert Farquharson had a renewal of the tack of Achriachan, the mill, and Findron, for nineteen years. Thus the tacks of Achriachan and of Wester Camdel were both due to expire at the same date, shortly after which John Gordon of Glenbucket took a tack of the lands of the combined wadsets with the addition of all the Braes of Avon(1) (Delavorar, Gaulrigs, Achnahyle, etc.), on security of a heritable bond for the sum of £20,000 Scots.(2)

The wadset of Wester Camdel taken over by Glenbucket had been redeemed from the Farquharsons for 2000 merks, the remainder of the original sum (3250 merks) having been taken in 1705 in satisfaction of certain arrears of duties to the duke.

There appears to be no record of the repayment of the 2000 merks for Achriachan and it seems that the complete sum, in this case, was similarly withheld by the duke's cashier to expunge a contraction of debts. When, in 1736, Colonel Grant of Carron's wadset had been redeemed and its various parts thereafter exposed to roup, James Farquharson of Balmoral had carried the tacks of Elick and Glenconglass at an annual rent of £420 Scots, a figure considerably in excess of the rent formerly paid by the

(1) The tack of Delavorar and Gaulrigs expired in 1741 and also that of Achnahyle. (See above, p. 6.)
(2) Sasine dated 24 December, 1742. Thomas Gordon of Fodder-letter was bailie for this purpose. G.C.P. 7/8/1 & 2.
subtenants to the wadsetter. (1) The tack, it transpired, had been taken by Balmoral not for himself but for Robert Farquharson of Achriachan and his son. The tack was for seven years. The Achriachans paid for the first two years but thereafter complained that the rent was excessive and fell completely into arrears. Balmoral was urged to take over the tack but refused. It had been a condition of the roup that caution should be found for the due payment of the rent or money lodged in the duke's hands against this, but Balmoral answered that Achriachan had two thousand merks in the duke's hands which with the stocking of the farm and the subtenants' rents was sufficient security. A process was begun against Balmoral, as party to the roup, for the tack duties of 1739-1744 (£2500 Scots being claimed) but the Forty-Five intervened and Balmoral was engaged in this and afterwards died. Old Achriachan thereupon brought a process for payment of the two thousand merks of his heritable bond and certain annual rents (interest), and disclaimed all concern with the other tacks which Balmoral had taken. He was reputed to have said that there was "more of law in it than of honesty". There was some foundation for his case in point of law, and the duke's factors advised his grace to refrain from a process and to endeavour to have the matter settled by arbitration. To this Robert Farquharson agreed, but he died (1753) before the ...

(1) 1736 and preceding years:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rent</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1737</td>
<td>£216.13.4</td>
<td>1737</td>
<td>£420. - . -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glenconglass</td>
<td>£216.13.4</td>
<td>Glenconglass</td>
<td>£420. - . -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Wm, Rieach)</td>
<td></td>
<td>('Balmoral')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elick (Gavin Paull &amp; Jas. Stewart)</td>
<td>£138. 6. 8</td>
<td>Elick ('Balmoral')</td>
<td>203. 6. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£138. 6. 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Strathavon Rentals)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
agreement was signed, whereupon his sons(1) left matters where they stood. The debts apparently cancelled each other.(2)

Land Tax and Freehold qualifications

The influence of the older Strathavon wadsets was long apparent in Strathavon affairs, as a comparison of the Valuation Roll of Kirkmichael 1690 and a Certificate(3) of Valued Rent (1773) from the books of the collectors of cess for Banffshire, shows. In both, the parish is divided exactly according to the pattern of these wadsets, "Braes" in the one, and "Achnahyle" in the other, each denoting the Coxton wadset lands (1643); and "Keppoch" in each comprehending Fodderletter, etc., and Croughly, the disjoined properties which once formed the Invercauld wadset. Whereas the name "Carron" was in use in the Cess Books until at least 1773 for the lands formerly wadset by that family of Grants, "Drumin" is not so used although Inverbuerie and Little (or Middle) Inverchebit formed the greater part of that wadset, since the plough of Drumin, the wadsetter's personal holding, lay in Inveraven parish. The duke's feudalities shown in the

(1) Achriachan's eldest son, Donald, was 'out' in 1745 as captain in Monaltrie's regiment, and though stated to have been 'at home' after Culloden he escaped to France and was dead by 1756. The house of Achriachan was burned after Culloden, and Donald's sons, too, left for France in 1755 to attend the Scots College, Paris.

John, younger brother of Donald, had attended the Scots College in 1731, and later became a French subject and entered the King's Scottish bodyguard. His son adopted the name of the old family home for the title bestowed on him by Louis XVI, becoming Baron d'Achriachan.


Tayler, Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in the Forty-Five, pp. 157-8.

(2) G.C.P. 23/1.

(3) G.C.P. 23/24.
Valuation Roll are assigned to the appropriate properties in the Cess Books:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Valuation Roll 1690&lt;sup&gt;(1)&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Valued Rent&lt;sup&gt;(2)&lt;/sup&gt; (1767-1773) as in Cess Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Braes</td>
<td>4200. - - Achnahyle &amp; feuudy 4206. - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keppoch</td>
<td>266.13. 4 Keppoch 266.13. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dell</td>
<td>42. - - Dell 42. - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duke of Gordon - feudities</td>
<td>83. 6. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delnabo - John Grant</td>
<td>233. 6. 8 Delnabo - feuudy 246. - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter Cambell - Jas. Gordon</td>
<td>120. - - Easter Cambell &amp; feuduty 127. - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achriachan &amp; Wester Cambell -</td>
<td>Wester Cambell, Achriachan &amp; feuduty 400. - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farquharson</td>
<td>350. - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carron - Grant</td>
<td>533. 6. 8 Carron 533. 6. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inverurie &amp; Inverchebit</td>
<td>250. - - Inverurie, Inverchebit &amp; feuduty 267.13. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruthven</td>
<td>80. - - Ruthven 80. - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum of this parish</td>
<td>£2158.13. 4 Summa £2158.13. 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some years the cess of Kirkmichael was marked paid without being detailed as above; in others Keppoch was divided and stated as follows:-

"For Glenbucket part of Keppoch 33. 6. 8
Crouchlie 66.13. 4
Foderletter & Tombreck 166.13. 4
£266.13. 4"

(1) See Records of the County of Banff 1660-1760, (New Spalding Club), p. 278.
(2) G.C.F. 23/24 - certificate.
Since the superior was relieved by his vassals of "stipends, schoolmaster's stipends, taxations and public burdens", Gordon Castle took no great concern with payments of cess until about 1770 when it became necessary to determine qualifications for a host of prospective freeholders; and then, James Ross, the duke's cashier, found that distinct information was not readily available. The collector of cess for Glenlivet, it transpired, "cannot tell the valuation of one farm in that country. It appears his practice has been to get a note yearly from the collector at Banff of the cess affecting each separate valuation and to collect accordingly.... The parish collectors\(^1\) never do grant receipts for the cess they uplift - all that the tenants desire of them is to show the discharges by the county collector once a year\(^2\)."

Among the facts which appeared as a result of Ross's enquiries was that 'new developments' (e.g. Urlarmore, Inchroy, Glenbulg) and shealings, though they became distinct holdings, made no contribution; nor did the mills of Achriachan or Ruthven, a fact not explained.

Knowledge of the precise payments for the assorted fractions of the various wadsets held by subtenants may have been traditional. Ewan McDonald, a fencible, paid 1s.3½d. of cess for his portion of Tomintoul land (two oxgates: rental £1 2s.) in 1780. Glenbucket's half-yearly proportion for "4½ oxgates of ..."

\(^1\) Sub-collectors in Strathaven at one time were Thomas Gordon, Fodderletter, and John Grant in Inverlochy. (G.C.P. 23/24.)
land and 2 oxgates of ley in Achriachan" was, in 1773, 7s. 6d. sterling. A "Note of the Decr. Cess of Tomantowl 1776 and March Cess 1779" shows that the standard charge there was 1s. 6d. per oxgate for two terms. (1) Such infrequent references to cess contributions as there are in Gordon Castle accounts appear to arise from a state of bankruptcy or arrears in respect of the tacksmen or tacks concerned.

In preparation for the general election of 1774 there was great activity at Gordon Castle soon after 1770 in connection with the splitting of valued rents for the purpose of bestowing freehold qualifications. Ross was constantly in correspondence over these matters, and the duke's expenses on politics (2) between the years 1771 and 1773 totalled over £5135 sterling. (3) Most of the dispositions of Strathavon superiority were made in 1771, though much earlier, Lord Adam Gordon had in 1746 been invested with the superiority of Delnabo (which by this time belonged in property to the Grants of Freuchie) and of Letterfurie and Corriedown in lower Banffshire. (4) When this wadset was resigned in 1774 it passed to Hugh Rose of Kilravock who held

(1) Vouchers and Stated Accounts (Strathaven, etc.). G.C.P Press I, d. 4.
(2) Viz. on preliminary operations, expediting qualifications, notaries' fees for inventories, copies, and certificates of qualifications, the completing of titles and having them minuted in Banff, drawing up sasines, attendance at Head Courts, entering claims, and contesting complaints and proofs.
(3) G.C.P. 40/11.
(4) G.C.P. 23/19 and 40/9.
The state of the Kirkmichael freeholds(2) in 1776 shows how the earlier wadsets, the former valued rent of which could be readily certified from the cess books of the county, formed a convenient basis for creating sufficient qualifications according to the Act of 1681: £400 Scots of valued rent, whatever the old extent of the lands:

I. Achmahyle, etc. £200. ---
   Keppoch, Fodderletter, etc. 266.13. 4 466.13. 4
   To Captain Alexander Davidson of Newtown

II. Glenconglass and other lands wadset to Carron £533. 6. 8
   To Mr Gordon, Balmuir

III. Easter Campdell £120
   Deskie (Inveraven) 180
   Tombreackachy (Do. ) 130
   To Charles Gordon, writer

IV. Achriachan and Wester Campdell £350
   Ruthven 30
   To William Urquhart of Craigston

V. Delnabo £246
   Letterfurie and Corrydown
   (Parish of Ruthven) 180
   To Hugh Rose of Kilravock

VI. Inverourie and Middle Inverchebit £250
    Drumain and Mill of Tomnavoulan
    (Inveraven) 70
    To John Gordon of Thornybank
    ---

(1) These wadsets were held for the sums of £1200 Scots and £152 sterling, respectively. G.C.P. 23/19.

Previously, in 1771, Hugh Rose had declined to accept from the duke a different qualification in Banffshire.

(2) The complete inventory of qualifications given off by the Duke of Gordon shows that there were 6 in Aberdeenshire, 11 in Banffshire, 8 in Elgin and Forres, 6 in Inverness-shire, and 6 in the Merse. (G.C.P. 40/12.)

Of 123 voters in Banffshire all but 19 were 'fictitious'.

Introduction to Adam's Political State of Scotland in 1783.

(3) It may be of interest to note the actual rentals of some of these in 1776: I. £159 sterling (£1910 Scots); II. £2106 Scots; III. £1200 Scots.
The Duke of Gordon's chief factors, at Gordon Castle, Strathbogie, and Badenoch, were among those who held different qualifications, and by 1790 it was common for many of the duke's supporters to have qualifications in each of the four shires of Aberdeen, Banff, Moray, and Inverness.

Objections to the enrolment claim of William Urquhart of Craigston (above, IV) having been carried at the Michaelmas head-court in 1772, Craigston's appeal had gone to the Court of Session, and had brought into opposition Henry Dundas, briefed for Craigston, (1) and James Boswell for the objectors. The case for the objectors was based chiefly on a weakness in the draft of the disposition which left Craigston's right of superiority to the mills of Achriachan and Authven in doubt. In the case for the petitioner an explanation was forthcoming of the point regarding mills and cess, previously noted: "The greater part of this barony was for many years possessed by wadsetters from the family of Gordon who paid the cess for their respective possessions. After the redemption of these wadsets, the tenants came to pay the cess; so that it is at this day perfectly well-known what particular tenements pay cess corresponding to the several articles in the valuation book. And in general the...

(1) A year or two later, Dundas, then Lord Advocate and member for Midlothian, presided over a meeting to discuss the county franchise: "Dundas, after the meeting had expressed itself clearly in favour of a reform which would put an end to the fictitious voters declared that his own opinion coincided with that which prevailed....Warmly as Dundas seemed to advocate this reform there is no evidence that he made any efforts to carry it out."

Cyril Matheson, Life of Henry Dundas, pp. 40-41.
petitioner is able to prove that no mill in this barony pays any cess. The reason why they could not be valued is likewise apparent; for none of these mills have the thirlage of any lands belonging to other proprietors; their whole employment is from the tenants of the Duke of Gordon's other lands in the neighbourhood; that is precarious and may be altered according as the proprietor pleases when granting his tacks; so that no precise value could ever be put upon these mills. (1)

Heritable Bond

The final year of the seventeenth century saw the introduction of the heritable bond and tack into Strathavon tenures; and this more convenient modern form of the older wadset tended thenceforth to replace the wadset proper in local conveyancing.

A composite picture of how superior and vassal fared under these modes of tenure may best be given for the year 1712, since a judicial rental taken in that year (2) provides details of sub-tenants' rents and customs payable to the wadsetter or tacksman, as well as the amount of annuity or tack duty payable by the latter. (In Table I total payments by the wadsetter comprise interest plus surplus duty; in II, tack duty is reduced by the amount of interest due):

(2) At Camdell, 5th March, before John Gordon of Glenbucket (Strathavon Rentals).
### Wadsets 1712

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wadset Sum</th>
<th>Annual Amount</th>
<th>Annuity Duty</th>
<th>Total Payment</th>
<th>Rental Value of Wadsetter's own holding in brackets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Scots Money)</td>
<td>(merks)</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>s. d.</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carron's Lands</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>666.13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter Camdel</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>233. 6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invercauld's Wadset</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>733. 6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achnahyle (a)</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>133. 6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>53.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wester Camdel</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>66.13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>115.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drumin's Wadset</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>233. 6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) A wadset within a wadset (Invercauld's), the duty of 80 merks payable to Invercauld.

### Tacks 1712

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of Loan</th>
<th>Annual Rent</th>
<th>Tack Duty</th>
<th>Actual Duty Paid</th>
<th>Rental Tacksman's own rent in brackets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Scots Money)</td>
<td>(merks)</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>s. d.</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achriachan</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>66.13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>232. 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Fourteen marks allowed as "forester feu", Grigor Grant or Macgregor, the tacksman, being forester of Glenavon deer forest.
In the rentals given above no account is taken of customs, services, and grassums paid by subtenants.

After its redemption in 1712, the Invercauld wadset was divided into four smaller wadsets, and from that time there was little variation in the pattern of landholding until the break-up of Carron's wadset. The lands of Kirkmichael were disposed as follows in 1734:

**Fau:**
- Delnabo (1638)

**Wadsets:**
- Wester Camdel (1682; prorogate for 19 years from 1721)
- Achnahyle (1717; pror. for 17 years from 1724)
- Fodderletter (1714; pror. for 11 years from 1729)
- Croughly (1712; pror. for 19 years from 1721)
- Laggan of Croughly (1712; pror. for 19 years from 1721)

**Drumin's wadset - roupad in tacks, 1735.**

**Carron's wadset - do. 1736.**

**H.B. and Tack:**
- Easter Camdel (1731 for 3 years; 1735-1768)
- Ruthven (1724 for 19 years)
- Delavorar (1721 for 19 years)
- Achriachan (1721 for 19 years)

**Redemption of Wadsets**

The roup of Carron's wadset in 1736 resulted in a great addition to the number of separate holdings in the Strathavon rental which rose in number to thirty-two. A judicial rental of the lands had been taken in April, 1736, followed by their redemption at Whitsun. Public intimation of the roup, arranged to take place at Blairfindy on 17th June, 1736, was given at the...
neighbouring parish churches. The articles of roup (1) laid down that where the old rents were doubled tacks would be given for nineteen years; but where offers did not come up to that rate tacks would be for five or seven years in the option of the duke's curators. The result was a resounding increase in the rental of Carron's former lands from £108 8s. Scots to £1919 17s. 2d. The Grants of Carron retained the lands of Culquaich outside Kirkmichael at their former rent; the whole rental of such lands as were in Kirkmichael did not fall far short of being doubled. Rents of half of the fourteen tacks were, in fact, doubled or more than doubled.

Speaking less than forty years after the Forty-Five, Walter Ross stated that the wadset had, since the Rising, gone out of fashion. "The augmentation of the rental," he added, "has since that time been rather too much the aim of our land proprietors; and no measure led to that end more directly than the redemption of wadsets." (2) Just how a rental might be boosted in this way appears from the outcome of the redemption of Carron's wadset, though, subsequently, some of the immoderate rents achieved by auction had to be reduced.

Between the years 1741 and 1760 the Duke of Gordon's annual bill for interest on heritable debts on property in Strathavon, Glenlivet, and Kincardine - one factorship - averaged £1760 Scots. During the next decade, the yearly average rose to £2760. (3) Over the whole period of twenty years, then, these Highland parts

(1) G.C.P. 23/6.
(3) G.C.P. Stated Accounts (Strathavon) Press I, d. 2 and 3.
of the duke's estates were on the average encumbered to the extent of over £50,000 Scots. The burden, as we have seen, increased rather than decreased after 1750, and two further decades were to elapse before Strathavon lands were freed of financial encumbrances. Yet there was before that time some evidence of the duke's intending to affect a reduction in the mortgage.

"Inform'd that some designing person has fallen upon means to impress your Grace with a prejudice against him and that he has the misfortune to be under yr Graces umbrage and displeasure," Thomas Gordon of Fodderletter in 1749 addresses a petition to the duke, and "sincerely regrets that he was unwarily drawn in to a late scrape which he shall alwise look upon as a misfortune."(1)

The petition continues: "The only thing concerning which any false aspersion may be lodged is his settlement under yr Grace which is no greater than a wadset of six thousand merks upon which he pays a superplus duty of fifty two punds Scots yearly, but upon the redemption a higher duty will be played, to yr Grace, and this wadsett is already expired; the sooner it is redeemed the Tack that commences thereon (2) will the sooner elapse and ..."

(1) Descended from Alexander Gordon of Killiehuntly, a cadet of Beldernie, he is mentioned in Lord Roseberry's list as "a captain in the rebel army, under the influence of Glenbucket". His sons George and John were also 'out'. (Taylor, Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in the Forty-Five, pp. 275-6.)

(2) Glenbucket in the contract of wadset dated 1714, redeemable at WhitSunday, 1717, for 6,000 merks, had undertaken to set Fodderletter to George Gordon and his heirs "in tack and assedation" for nineteen years after the redemption for a duty of £262 Scots. In 1750, precept of clare constant was granted to Thomas Gordon as heir to his father and the reddendo was increased by thirty pounds to £52. (G.C.P. 7/2/2 and 3.)
"very probable by the time of its expireing a still greater advantage will accrue to yr Grace.

"As to this particular your petitioner does not presume to address you as a touchasser (toschacher) nor to assume the boldness to found the least expectation on the score of name or clanship, (1) But on the contrary as he is inform'd yr Grace is pursuing a resolution not only of redeeming all wadsetts but also of dissincumbering your estate of all infeftments which according to the petitioners shallow way of thinking is extremely right, and as an instance of his good will towards the success of the scheme he is quite ready and willing to renounce and discharge his wadsett immediately without putting yr Grace to the trouble or expense of premonition or declarator and if it is not convenient to pay up the whole wadsett money to accept of your personall security for the superplus and att the same time the petitioner shall continue as ambitious of the honour of doing any small service etc."(2)

Fodderletter was taken at his word and the wadset was renounced in 1751, the obligation granted to him by the duke's commissioners acknowledging that "altho the discharge bears a totall payment of the wadsett sum being six thousand marks Scots yet true it is that there remains three thousand marks of the...

(1) When in 1720 the Gordons of Fodderletter had taken a tack of the Braes of Avon, Glenbucket had pointed out to the duke that the Macgregors in the Braes would have given a thousand marks of grassum, adding "but since your Grace writ that they should have no concerne there I was glaid of this opportunitie and the more that a Gordon which with submission ought more incouragent". (G.C.P. Dr. II, 6.)

(2) G.C.P. 41/28.
"wadsett sum still resting and it is but just the said Thomas Gordon should have a security therefore from his Grace now that the right to the wadset is given up". In Gordon Castle accounts there appears to be no record of the payment of the residue or of interest therefor. In terms of the wadset Thomas Gordon was granted a nineteen years' tack at £292 (adjusted to suit the increase of annuity to £52 in 1780). (1)

The remaining Strathavon wadsets and heritable bonds were not redeemed until the years 1766 to 1768. Discharge of the attainted Glenbucket's sum of £30,000 Scots paid by the Duke of Gordon to the Barons of Exchequer in 1766, cleared the lands of Achriachan, Wester Camdel, Achnahyle, etc., set to Glenbucket until 1762. The redemptions of Easter Camdel and Dell followed in 1767, and Croughly in 1768. (2)

Payments of interest on heritable and personal debts owed to tenants in the Strathavon-Glenlivet-Kincardine factorship totalled just over £376 sterling (£4,537 Scots) for the three years 1765-67, a notable reduction from the 1763 figure of £2,554 Scots for that one year. A note added to the annual rents section of the stated account for the years 1765-67 ("Fitted 28 April 1769") remarks that "all the above debts are now paid and the bonds retired". The result was a marked increase in the rentals, which in the case of Strathavon rose from £416 sterling in 1765 to £705 by the year 1770. (3)

As wadsets were redeemed tacks of smaller units were given,

(1) G.C.P. 7/2/5.
(2) G.C.P. 7/5/1, 7/6/3 and 2, 7/8/5.
(3) G.C.P. Stated Accounts, Press I, d. 3.
many from 1765 for nineteen years, others from 1766 or 1767 for correspondingly shorter periods; in order that all should expire in the year 1784. Thus with the exception of the extensive tack of Achriachan, Findron, and Wester Cambel set to William Gordon of Glenbucket in 1766, Strathavon was by 1768 set in portions of from one to three main farms, each paying a yearly rental, and, in most cases, a grassum upon entry to the lease. No substantial addition to the number of tenants holding directly of the duke was made until William Gordon renounced his tack in 1773, when his thirty-six subtenants were granted minutes of tack by the Strathavon factor.

Land Measures

In terms of the land measures in use in Strathavon throughout the eighteenth century, the tacks of 1768 ranged from as much as a davocho-and-a-half to as little as one oxgate. The term 'plough' (quarter-davocho) was, especially early in the century, in common use for holdings of eight oxgates, the fraction ⅙ plough' or 'three-quarter land' appearing occasionally; sixteen oxgates were almost invariably termed a half-davocho. Latterly however the oxgate became the common denominator of Strathavon lands, and thus we find the local factor about the year 1770 listing the "Number of oxgates in the Sundry Possessions of Strathaven".(1) Neither this list nor a second one is complete, and when allowance is made for omissions (not the same in each list) and for one or two discrepancies, the total is seen to be 330 oxgates in the whole parish.

(1) G.C.P. 23/6.
The land designated in terms of oxgates, plough, or davoeh clearly included not only tilled land but also grass land below the bounding dyke of feal which separated it from the rougher hill pasture. Above the head-dyke, sections of hill grazing belonged to particular properties (boundaries being marked by cairns or 'march stones'); or, as in the case of the Gaulrigs and Delavorar, a stretch of hill pasture was assigned as a commony.

No accurate estimate of the full extent of a property complete with hill grazings could be formed from assessment in oxgates. The boundaries of the Grant property of Delnabo, for instance, remained unchanged until the present century when the estate was advertised as extending to 3,600 acres of moor and grazing lands. Formerly the same property was defined as a davoeh. It included besides Delnabo proper (half-davoeh), Achluanie (half-davoeh), and Bellabeag (two oxgates); and therefore the term davoeh was somewhat loosely used even as applied to the arable and intown pasture. Such discrepancies were common enough, and despite the refinement of half-oxgates in subtenants' possessions, it is clear that the system of mensuration was a rough-and-ready one.

Local sentiment in regard to the land measures in vogue in 18th century Strathavon was not altogether uncritical. Cuthbert Gordon, son of Thomas Gordon of Fodderletter, had, in addition to accepting responsibility for his father’s heavy arrears of rent, undertaken to effect considerable improvements on the property of Candelmore by enclosing and subdividing the
lands "to the extent of 1600 acres". Although Cuthbert Gordon was a man of business, being engaged in the manufacture of dyes in Leith, Ross at Gordon Castle was dubious about the success of the ambitious scheme which Gordon reckoned would merit a melioration allowance of £1,000 to £1,200 sterling, on expiry of the lease. (1) The scheme required the assistance of a surveyor, and it was in this connection that Cuthbert Gordon wrote to Gordon Castle (March, 1772): "Our factor must know, or ought to know, that this part of his district at least is divided and subdivided into davochs, ploughs, and oxgates; had he hinted that to Mr Milne (Surveyor), or rather appointed him a conductor his time was not so much thrown away, nor his plans perhaps so useless - he shou'd not be necessitated when he came to a farm to call indiscriminately the possessor of that pendicle on which he was to begin, one too oft as ignorant of the English tongue as of the land he possess'a'd; and though an old residenter and understood some English yet thinking time thus bestowed no less hurtfull than lost being generally averse to mensuration wou'd infallibly mislead him; one instance of this is sufficient to you - The Ullar-more constitutes the mains of Campdell which consists of four oxgates, and is but one third of the whole yet Mr Milne is lead to give that name to only eleven acres, no R. and thirteen F(alls). Without boundary lines how can I, dear Sir, find out these eleven acres, and shou'd such be when those are entirely new, or the old so vitiated as to be rendered unintelligible, what am I the wiser? From these considerations ...

"and that of its being more conducive to His Grace's interest to have his farms divided or subset by acres than vague oxgates give me leave to hope for the planner pr Bearer - (Mr Milne or Mr Anderson) - much better than subsett the land in oxgates as formerly which without a planner must certainly be the case."(1)

Thomas Milne did produce a plan(2) for the improvements at Cameldome but not until September, 1776, when Captain Grant, Lurg, had succeeded as tacksman, and in this as well as in his plans for Tomintoul (1775 and 1778) the new mensuration was introduced into Strathaven. In the parish generally, however, the old denominations of land were still current in the tacks of 1784.

Tacksetting
(a) Grassums. The renewal of leases in that year, generally for a further period of nineteen years, (3) brought a welcome provision of ready cash to the duke's chamberlain in the form of grassums. Strathaven had, for the leases granted between 1765 and 1768, furnished nearly £638 sterling in grassums, but whatever the sum total of such payments for the Gordon estates, it was quickly swallowed up in meeting the duke's commitments in politics and reconstruction at Gordon Castle.

From the time of his assumption of the duties of chamberlain, James Ross was constantly beset by a shortage of ready...

(1) G.C.P. Drawer III, 28.
(2) G.C. Maps and Plans, No. 22.
(3) The exceptions were a few, for 17 or 18 years granted later than 1784, and Captain Grant of Lurg's tack, of which eleven years were still to run. Most sheilings, now separate properties, were not yet set in tack beyond a single year at a time.
money to meet weekly demands of labourers and masons about the castle: in 1771 he is in straits for silver to pay "the swarm of day labourers employed here"; in 1773, as a result of the variety and extent of the demands upon him he is "sometimes difficulted to raise necessary supplies". In June, 1774, Ross wrote to his grace: "I do not see the possibility of raising money here to support the rate of expence that has been going on these two or three years past in buildings, politicks and other articles. Hitherto I have exerted myself to raise money in this country (i.e. district) at as little expence and as low interest as possible because I saw your Grace keen about every work you sett a going and heard you frequently express your resolution to carry on the buildings briskly the money should be borrowed for the purpose which indeed is necessary to a certain extent for the accommodation of the Family. But now that the expence of these works is encreasing yearly and that your politicall operations require so considerable sums I foresee great difficulty in being longer able to answer all demands. It cannot be done from the estate."(1)

And so the story goes on, with the scarcity of money by the end of 1780 "even beyond the worst I expected some months ago" - "not a single shilling comes at this term from Badenoch and Lochaber(2) and I have very bad prospect of payments from the rest of the estates" - until, in September, 1783, Ross could report: "You'll be glad to hear that the Duke has gained great ..

(2) Rents were paid "forehand" in these estates.
honour in setting his estates; everybody appears to be well pleased with their bargains. And I flatter myself altho' I have not as yet seen the newsett that His Grace will receive at Martimase 1784 a very considerable sum of money for grassums besides a good deal of rise of rents. Mr Hay wrote me from Tomintoul on Tuesday that they had done with Glenliviat and expected to finish Strathaven next day - That £4,800 of grassums had then been promised from these two country's besides a considerable sum for Drumin's lands."

Ross's optimism was well-founded, and exactly three months later he was able to write that "money matters has upon the whole turned out rather better at this term than expected. The Duke has abundance of cash for discharging all his engagements and I hope will have a reversion over". (3)

Renewal of leases was general throughout the Gordon estates in 1784, and the complete sum which was furnished in grassums, due mostly at Martinmas 1784, was nearly £13,000 sterling. (4) Additions to rents at that date produced an extra £2,200. (5) The Duke of Gordon had, in 1771, indicated a preference for additional rent rather than grassum, and it became Gordon Castle

(1) The amounts (in round figures) eventually proved to be: Strathaven, £1742; Glenlivet, £2761; total, £4503. The Strathaven rental for that year was £883.14. 1.

(2) G.C.P. Letter Book No. 44, p. 115.

(3) G.C.P. Letter Book No. 44, p. 146.

(4) The Huntly Lordship produced £3,889; Lochaber only £590; and Badenoch, £541.

(5) The money rental of the complete Gordon Estates in 1797 was £18,664.
policy to convert arrears of grassum into extra rent. (1) Since grassum was a proportion of the total rent for the lease paid by anticipation, this was a natural enough proceeding when the advance payment was not forthcoming. Several unpaid Strathavon grassums were in 1787 scheduled for such conversion but all were finally paid; payments, often by instalments, being spread over the years 1783 to 1791. (2) Payment of grassums was discontinued after the expiry of these leases in 1802, £1,837 12s. of Strathavon grassums being thereafter converted into additional yearly rent at the rate of ten per cent (£163 15s.).

(b) Chief Tenants. When there was a general setting of tacks in Strathavon it was customary to convene a meeting at Tomachlaggan or Camdell for the purpose, after months of preliminary activity in the form of enquiries by letter and visits to Fochabers, or attempts to sound the local factor regarding probable terms. Tacks which fell out of lease at irregular times could create a disproportionate amount of interest, many feeling disposed to offer for all or part of the property in addition to what they already held. There was a general concern that offers, made in writing and frequently passed on through the agency of the duke's officers in the district, should be kept secret: "if we have no success begs we may not be divulged," wrote Robert Farquharson, Achriachan, and Robert McGregor.

(1) In Strathavon in 1784 there was the unusual case of a payment of £20 additional grassum "for forty shillings discount of yearly rent".
(2) G.C.P. Press II, a. (Grassums); Press I, c. 5 (Vouchers); Lettar Book 37, p. 68; and Strathavon Rentals.
Delavorar, when offering jointly for part of Glenbucket's tack.

The method of conducting tack-setting, the various local reactions, and the consideration shown to local families of standing, are apparent from a survey of the negotiations connected with the leasing of one of the larger holdings.

Despite their mounting arrears (1) the Gordons of Fodder-letter for a few years before 1770 (when the lease of Fodder-letter was due to expire) held also twelve oxgates of Easter Camdel, (2) the rental of which was £41.13. 4 sterling, whereas the thirty-two oxgates of Fodder-letter, including Tombrecks (6 oxgates) and Torrans (2 oxgates) were still leased at £24. 6. 8 (£292 Scots). In 1769 Captain Grant of Lurg, resident on Delnabo, Grant property contiguous to Torrans, offered £40 sterling for Camdel and £8 for Torrans, with £100 of grassum, but the Gordons were continued in their complete holding beyond 1770. Subsequent developments may be summarised as follows from the interchange of correspondence:

1771 11 Feb. James Ross asks Robert Willox, the deer-forester, his opinion of the yearly value of Fodderletter and Camdel, and whether they should be set together as presently or in smaller farms.

26 Feb. Willox reports that offers are withheld because of the common view that Fodderletter (Thos. Gordon) will get the tack whatever offers are made, his son having spread the story that while he was at Gordon Castle he was promised the tack. Willox asks for a letter he may show to the effect that tacks will be given to the

(1) £5,608 Scots in 1766 but the duke in that year allowed a discount of £1,648. (G.C.P. Vouchers Pr. I, d. 3).
(2) Upper and Nether Cults had previously been separated from the half-davoch.
highest bidder, without respect of person, provided he is a good tenant - whereupon he will send Ross offers he is not aware of. Cameron and Torrans, he suggests, should be one tack, and Fodderletter and Tombrecks another - In such bad years as they are having, strong tenants are needed; the two tacks together are too great for any one man in Strathaven.

24 June Lurg has asked Willox to offer on his behalf £50 rent and £50 grassum for a 19 years' tack of Camden and Torrans.

13 Sept. Fodderletter is informed he must satisfy the factor as the duke has given peremptory orders to recover arrears without distinction of tenants.

17 Sept. Culquhoun McGregor, innkeeper at Cromdale, Strathespey, has been invited to offer for the tacks but requires to know if Torrans is to be added to Camden (notoriously short of grass).

16 Oct. The Strathaven factor is informed that the duke wishes him to delay proceedings against Fodderletter for a month in the hope that he will pay or find security for his debts.

12 Nov. Willox, on behalf of one of the present subtenants, offers £15 rent for Tombrecks. Fodderletter's son, James, he says, gives out that he sees all the offers made for his tack when he goes to Gordon Castle. Willox does all he can to drive this false notion out of people's heads assuring them that only the duke and Ross actually see them, but subtenants are on this account afraid to offer.

26 Nov. Through Willox, James Duncan, Kinloss, has offered £50 for Fodderletter and Tombrecks, and £50 for Camden and Torrans. Willox has informed him that his offer is too low. He doesn't know Duncan's circumstances but is told that the man's father-in-law is rich and lives in Forres: "You observe the offer of a stranger in this country is of more service to the dukes interest than two offers any country-man wood give as they will give any thing before they let a stranger com among them. This is the way in all Hiland countries."

27 Nov. Ross informs Milne that Fodderletter has called begging a stay of execution which he has refused, and yet he believes it would answer little
purpose to put him in prison. Ross would gladly accept any sort of caution to afford a pretence for giving him more time to hear from his son Cuthbert[1] upon whom Fodderletter places his chief reliance.

28 Nov. Fodderletter has been hanging on in Fochabers these two days begging another month's delay. Ross "has the greatest reluctance to throw the Old Man into prison notwithstanding all the provoking delay and disappointment as to the payt of his rents". The subtenant must be put on their guard against paying any part of their rents to him under penalty of being prosecuted and forced to pay over again.

29 Nov. Milne is informed that Ross has given Fodderletter until 1st Jan.

4 Dec. Robert Grant, Ruthven, writes on behalf of McGregor, Cromdale, who has had no reply to his offer. McGregor believes no one has a chance of the place since Fodderletter is to have at least preference of it at the highest offer. Grant does not credit this, and will send McGregor to Fochabers with his offer.


30 Dec. Willox writes to Ross enclosing "the highest offer" of £18 for Tombrecks from Peter Grant, Delvrogat - "This man is worth monie and his security will not be wanting when called for there is not a better payer of his rent in this countrie; he is not the better Grant that is principall tacksman of Delvrogat but a fare better tenant he wants his ansur soon as he has his eay on ano other tack in Straspay I have taken on me to promis him it will not be sett unaquainted him. I was told you was coming to Camdall to sett the tacks of this countrie and Glenlivat if this is truth youl do me the faever to com to my house where you can use as much freedom as at Gordon Castle nor will any person suspition as I am for non of the tacks myself and Charles Man has no acomendation for you."

1772 21 Jan. Colquhoun McGregor excuses himself for not having waited on Ross at Gordon Castle owing to a strong fever and the great storm. He is anxious for an answer to his offer.

(1) See note at end of chapter.
1772 24 Jan. McGregor is informed that his offer is short both of what is expected and what is offered by another; he must advance it considerably and at the same time outline his plans for enclosing, and repairing the inn at Camerd: "a distinct letter in answer to this, will do as well as if you were to come here."

24 Jan. The duke (in London) had been prepared to leave Thos. Gordon in Mid-Fodderletter and set Camerd "in parcels" to the best account possible, but Cuthbert Gordon, Ross tells him, has offered more for the whole than can be got in this way and would enclose some of the best ground. Ross is uncertain of Gordon's ability to pay but will not take it upon himself to reject the offer and set the lands in 'parcels' for less rent "to people whom one bad year may disable". He asks the duke's directions in the matter - "perhaps the trade he is embarked in, tho' as yet a mystery, may enable him to do more than any ordinary tenant."

8 Feb. C. McGregor requests an appointment with Ross. His offer is now £52 10s. and he proposes to enclose 30 acres and divide them into parks of about 5 acres each.

26 Feb. Ross informs Willox of Cuthbert Gordon's offer. The duke is disposed to try Gordon for a few years and Ross has sent for him to discuss the proposition. It would be needless for Lurg to come meantime but if a bargain is not made with Gordon, Ross will see Willox and Lurg together. (Ross suspects that a letter from Willox had been opened before it came to hand, "by which the offerers may be known").

5 Mar. Ross has received a further offer from C. McGregor which is not equal to what can be made of the lands otherwise. He must soon conclude a bargain as the term is near.

29 Mar. Ross informs the duke that he has at last set Fodderletter etc. and some Glenlivet tacks "though not without difficulty it being impossible to please everybody particularly the possessors who seem to think themselves entitled to preference". The increase of rent upon Fodderletter is £66. (In the tack - for 3 years from Whit. 1772 at £135 yearly rent - Cuthbert Gordon is described as "merchant in Leith". G.C.P. 23/3.)
In 1773 matters did not go well for the Gordons of Fodderletter, and arrears continued to mount:

1773 21 Jan. William Gordon, brother of Cuthbert, writes to the duke from Leith, complaining of the dullness of trade everywhere. Cuthbert has been in England these six months. Threats of 'diligence' are harassing his father to no useful purpose and only hastening him to his grave.

(The duke was meantime also much concerned with Glenbucket's bankruptcy.)

21 Dec. Cuthbert Gordon writes from Leith of "a scene of unforeseen distress". He is involved in a lawsuit with Messrs Alexander, merchants in Edinburgh, who have demanded to know the secret of the 'Cudbear' process.

1774 2 Feb. Milne is required to take legal action to recover the arrears on Fodderletter, and to prosecute all tenants who are a full year's rent in arrears.

- Sept. Cuthbert Gordon is still involved in the legal process, there being little prospect of a successful issue. Ross reminds him that it is a matter of honour and justice for him and his brother to exert themselves to pay the duke.

9 Apr. The Gordons of Fodderletter having been warned out against Whitsunday, Cuthbert Gordon has written at length about the great national consequence of his manufacture and the certainty of its success despite the present difficulty. He begs the suspension of the process of removing, not only for the sake of his aged parents but because the possession of the farm is connected with his manufacture.

1775 6 June Milne is notified that Fodderletter is to continue in his tack for one year. The sons are to give bill for the arrears. (Cuthbert did give bill for £767. 2. 6. G.C.P. 23/22.)

1776 3 Mar. Cuthbert Gordon is to be warned out. He has failed to make any of the projected improvements on his lands. The lands will be set anew at Whitsunday after publication at all the neighbouring parish kirk.
Ross assures the duke he will reserve accommodation on Fodderletter for "the poor old people". Captain Grant, Lurg, has made an offer for the tack and proposes to build houses and reside on Camdal.

5 Apr. Willox is informed that he has been "outbid by a tenant who proposes to reside upon Camdell". It was a pity, Ross says, that he gave Alexander Grant the trouble of coming down to offer for Mid-Fodderletter because it is not intended to turn out the old people.

6 Apr. Ross informs Lurg that by dividing the Fodderletter tack he can set it for a higher rent than his offer, but as he is sensible of the value to be put upon a good tenant he will delay concluding a bargain until his return from the Highlands about a fortnight hence.

9 Apr. Ross writes to the duke that he will offer the tack to Lurg at £125, Lurg having already offered £120; "there being little prospect of setting it to so good account otherwise." He does not want to risk losing him as a tenant. (Lurg was a cattle-dealer.) Of the Gordons of Fodderletter, Ross writes: "By your indulgence to that family your Grace is likely to lose about £600 sterling."

11 Apr. Dr. Charles Farquharson (son-in-law of Thomas Gordon of Fodderletter) has offered for the tack. Ross hopes he will increase his offer considerably.

6 May Thos. Gordon, Lurg, and Dr. Farquharson are informed that the tack is to be set on 11th May. The latter are invited to see Ross early on that forenoon.

15 May Having set Fodderletter, Ross writes to the duke that "it will put an end to all further solicitations which it was full time to do, considering the great loss you have already suffered by that family". After hearing all the candidates he concluded a bargain with Lurg for a 19 years' lease reserving power to accommodate old Fodderletter in "his own natural possession", though he thinks Lurg has become bound to pay the full value of the lands (£120). "My opinion," Ross adds, "is that your Grace may out of charity continue old Fodderletter and his wife during their lives (which cannot be long as they are both upwards
"of eighty) in the houses they occupy and the lands of Mid-Fodderletter which will come to about £20 a year of rent, and which you may lay your account to loss. The old man tho submissive to your Graces pleasure and sensible of your goodness, wishes to have Easter Fodderletter also in view of subsetting it to people who would assist him in casting and leading peats. Easter Fodderletter may come to £15 more of rent. I suggested that in place of giving it, your Grace might order some assistance at leading peats by services of tenants, which he did not like so well." (1)

Thomas Gordon had agreed to give peaceable entry to Lurg on term day (15th May) but for some time he positively refused access to Camdel and later proved troublesome to Lurg by poinding the latter's cattle whenever they appeared to encroach. (2)

The extraction of the utmost revenue from the estates was not always the paramount consideration with Mr. Ross or the duke himself in disposing of tacks. Though an increased rental was desirable, Ross had more than once to discourage competitive bidding which gave a false value to the properties concerned. Thus after his visit to Lochaber in the autumn of 1776 he wrote to Charles Gordon: "I found the people of Lochaber as much in the humour upon bidding upon one another, as they were seven years ago. I settled with the principall residing tenants and stop'd short in order to give the rest time to reflect upon the consequences of bad sales of cattle and severe winters." To the duke he reported that he had given the leases in Lochaber "at such rents as were thought the full value of their possessions". On the other hand, he had thought fit to arrange ...

(2) Letter Books 40, p. 16; 37, p. 40; Drawer III, 80.
that "some of the McDonalds who are not settled will take a survey of Badenoch, and rouse the McPacersons a little from their present security of not being interfered with". (1)

It was usual when leases were generally renewed to require the local factor to furnish an account of the character and circumstances of the prospective tenants and the value of the respective properties. A record of punctual payments was the greatest recommendation. In making written offers for tacks applicants occasionally provided their own 'apologia'; in one such case Donald Shaw in Delinlyne, having heard that information had been given that he was a poacher, asserted that on the contrary he had not had a gun in his house or in his custody for ten years. (2)

(c) Minister and Priest. The setting of even a small possession could, especially when Willox Macgregor was an interested party, raise problems for the duke's agents. The four oxgates of the Kirk-town of Kirkmichael were for some years after 1770 the object of some more of Willox's stratagems, which, besides affording a glimpse of the more factional cross-currents of parish life, also show how indistinct was contemporary knowledge of some ecclesiastical matters affecting the parish. (3)

From the year 1555 Kirktown was included in the wadset lands of the Grants of Carron, and when, in 1736, these lands were redeemed the "Dowager Lady Grant of Carron" had her residence there. The previous rent of 50 merks (£33. 6. 8 Scots) had

(2) G.C.P. Letter Book 41, p. 128; 23/6.
(3) G.C.P. 23/2-6; Drawer III, 47, 74, 90, 93; 41/29; 41/30; Letter Books No. 38 to 41.
been doubled between the time of redemption and the roup of the lands in 1736 at which Robert Tulloch of Boytown had carried Kirktown at one hundred and five marks (£70 Scots; £5.16. 8 sterling) for a nineteen years' tack. Soon afterwards Tulloch had subset the property to George Grant, minister of the parish, and, after Tulloch's lease expired, Mr. Grant had continued in possession as tacksman at the same rent. In 1770 the minister, then an old man, had withdrawn from Kirktown and left his son-in-law, Robert Willox, in possession. James Grant who for thirteen years had been subtenant to the minister in two oxgates of Kirktown, thereupon offered 410 sterling for the four oxgates, at the same time pointing out that Willox and his wife had brought about the minister's removal under pretext that he had been contemplating marriage with his subtenant's mother.

In fact, the minister had gone to the house of his son, Lewis Grant, minister of Duthil, where he died on 27th April, 1772, having been born in Strathspey in 1700. (1) In December, 1771, Lewis Grant (2) had written to the Strathavon factor representing his father's situation in regard to arrears of stipend due by Glenbucket: "My father undoubtedly has no business with Glenbucket as the law expressly requires that the heritors shall pay stipend and none else.... My father after clearing Mr. McCardy his helper his allowance of 436 sterling, the widows fund of about 88 sterling with the Kirktown rent (£5.16. 8) has but a very small reversion for the support of his...

(1) He was minister of Kirkmichael from 1725. Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, Vol. 6, p. 367.
(2) Fasti, Vol. 6, pp. 358, 360. He was translated to Cromdale in 1778.
own person. You will from these particulars readily judge that there is occasion for all the money that can be calimed on his acct. I have given the bearer John Stewart my father's discharge for the whole of the duke's stipend\(^{(1)}\) including that of Glenbuckets which after deducing the Kirktown rent I hope you will be so kind as to give him and should his Grace or those in the management of his business find fault with your giving Glenbucket's share of stipend I hereby promise in that case to repay you the same on demand." In the following March, Lewis Grant wrote to Milne thanking him for payment of the whole stipend (£43. 9. 3).\(^{(2)}\)

In July, 1771, Willox, still in possession of Kirktown, offered to repair the house and farm buildings if given a lease for £6 sterling, and asked for a surveyor to plan the improvements. An offer of £12 was shortly afterwards made by Robert Smith in Dell, who made the unusual stipulation of being freed from the appropriate proportion of minister's stipend. Mean¬time, Mr. George Grant having died, Mr. Grant of Grant as patron had given a presentation to Robert Farquharson, son of Farquharson of Allargue (on Donside, a few miles from Inchrory) to whom Willox bore considerable ill-will. Willox at once registered a protest that the young minister could not preach one word of Gaelic, a fact, he said, which made "the duke's tenants cry out against his being settled". The previous minister, he pointed ...

\(^{(1)}\) A small proportion would also be due in respect of Delnabo, Grant property.
\(^{(2)}\) Strathavon Vouchers Press I, d. 3.

The stipend thereafter remained at this figure until augmented in 1786.
out, had kept as helper one, Charles Mcllardie, who preached the Erse "in a most flowent manner", and the whole country would insist on settling this man since most of the people did not understand one word of English. Moreover, Willox contended, Mr. Grant of Grant had no title to make the presentation, and he was all for disputing the patronage.

Some months later Willox learned from the new minister of a promise the latter had received of a tack of Kirktown. "I do not believe him," Willox commented, "tho he be the minister as it is a maxsome with his Grace to give the possessor preference." He nevertheless drew attention to his own claims for retaining possession: his "numbress young familie" and his inability to make bread for them in such a late tack as Gaulrig(1) without the help of Kirktown. (He had had neither seed nor bread in Gaulrig the year before.) Part of Gaulrig he had subset until Whitsunday 1774, and without access to all of his own tack he would be ruined. The duke, he hoped, would not put him out for the first year at any rate. Mr. Farquharson, on the other hand, was a young man without a family, and would be served well enough by his manse and glebe. He did not fail to remind Ross of the minister's father's concern in the Faevait dispute, and "how close he stuck by Skellater". Allargue also wished to be revenged on him for arresting one of his tenants in the forest, and could not "win at" him in any other way than by depriving him of Kirktown.

A strange occurrence followed. The manse, as well as the

(1) Gaulrig was about 400 feet higher than Kirktown.
Kirktown house, being then in a state of very bad repair, the minister had been staying with some of his Farquharson relatives in Strathavon, and with some of these, Grigor Farquharson and his son, Robert, of Glenconglass, as well as his own father and Alexander Innes in Achlichny, he had gone one evening in November 1772 to the Kirktown house. Willox at that time was in Gaulrig, and his servant, John Stewart, refused entry but the visitors nevertheless gained admittance and proceeded to inspect the whole house, including an upper room called the "minister's study", and the cellars. In the latter was a great store of cheese and potatoes. (1) The intruders asked the servant if he would sell some potatoes but he, "in some sort of passion", we are told, replied, "The devil one!"; whereupon he was rebuked for swearing before the minister.

The duke, who was informed of this episode, appeared to be willing to support Willox in a prosecution, but not before those concerned had been heard in their own vindication and a full report given by Milne, the factor; Willox, however, got no backing in his complaint regarding the minister's inability to speak Gaelic.

Meantime, a further cause for dispute had appeared. The minister claimed a piece of land adjoining the kirkyard as a part of the glebe, the main part of which was at some distance from the kirk. Willox maintained there was no evidence to...

(1) According to Donaldson (General View of the Agriculture of Banffshire, p. 13) this crop came into general cultivation in Banffshire about 1754.
support such a contention, and at the same time counter-claimed that a portion of Kirktown called Little Tombreck was wrongfully held as part of the glebe, to which it was adjacent.

The duke arranged to hear both contestants on the subject and sent a surveyor to make a plan of the whole area in order that he might understand the matter and give his own directions. He was unwilling to cause the minister unnecessary trouble, and hoped that Mr. Farquharson might come on some authentic record of the glebe. Arrangements were, at the same time, made for drawing up estimates for the repair of the manse and the Kirktown house and such farm buildings as the minister would require in the event of his getting a tack of Kirktown.

From Robert Tulloch, a former tacksman, to whom he had applied, Mr. Farquharson drew the following reply (13th April, 1773):

"It is such a long time since I left Kirkmichael, and at a period of life when I didn't much mind boundaries of possessions, but upon recollection thinks that long before I had any concern with the Kirktown some excambion had taken place betwixt Carron and the minr. concerning the lands you mention; and that called Little Tombreck being a part of Kirktown but more contiguous to the glebe was judg'd an equivalent for not only the Minister's Croft but what proportion of stipend affected the Kirktown. (1) And party's respectively possess'd during my time accordingly.

(1) This probably accounts for the offer for Kirktown - "freeing him of the ministers stipend" - made by Robert Smith in 1772. Stipend, however, continued to be charged for Kirktown, Mr. Robert Farquharson himself paying just over 9s. 9d.
Whether there was any scrape in writting relative to or confirming the above transaction, I know not. I subsett the Kirktown to Mr. George Grant in terms of the principall in my favours from the Duke of Gordon and no otherways. I'm of oppinion that the Minister's Croft is a part of the glebe and Little Tombreck a part of the Kirktown lands and always heard it describ'd as above which is all I know of the matter."(1)

From the minister of Duthil, Mr. Farquharson had acquired an old paper which showed that the 'Minister's croft' belonged to the Manse, but Willox pointed out that this was unsigned and that during Mr. George Grant's charge of Kirkmichael the minister had held this croft only while he was tenant of Kirktown. At a later date a minute of tack was produced (dated "Tombreck 5 May 1717") in which Mr. Duncan Mclea, then minister of Kirkmichael, had granted to Donald Roy Stewart in Camdel "the Gleib of the parish of Kirkmichael commonly called the oxgate of land of Tombreck with the piece land at the Kirk in Kirktown belonging to him as minister".

It is not clear whether or not the original "Designation of a Glebe at Kirkmichael" was produced about this time but two copies of it exist in the Gordon Castle Papers (59/24 and 59/25). Members of the Presbytery of Aberlour had convened at Kirkmichael on 27th October, 1658, and, accompanied by John Grant of Carron who as heritor of the land of Tombreck had consented to the designation, and by various elders and justices of the peace, they "with rode and rope did design a glebe bounds to build a

(1) G.C.P. 38/63.
manse, with grass for a horse and two kine". The bit of land beside the kirk (and within Kirktown) they found to be "not above an acre". They next went to the lands of Achlichchny and measured an oxgate of that called Tombreck to complete the glebe. (1) It seems likely that the land called Little Tombreck, amounting to nearly three acres, must have been part of that oxgate, since the contents of the glebe as noted (G.C.P. 38/63) after the survey of 1773, amounted, with the inclusion of Little Tombreck and the Kirkyard itself, to less than twelve acres. On the other hand, the 'minister's croft' (2) (1 acre 1 rood 10 falls, on the plan) does not appear in the "Contents of the Glebe" at that date.

It seems clear from these facts and from a later map (at Gordon Estates Office, Glenlivet) that the portion of land contiguous to the kirkyard had thereupon been withdrawn from the glebe lands, and the complete lands of Tombreck (3) reckoned as one compact glebe. (4)

(1) This according to Souter (op. cit. app. 1) was above the average size. The legal glebe was only 4 acres, and though they were generally larger, few in Banffshire exceeded 6 or 7 acres, a size which made economic working difficult and encouraged ministers to rent some additional acres.

(2) It is termed "Croiti Vinister" on the plan, which would seem to be a corruption of the Gaelic "Croit Ministair". See Dwelly's dictionary.

(3) This is a different Tombreck from the one already mentioned in connection with Candal and Torrans (on the Burn of Brown and near Delnabo territory).

(4) Some slight adjustments were made in 1822 to produce a more regular boundary (G.C.P. 38/63).

The value of the glebe was given c. 1765 as nearly £5 sterling, there being no victual allowance in Kirkmichael, though such an allowance was introduced in the 19th century. John Grant, the next incumbent, and writer of the first Statistical Account, considered the value of the glebe to be about £6.
Willox, meanwhile, had persisted in a relentless campaign to have Robert Farquharson suspended, if not on the score of his failing to preach in Gaelic, then by exposing the Laird of Grant's lack of title to make the presentation, the first he had ever made in Kirkmichael, Willox claimed. To this end Willox engineered a petition from Strathavon tenants, and brought session books and papers from the Presbytery of Abernethy, discovering in the process that the Abernethy presbytery was sprung from that of Aberlour, a fact which would prolong his search in a new direction. He was promptly ordered by Ross to return the Session Books since they contained nothing material to the case. Willox, however, had some success with the Presbytery of Abernethy who obliged Mr. Farquharson to keep a helper to preach in Gaelic.

The Duke of Gordon, indeed, did not by this date entertain much hope of establishing a right of patronage to, among others, the two Strathavon parishes, since some years earlier he had failed in an action brought for that purpose. According to a Gordon Castle memorandum on the subject (36/63), in the post-

(1) A Gordon Castle document (36/1) - observations concerning patronage by a Mr. Shaw (1765) - contains the information that "the registers of Aberlour and Abernethy before 1714 are all lost".

(2) The moderator was Lewis Grant, minister of Duthil, and Willox's brother-in-law, who, Willox remarked, had not chosen to give any information that would "hurt the Laird of Grant's patronage". He was able to explain that the presbytery records up to the year 1722 were lost through fire in the house of Mr. Chapman, then minister of Cromdale. Strathavon was vacant in that year and the Laird of Grant had nominated a Mr. Strang to fill the charge, but Mr. Strang was not settled owing to his not having the Gaelic language.
Reformation settlement a grant had been made in 1580 to Alexander Lindsay, of the family of Crawford, of a great part of the patrimony of the See of Moray. (1) This grant was confined to Alexander Lindsay, later created Lord Spynie, and his heirs male, and he disposed a great number of patronages to various purchasers. On the failure of Lord Spynie and his heirs male, (2) the estate reverted to the Crown and in 1674 the Earl of Airlie (3) as trustee for the fourth Marquis of Huntly obtained from Charles II a grant of all the patronages that had formerly belonged to Lord Spynie. In 1682 the Earl of Airlie disposed these to the Marquis of Huntly (first Duke of Gordon, two years later) who obtained a charter under the Great Seal, (4) the patronages, it was claimed, being regularly handed down in the Duke of Gordon's titles thereafter. The first and second dukes were Roman Catholics, however, and either as a result of disqualification by Act of Parliament, as the account states, or through frequent minorities and neglect to exercise the patronage, the right appears to have lapsed. (5) At any rate the Grants claimed uninterrupted possession of the patronages of Kirkmichael and Inveraven, among others, from the time of a

(5) cf. C. Fraser Mackintosh, Antiquarian Notes, 1st Series, XLVII (1865).
charter under the Great Seal granted to Sir John Grant of Freuchie in 1624; (1) and, the Duke of Gordon having brought a process of declarator in 1764, judgment was given in favour of Sir Ludovick Grant in 1770. When - possibly as a result of Willox's activity - a re-opening of the case was discussed in 1772, the duke's advisers thought it unwise to risk further expense on "so desperate a question". (2)

The dispute between Willox and Mr. Farquharson was still not resolved. In October 1773 the minister offered ten guineas for Kirktown - "to be rid of a bad neighbour" - at the same time pointing out that the town was "quite run out and the houses all to ruin". By the following March other offers, one of £14, were received, but others were withheld owing, Willox said, to statements made by the minister that he had been promised the tack for £12. In May, however, Willox was informed that he might continue in possession, and he did so for two more years, until in March 1776 the Strathaven factor was instructed to 'warn out' Willox and advertise the tack to be set anew at Whitsunday.

Willox was most unwilling to quit and appealed to Gordon Castle, saying he must have it "for peace sake", to please his wife who had been born and "brought up" at Kirktown. The terms he proposed did not satisfy Gordon Castle, however, since much higher offers were made for an eight years' lease, namely one of

(1) Dated 12 February, 1624. The purchase of the patronages from Lord Spynie had been negotiated in 1622. Cassillis, Rulers of Strathspey, p. 85.
(2) G.C.P. 36/65, 36/1.
£14 of rent and £15 of grassum, and another of £15 of rent and £12 of grassum; that is, £127 and £132 respectively over eight years. From James Cameron in nearby Inverchebit an offer of £15, and £25 of grassum was forthcoming, and the minister wrote in aggrieved tones of the "spirit of emulation" that prevailed: "My stipend can ill afford what I have already offered for my accommodation. Those who are dispos'd to oppose me does it entirely out of humour and not from the least necessity. I have a parish of eight or nine Scots miles and only 800 merks of stipend. I offer £15 for what my predecessor had for about 100 merks which is as great a rent as you had reason to expect for the place."

On 16th May 1776, Ross reported to the duke that he had set Kirktown to the minister "at £15 yearly rent and £21 certain of grassum for an eight years lease, and £14 more of grassum offered to your Grace. All this was offered by another but it is too much and I thought it would be agreeable to put the minr in possession upon the above terms, as it keeps him in temper; and may be a mean of preventing his being trouble some in other respects".

The minister had, at the desire of Mr. Ross, let Willox have the use of the Kirktown house until his crop should be in. Towards the end of November 1776, Mr. Farquharson wrote that he was greatly in need of it for himself but by 9 July 1777 he was still complaining that he had not got access to the house. A week later the Strathaven factor was asked to take the first opportunity to request Willox to give up possession of the house
which Ross had never doubted he would give up after last harvest. (1)

By October of that year the rumour was circulating that Mr. Farquharson was to be presented by Farquharson of Invercauld to the vacant parish of Logie Colstone. The Strathavon factor was instructed to inform the minister that he could not retain Kirktown longer than his incumbency of Kirkmichael, and as Ross understood he had built some dykes at Kirktown, Milne was "to take the first opportunity of meeting with him and consulting the value of them as it is but equitable to get some acknowledgment for them".

In the following July several people were reported to be very impatient about Kirktown, especially on account of the grass. In due course Milne was instructed to see that it was intimated "at the several kirks and meetings in Strathaven and Glenlivat on Sunday first" that the tack would be set on 27th July at ten o'clock, Milne himself being required to be at Gordon Castle before breakfast "to concert everything before the people conveen".

Mr. Farquharson, it seems, did not willingly relinquish his tack, for the duke in the spring of 1776 was put to the trouble of instituting a process of removing against him. Owing to a dispute over the patronage, it was not until 3rd November 1779 that he was finally translated to Logie Colstone.

(1) Willox was to assist at the appreciation of the house (valued at £225 Scots in 1736 when Robert Tolloch took it over) and to subscribe the inventory.
John Grant, the next minister,\(^{(1)}\) and writer of the Statistical Account of Kirkmichael (1764), praises the Duke of Gordon in that account for having bestowed upon him "without the painful feeling of solicitation, a gratuitous augmentation", and adds: "It will not be deemed a digression to mention that his Grace gave a farm (i.e. Kirktown) to the present incumbent at a moderate rent, when an advanced one and a fine of 20 guineas were offered by others."\(^{(2)}\)

Rather more precarious than the situation of Mr. Farquharson was that of his contemporary, the Catholic priest of Strathavon, the position of whose croft on the lands of Findron formerly held by Glenbucket is shown on the 1775 plan of the village of Tomintoul. He was Alexander Cameron, a native of Braemar, and his circumstances are set out in a letter to James Ross, dated 24th March, 1778: "I waited upon you, some time ago, at Fochabers, and would have wrote you before now, had not a...

\(^{(1)}\) The Duke of Gordon on 19th March 1777 had written to Sir James Grant desiring him to present the son of his Strathavon factor, Mr. Milne, to Kirkmichael when it should become vacant. (G.C. Letter Book 40, p. 271.)

When in December, 1780, James Gordon of Croughly applied to the duke asking for a presentation to be given to his son, he was informed that the duke would, after fulfilling prior engagements, present his son to one of his Highland kirks - "providing your son is perfect master of the Erse language". (Letter Book 42, p. 222.)

(An undated paper - probably late 18th century - lists the churches of which the Duke of Gordon was patron, viz. Bellie, Caviny, Huntly, Gartly, Rhynie, Glass, Cabrach, Alvie, Kingussie, Laggan. (G.C.P. 36/1.)

\(^{(2)}\) Strathavon Accounts show John Grant to have been in possession of Kirktown (1785 - 1791) at £10 rent, without grassum. (G.C.P. Press I, d. 4.)
"variety of circumstances prevented me. I then spoke to you about renewing a lease of, and getting a small addition to the little croft I possessed for some years past. This, in short, is my case: my predecessors and I have been at some expenses and trouble in building a dwelling house etc. in this place. For our very small spot of ground we paid twenty shillings sterl. yearly rent; being at same time exempt from all public burdens. William Grant, whose circumstances scarcely allow him to think of renewing a lease, possesses an adjacent spot, for which he pays two pounds five shillings, clogged with some services to Glenbucket: these spots I would willingly join in one - tho' I could wish, if possible, to be free from the services, as nothing can be more inconvenient to one in my situation. The present rent, I must confess, I think fully high; yet if more is offered I must not consult the real value of the place so much as my necessity: I shall therefore give as much as any other and think preference a favour." (1)

Early in the following month, Mr. Cameron had to take the matter up again, this time with the Strathavon factor:

"We have been publicly desired to give the offers for our tacks to you. You know my situation and I depend very much on you. As it is uncertain who shall get this place (2) I would wish to have my small croft from the fountain head. I want to add Will. Grant's to the spot I presently possess. (3) I would ... (1) G.C.P. 23/6.
(2) i.e. the whole tack of Findron.
(3) Rentals of 1778 and 1781 show Mr. Cameron to have been in possession of this additional land, the combined rental with stipend and share of schoolmaster's salary being a little over 43 7s.
"cheerfully pay some shillings more to be free of the services to Glenbucket. Of all the little possessions in this place, what I ask has the narrowest limits and least grass even in proportion to the rent. I know three pounds ten shillings sterl. is too much for it, tho' no services were demanded: yet this I will give - and if more were offered I would expect preference. I wrote to Mr. Ross, but did not name my offer, only begged preference. I now throw the whole into your hands. It is full time now that people knew how they are to be accommodated against Whitsunday. I beg pardon for troubling you with so long a letter on so trifling a subject."

That Mr. Cameron was in a position to make any such representations to the duke's factors was owing to the former long connection of the Gordon family with the Roman Catholic religion, and to the fair measure of protection which Catholics on the Gordon estates in Banffshire had continued to enjoy even after the death of the last Catholic (second) Duke of Gordon in 1728. The latter had been steadfast in his faith, bringing up his four sons in the same faith while, by agreement with his duchess, Lady Henrietta Mordaunt, an ardent Protestant, the daughters were brought up in her religion. On the duke's death, however, the Catholic chaplain and tutor was dismissed, and the sons, of whom the oldest was ten, reared as

...  

(1) G.C.P. 23/6.
(2) To his secretary he wrote in 1723: "Am not surpriz'd nor dishartned the least for the Mers(e) people taking advantage of my religion since that has of long been my state and what I shall never bee sory for nor asham: off." (G.C.P. Drawer II, 8.)
Protestants. (1) The duchess, however, seems to have held Bishop James Gordon in great esteem - she had at once sent for him when the duke became seriously ill, and later secured the bishop's release from prison - and to him she promised fair treatment for the Catholics on her son's estates. (2)

The extent of the freedom allowed by the Dukes of Gordon to their Catholic subjects, though often impaired by the incursions of the military during the first half of the 18th century, (3) was frequently the cause of criticism from those not so well disposed towards the Catholic minority. Thus we find one, Nicolas Dunbar, writing from Cullen (20th April, 1751) to advise the duke of "a precognition anent two Godmans, one Grant and one Reed being habit and repute Roman Catholic priests" (4) taken the day before by the sheriff-depute of Banffshire who had summoned a dozen or twenty witnesses for that purpose. "It would look," the writer remarks, "as if there were a prosecution design'd against them, as such, and I have heard the clergy make their remarks that so many of them were harbour'd in your Grace's intrest. I thought it my duty to let your Grace know this, that you may do in it, what you think most prudent and proper to prevent any unjust or malicious reflections that may be thrown out about their living in your Grace's land." (5)

(1) One of the younger sons later returned to the Roman Catholic religion. Forbes Leith, Memoirs of Scottish Catholics in the 17th and 18th centuries, II, 313.
(2) Blairs MS. quoted in Forbes Leith, op. cit., II, 312-313.
(4) They were reported to be living at Pressholme, Achinalrig, Bogs, and Tynett.
Moreover, it was in 1751 held to be a matter of great reproach that there was no minister resident in the Braes of Glenlivet, a district "of a very considerable extent and separated from the parish church of Inveraven by mountains often impassable especially in the winter time", where there was established "a popish seminary of learning the only one in Scotland" where six priests with a bishop who is apostolicate vicar at their head constantly report". Representation was made by the heads of the Protestant families in Inveraven to the Synod of Moray which in turn intended to apply to the General Assembly for the establishment of a minister there. "The indefatigable labours of these popish emissaries," it was reported, "daily gain ground in seducing the people, which the most diligent endeavours of the Protestant minister established on the Royal Bounty for want of proper authority cannot prevent." (2)

The same note of alarm was evident in a letter from Lewis Grant, minister of Duthil, to James Ross in December 1772, in which he writes: "I'm credibly informed that the desertion from that of the Protestant religion to that of Popery is already very

(1) A seminary had been established on the island in Loch Morar in 1713 but was dissolved during the 'Fifteen. In 1717 one was set up at the Scalane, a former shealing-place in the uppermost end of the Braes of Glenlivet where the local missionary had previously made his residence to escape the attentions of General Cadogan and the Hanoverian soldiery. v. Blundell, The Catholic Highlands of Scotland, I, 23-54; Forbes Leith, op. cit., II, 306, 322; Bellesheim, History of the Catholic Church in Scotland, Vol. IV.

(2) G.C.P. Drawer II, 13.
alarming;” (1) and Mr. Farquharson's unacquaintance with the Gaelic language, he wrote, was a matter of first consequence to the interests of religion in the parish, there being not one instance of his use of it "in preaching, visiting the sick, dispensing the sacrament of baptism". (2)

Despite these embarrassments to the duke, the 'modus vivendi' achieved by the skeleton force of Catholic clergy in his Banffshire estates was maintained, and relations between members of the Catholic hierarchy and the duke's principal factor appear to have been cordial. In 1780 Alexander Cameron left Strathavon to become co-adjutor to Bishop Hay, and there was some speculation about the disposal of his small croft until John Paterson, superior at the Scalan, acquainted Mr. Ross of the bishop's desire that it should be kept "for the behoof of whatever churchman may serve there". (3) Bishop Hay himself wrote to Ross (4) to dispel any misunderstanding:

"Sir, I am this day informed by a letter from Mr. Paterson at Scalan that some people have been insinuating to you that

..."

(1) A MS. list of parishes (undated) in the Gordon Castle Papers (36/1) gives the Kirkmichael population as numbering 1288, comprising 431 Papists and 857 Protestants (and 267 fighting men). The date is doubtless 1785 the year for which Dr. Webster's return of the total population was precisely the same. No figures are given for Inveraven which includes the Braes of Glenlivet.

Yet despite the fears noted above, the Statistical Account of 1794 (XII, 433) gives the total population as 1276, and the number of Roman Catholics as 384.

(2) G.C.P. Drawer III, 37.
(3) G.C.P. Drawer V, 133.
(4) G.C.P. Drawer V, 134.
Mr. Cameron's successor in Strathdown does not mean to reside on the little croft you was so kind as procure for Mr. Cameron from His Grace. I think myself exceedingly obliged to you, dear Sir, for taking the trouble of enquiring about that matter at ourselves, and beg leave to assure you that I should be exceeding sorry Mr. Cameron's successor should be deprived of that croft; but what I suppose has given rise to the mistake is, that the person designed for that place is a brother to Glenconglass (1) who is just now at Doway and cannot come home till some time this summer. In the meantime his brother Glenconglass (Robert Farquharson) is taking the trouble to labour the croft, at his brother earnest request, that when he comes home, he may find some provision for winter. People not knowing this have I suppose put their own construction on what Glenconglass is doing. Accept of my hearty thanks for your kindness in this affair, and with my best wishes to Mrs. Ross and all your family.

I am, Sir,

Your most obliged and most obedient humble servant,

George Hay.

Edinr. 2 April 1781."

(1) He was John Farquharson, who was at Scots College, Rome, in 1768, and shortly afterwards transferred to Douai. He became superior at Scalac in 1783, and two years later returned to Douai as rector.

The Robert Farquharson who had the unhappy sojourn in Strathaven as minister from 1772-1778 was a distant cousin, both being descended from Finaly of Achriachan, by his second marriage.

See A.M. Mackintosh, op. cit., pp. 21-22, 46.
The priest's croft was for long clear of the expanding village of Tomintoul, and rentals of 1787 and 1791 show the Strathavon priest of those years, Mr. Donald Stewart, to have been in possession of the Findron croft. When the Findron lands were incorporated in the village lots in 1825 the priest was already established in the village on a feu (then valued at 6s.8d. but marked "not charged") which has ever since been the site of the Catholic church.

(d) Subtenants. Mr. Cameron had been a subtenant of William Gordon of Glenbucket and had no doubt shared with the other subtenants the feeling of insecurity following Glenbucket's renunciation of his tack in May, 1773. Willox, who had recommended a Strathspey man as tacksman of all Glenbucket's former possessions, gave it as his opinion that it was "more for his Grace advantage to have such a good tenant rather than a parsell of poor men that could not pay the rent". The duke, however, had other intentions, and personally wrote to the Strathavon factor (6 April, 1774): "Altho there is a Decreet of Removing against Glenbucket and all his subtenants it is not my intention to remove such of these subtenants as have written tacks or agreements with him and are of good character, and able to pay their rent or find caution for that..."

(1) In addition he had Upper Cults in 1791 and his successor, Mr. Carmichael, was in Cults too, in 1809. (Stated Accounts Press I, d. 6.)

(2) An entry in the Scotch (Catholic) Directory for 1831 mentions "the chapel of Tomintoul which was built forty-nine years ago". (Quoted in Blundell, op. cit., I, 65.)

(3) G.C.P. 23/6.
"purpose. But they must renounce their tacks and agreements and enter into minutes with you, in my name."(1)

At the setting of these tacks under the new arrangement, six of Glenbucket's former subtenants did not at once accept the terms proposed by the Strathavon factor, and after having left the meeting for a time - to discuss their position, as they afterwards claimed - they found that Mr. Miln had set their crofts to Captain Grant of Lurg. They were, however, fortunate in their appeal to Mr. Ross who put their case to Lurg: "Tho they deserve to suffer for their behaviour upon that occasion I cannot help feeling for the situation of their wives and families - especially as it is so near the term. I have therefore been prevailed upon to ask the favour of you to give up the bargain with respect to their possessions so that they may be allowed to continue. And I flatter myself you will comply with my request as all the profit you could draw from them is not an object to you. Expecting a favourable answer soon that I may sett the poor peoples minds at ease."(2)

Less than a fortnight later Milne was informed that Lurg had "very generously passed from his bargain", and was advised to lose no time in entering into minutes of tack with the tenants concerned.(3)

Wilcox about this time complained that Milne, the factor, showed favouritism to Captain Grant of Lurg, a suggestion that

(2) G.C. Letter Book No. 39, p. 129.
is almost borne out by the factor's subsequent conduct of the duke's business in respect of Lurg's debts. Following a bad report from Lurg, one subtenant in Blairnamarrow had had his tack withheld until Ross intervened. "You know I am not ready to give ear to all the tenants storys and complaints," Ross wrote to Milne. "But this man having brought me a letter from Carron, covering one from Bellimore with an attestation of his character subscribed by a great number of his neighbours, I could not avoid laying his case before you, that you may enquire and be certain you have not proceeded upon any false information. For the duke would not willingly give leases to people of establish'd bad characters, he would be sorry any poor man with a family should be turned out upon a vague report, perhaps raised industriously by a person who had an eye on his possession." (1)

The danger to any fixity or security of tenure came from a well-established system which encouraged rivalry for tacks; that is, in the final resort, from the tenants themselves. Offers for tacks too often contained the phrase "as presently possessed by....", completed by a name other than that of the offerer. Some humanity, indeed, was shown by those at Gordon Castle where there was a marked disinclination to turn any tenant and his family "adrift", or "to engage in a law plea with any poor fellow", despite the duke's desire to be rid of bankrupts and people of bad character. Petitions - and they were many and varied - did not fail to get a considerate hearing.

John McHardy in Straaans (1777), "possessed of a motherless and

numberous young family", and Ann Grant, Fordmouth, a widow with eight children, "the youngest not yet (1777) weaned", are continued in their tacks "during pleasure", at such rents as the factor thinks them worth. In 1781 when complaints were received from settlers in the new village of Tomintoul that George Stewart, the ground officer, was being very troublesome to some of the inhabitants, Ross's command to the factor was: "These things must be redressed immediately - lose no time in going to the spot to hear and determine all their grievances." (1)

During the currency of the old wadsets, wadsetters had a free hand with subletting; but, with the century three-quarters run, there was a tendency for Gordon Castle to intervene in cases of hardship, as when Katherine Stewart was recommended to the good offices of the Strathavon factor "for preventing her removall, unless there is any very good reason for the principal tenants insisting on her flitting which His Grace is ignorant of". By 1738 it was a condition of the leases granted by the duke that tenants might sublet portions of their holding only to subtenants approved by the factor, and then no more than eight acres or a quarter of the farm to one man. (2)

Earlier in the century the size of subtacks had varied greatly. In 1722, for instance, the dovecot of Inverourie was divided into seventeen tacks as follows: three of half-an-oxgate; five of one oxgate; one each of one-and-a-quarter, one-and-a-half, and one-and-three-quarters; two of two oxgates;...

(2) G.C.P. 40/12.
two of three-and-a-half oxgates; one of four, and one of six oxgates. These subtacks were further subdivided to accommodate a class of still lesser tenants and a proportion of "mailanders" or cottars, of whom there must have been thirty or more in the parish about the year 1750.

Rent

(a) Money. At one period there appear to have been something like standard rates of rent for an oxgate within certain wadset holdings. On Ruthven, in 1712, it was £10 Scots (15 merks) per oxgate; on Easter Camdel, £16.13. 4 (or 25 merks); and on parts of the Invercauld wadset, £12 (18 merks). Later than this, rates were very varied even within one tack, doubtless according to the quality of the ground. (1)

The Scots merk was for long the basis of all rents, generally in multiples of five, though fractions of the merk often appear; and for the most part rents were quoted in merks and entered in accounts in Scots pounds, so that thirds and two-thirds of the pound constantly appear. Occasionally there is a quaint use of both merks and pounds in the one amount, as for example, "18 merks and 10 sh." or "8 pounds and half a merk". From about mid-century accounts commonly showed Scots money and its sterling equivalent, resulting in the frequent use of twelfths of a penny.

(1) In addition, some subtenants were (about 1750) required to pay a contribution towards a shealing; in one case, for instance, a pound. Stewart of Drumie, one subtenant deponed, "insists for 16d. each oxgate for a glen from all tenants".
Whereas Badenoch and Lochaber rents were due "forehand", Strathavon rents were due at Martinmas "after the clipping of the crop", but James Ross had not been long in the office of chamberlain to the Duke of Gordon before he discovered "how irregular and deficient the payment of rents is especially from Highland countrys", and he was soon (July, 1771) resolved that tenants "must prepare themselves for paying their rents at the legal term, without regard to the former practice of waiting for markets". At the end of March, 1772, he reported to the duke: "I imagine I have roused the people a little tho at the expence of getting the character of one of the most vigorous ill-natured men in the world. I am certain, however, the most of them will thank me some years hence for bringing them into a regular course of payment, and it is absolutely necessary for carrying on your Grace's affairs."(1)

The year 1773, however, saw "a very great arrear", especially in the Highland parts of the Gordon estates, and local factors were urged to prosecute all those a full year's rent in arrears who were either to find caution or remove. "Decreets, hornings, and captious," with all the attendant expense, do not seem to have had the effect of bringing the tenantry into "a regular course of payment". Tenants chose rather "to keep their rents a year in their hands in order to traffick through the country and frequent ale houses and markets tho at a considerable expence for dilligence at the same time ...

"that they neglected agriculture". And, in 1775, "the Highland
rents answered so ill" - as Ross informs the duke in London -
"that it is not in my power to make any remittance to you".
It was not indeed until 1783 that things were in better shape.
Strathavon arrears which were £229 sterling in 1769 - over £700
of that sum owed by Glenbucket and Fodderletter - were by 1771
nearly £1859. This was reduced to £756 by 1777, and to no more
than £580 by 1784, a large part of the arrears in every year
being owed by bankrupts such as Fodderletter and Lurg. There¬
after the position worsened considerably. (1)

Shortly after the year 1750, roughly two-thirds of Strath¬
avon subtenants held leases ranging from three to fifteen years
in length (average about seven years), and for these at least
£3360 Scots (£280 sterling) was paid to the tacksmen in grassums.
Of two neighbouring subtenants who paid the same amount (£25 4s.)
one held a lease for three years and the other for ten years.
Two cases occur of subtenants’ grassums being paid in kind:
"eight wedders and one year-old hog", and "a cow and a steer
value about £23. 6. 8d", each for a ten years’ lease.
'Mailanders' (the term repeatedly used in a rental of date 1753
or 1754) commonly paid £4 Scots of rent "for a house", some as
little as £2, and others nothing at all (especially in the case
of "near relations"). Two men, apparently in this category,
each possessed a "croft" for which the only payment was "shearing
in harvest", while two others, though styled mailanders, paid to

Strathavon Vouchers Press I, d. 3 and 4.
Glenbucket quite substantial rents and grassums as well as the appropriate 'customs'.

(b) Customs. Although for a great part of the eighteenth century payments in kind were an important feature of rent transactions between tenant and subtenant in Strathavon, such payments were an insignificant part of the revenue derived from the parish by Gordon Castle. This, it seems clear, had long been the case. The rental of the Gordon estates in 1660 (printed in the Miscellany of the Spalding Club, Vol. IV) shows that little more than money rent came from the remote parts of the Marquis of Huntly's territory. Strathavon does not appear in that particular rental owing, doubtless, to the fact that six-tenths of the parish were at that time held by the Grants of Freuchie, and the remainder either wadset to the Grant of Carron or held by Alexander Gordon of Strathdown, brother to the marquis.

It was in fact late in the 18th century before any payments of 'customs' by the tacksmen of Strathavon appeared in Gordon Castle rentals. A rental of 1736, it is true, adds to the list of annuities and tack duties payable from Strathavon sixteen hens and forty-seven poultry; but these are clearly 'reek' hens and other custom fowls paid, prior to this, to Grant of Carron by his chief tenants and carried over into the general rental when his wadset was redeemed. Most of the customs previously paid to Carron had by that date been converted into additional money rent, and the process was completed by 1737, the rents
quoted for that year being inclusive of customs. (1)

From Kincardine (Abernethy) payments of custom wedders and
poultry had been made before this, (2) and in 1784 the factor
sold 45 wedders from that estate at £1 18s. Scots each instead
of the normal conversion price of £1. 6. 6; but for Strathavon
and Glenlivet, in the same factorship but mostly out in wadsets,
no such payments are noted.

An abstract of the Gordon Castle rentals of 1770 (3) shows
only money rent paid from the three districts just mentioned,
as well as from Cabrach, Glenrinnes, Badenoch and Lochaber.
Some meal and bear came from the less outlying and more
productive districts of Grange, Achindoun, Huntly and the
'Castle lands' of Inverness, while the main bulk of the rents
in kind came from the agricultural areas around Fochabers.
Duffus furnished 54 bolls of wheat (lost to the Duke of Gordon
by an excambion in 1779 with the Earl of Fife), and the parishes
of Bellie and Rathven meal and bear in great quantities, in
addition to poultry, reek hens, eggs, capons, lambs, wedders,
a few (mill) swine, peats, corn, and straw, and some two
hundred ells of linen. Such an arrangement obviously suited
the needs and convenience of the ducal family resident near
Fochabers, and the character and location of the various

(1) The Stated Account for 1736 includes the item: "To the
Conversion of 64 hens payd out of Carrons late wadset lands
for 1736... 6s. 6d." (G.C.P. Press I, d. 2.) The parti-
cular amounts for each possession are entered in the leases
of 1738. (G.C.P. 25/2.)

(2) In 1736 they are stated in the account at the converted
price of 20s. 6. 6 Scots for 46 wedders and 70 poultry (at
twopence each). G.C.P. Press I, d. 2.

(3) Rental Book (1770 - 1785), Gordon Estates Office, Glenlivet.
estates. Strathavon and other Highland districts, far from being able to furnish such produce, were in the position of having to buy in meal. (1) Some adjustments to this scheme, as outlined above, are apparent in later years when hens and wedders were paid by such districts as Glenrinnes and Cabrach; Lochaber, as may be expected, continuing to pay entirely in money.

Not until the year 1784 did Strathavon and Glenlivet tacks include 'customs' in the payments to be made by tacksmen, and then it was "a good wedder sheep deliverable at Glenfiddich and failing the delivery thereof to pay ten shillings as the conversion of the same". (2) The number due from Strathavon was above forty, being one from each tacksmen, two in the case of a double tack or a tack shared between two tenants, but the numbers actually delivered were often far short of this and those unpaid were charged as additional rent at the current rate of conversion, which remained ten shillings sterling until 1797, when it rose to fifteen shillings and then to one pound in 1802. The sheep were marked by the duke's agent and then collected by him or delivered to the shepherd at Glenfiddich, where they were kept on some of the forest grass until required...

(1) cf. I.F. Grant, _Everyday Life on an Old Highland Farm_, p. 83.
(2) Strathavon and Glenlivet Tacks, G.C.P. 23/5.
(3) Account to Duke of Gordon: "To John Christy and John Anderson going through marking the custom wedders of Glenlivat and Strathaven, B'fast, denner and super May 9-17 etc. £0.17.10d." Vouchers Press I, d, 5.
at Gordon Castle. Tacksmen unable at a later date to produce receipts for wedders so delivered had the conversion price added to their rent or arrears. Wedders continued to constitute a small part of the Strathavon rent until 1804. The terms agreed upon for tacks in 1803 included, in some cases, offers of wedders, but, from 1805, only two wedders appear in the accounts of the factor for Strathavon, etc., and these are from the Cabrach district. Custom hens paid by the tenants of Cabrach and Achindoun were delivered at Blackwater House or Glenfiddich until at least 1824.\(^1\)

So far as Strathavon tacksmen were concerned as recipients, the standard customs derived from their subtenants were poultry, reek hens ("one for each reeking house"), eggs (dozens), butter (amounts varying from one pound to as much as three quarters of a cwt.), wedders or hogs (one year old), and, less frequently, cheese, with, from each miller, "a miln swine". From the phrase "poultry conform to \(1\frac{1}{2}\) oxgates", it would appear that there was a standard duty (of six poultry) per oxgate, though there were exceptions to this rate. An unusual item demanded of one subtenant (c. 1753) was "an year old aver".\(^2\)

The precedent for converting customs into cash payments appears to have been set, in the Strathavon district, in the seventeenth century. While Farquharson of Invercauld was in possession of lands in the Braes of Avon (c. 1662-1693) his tenants, we are told,\(^3\) "did undergoe for customs such as .....

\(^1\) Strathavon Vouchers, Press I, d. 5, 6, 7.
\(^2\) From old French: in plural, farm-stock, cattle; in singular, a draught ox or horse, etc.
\(^3\) G.C.P.
"fowls, lambs butter etc to the value of fifty or sixtie merks when converted....they finding it troublesome everie on cary the forsed customs to Invercauld". Thereafter the process of conversion was a haphazard one. By 1712, a small proportion of subtenants was paying to wadsetter or tacksman a merk or two "for customes"; and ten years later, though only a few conversions were in force, judicial rentals sometimes showed the value of payments in kind. Thus the davoch of Inversourie and the plough of Middle Invercheblit, with a money rental of £42.17.10 and grassums of £156 10s., produced customs worth about 420 Scots. In some cases payment of reek hens continued while other customs were replaced by money payments. Payments "in lieu of all rent and customs" were not uncommon in 1736, but in general, single items from assorted customs dues at first came to be selected for conversion, doubtless to meet particular needs or shortages, and many of these are noted about 1750:
"for poultry 5 sh."; "one penny for eggs"; "3 quarters of butter or 23". The various portions of a wedder due by subtenants were most apt for such treatment, and, the wedder being worth 82 Scots at that date, the following "shares" were of common occurrence: 4/-, 6/-, 10/-, 12/6, 16/8, 12/-, 20/-, 25/- and 30/-.

Sweeping changes in respect of customs were not effected until lands came into the hands of the duke to be held directly of him. No substantial change then falls to be noted from the time of the redemption of Carron's wadset, until William Gordon of Glenbucket was deprived of the Braes of Avon in 1766 and
granted a reduced tack (Achriachan and Wester Camdel). Once
Farquharson of Invercauld had subset his wadset of the Braes to
Alexander Gordon of Camdel in 1693 payments in kind had no doubt
been re-introduced, (1) and the seventeen subtenants of Glen-
bucket on such farms as Delavorar, Achnahyle, Gaulrig and
Keppoch (money rent, £43.13. 4 sterling) had their customs dues
commuted in 1766 to a total of three guineas sterling. A
greater change took place in 1773 when Glenbucket finally
renounced his remaining possessions, (2) leaving many more former
subtenants to become tacksmen of the duke. How long customs
continued to be exacted from the reduced number of subtenants,
available records do not show.
(c) Services. The remaining element of the rent, the services
rendered by subtenant to tacksmen and by tacksmen to heritor,
was not clearly defined in Strathavon tacks before the second
half of the eighteenth century. The clause, “with all manner
of services arradges and carriages as the rest of the propertie
lands of Strathaven are in use and wont to use and performe," or
the briefer "all services used and wont", was the only indica-
tion of a complex system of labour dues which sustained the
agricultural life of the community.
A judicial rental of 1753-54 affords the first clear
picture of the varied services which subtenants were called
upon to perform. The system provided men, with or without
horses, for a number of days' work at tasks, sometimes

(1) cf. Fraser, Chiefs of Grant.
(2) See above, Chapter II.
unspecified but generally applied to agriculture in its several stages, the provision of fuel and building materials, and the carriage of goods within or beyond the bounds of the parish. In summary form the main services were as follows, the minimum and maximum numbers demanded of subtenants being given in each category:-

One/six days of two/eight hands casting peats/in the moss.
Two/twelve horses to lead peats; to lead 16/64 loads of peats.
One/four days at the mucking.
One/eight days to lead muck.
One day of two/four horses to the plough.
One day of two/four horses to the harrowing.
One/eight hand(s) four days in harvest/at shearing.
One day of one/four horse(s) to lead corn.

In addition certain subtenants were required to carry corn to and from the mill, to "keep up" the dykes about the corn or the fold dykes, or "to lead timber home with horses". Millers' services were limited to upholding the stone and iron and the "going graith" of the mill. One individual who "scours the cloths to Jno. Davidson" (one of Glenbucket's subtenants who had a "walk miln") was exempt from other services.

'Carriages' were for such stipulated distances as twelve or sixteen miles, unless styled vaguely "long" carriages - required for taking venison to Gordon Castle, bringing meal from Huntly or timber from Glenmore - and the horses might number two to four, or simply "all". An unusual way of fulfilling the 'long carriage' service was recorded in 1780 when Gordon of Croughly
sent to Gordon Castle an old man, John Grant, as witness in a
dispute with Grant of Rothiemurghus—"attended by a long carriage
man," one of Croughly's subtenants. (1) According to the rental
of 1753 it would appear that few tacksmen other than Stewart of
Drumin and Gordon of Glenbucket exacted the 'long carriage'
service, although in some cases it is not possible to say pre-
cisely what subtenants' services were since they are covered by
the phrase "services for an oxgate" or "services when desired".

It was on the basis of the oxgate that services were
assigned to tacksmen from the year 1765, when tacks had become
the regular mode of tenure, and in the tacks the services are
explicitly stated. (2) The tenant is expected "to perform"

(1) G.C.P. Dr. V, 119.
(2) The 'reddendo' of personal service (more particularly
attendance on the superior at his 'hosting'; hunting and
hawking) which had formerly been required of vassals, was as
a consequence of the 'Fifteen rebellion abrogated in 1718 by
an Act of George I "for the more effectual securing the
peace of the Highlands". The annual value of the service
was appointed to be paid in money. In a process before the
Court of Session these personal services, so far as the
forfeited estates of Lochiel and Cluny were concerned, were
evaluated at one-half per cent of the yearly rent of the
vassals' estates.

The Act was confined to thirteen shires, the Highlands
generally, and parts of Stirling and Dunbarton, and thus the
Gordon lands in the Merse and Berwickshire were not affected.
The tutors of the fourth Duke of Gordon were anxious, in
1755, to have the services valued and added to the feu-duties
of his vassals, but in 1781 the matter was still unsettled.
The fifth duke in that year resolved to accept from his
vassals a composition of forty years' payment of the value of
the services at the above rate in respect of the period since
the Act of 1718, and to add the annual value thereafter to
the feu-duty. This decision was taken after consultation
with the factors of the Dukes of Argyll, Montrose, and Atholl
among others. (G.C.P. 40/6, 10 and 12.)

At that date the only portion of Kirkmichael affected
was the estate of Delnabo regarding which it may be noted
that as late as 1825 the precept of clarem constat granted by
the 5th Duke of Gordon to the Earl of Seafield still contained
the injunction "to give services used and went at my hunting
within Strathaven and Badenoch". (G.C.P. 23/19.)
yearly if required on his own charges and expenses for each oxgate of the said possession the following services or the conversion thereof in case of failure viz. A yoking of a plough; a man with a horse for harrowing and a man for cutting down corns in harvest one day or five shillings; a man with a horse for a long carriage not exceeding twenty miles distance or five shillings; a man for a foot errand the like distance or two shillings and sixpence, with a man and a horse one day to defend the incroachments of Aven Conglass or Livat or two shillings all sterling money, Declaring that these services may be applied to these and other purposes the heritor may have use for and that the said -- is only to be liable for the conversions in case the services are not punctually paid when required, and if not demanded within the year they are hereby discharged."

Tenants in the Braes of Avon were, in addition, required in their turn to transport deer when killed from any place in the forest to the forester's house at Gaulrig, the conveyance from that point to Gordon Castle being completed by 'long carriages'.

It does not seem that many of these services were regularly enforced by Gordon Castle, only the 'carriages' and 'foot errands' being required with any frequency, especially the latter which provided a letter 'express' service (2) between

(1) Strathavon Vouchers Press I, d. 6; G.C.P. 23/4, 5, 6.
(2) In October 1770, for instance, Willox writes: "the water being big the express did not go from my house till Wednesday morning; the carriage lys on Glenbucket and his tenants which they refused to the officer to perform so that I payed the express myself." (G.C.P. 39/24.)
Strathavon and Gordon Castle. It was nevertheless open to the duke to use the services for the upkeep of vacant possessions, for instance, in order that ground might not go to waste nor crops be lost; or to ease the situation of a tacksman of long standing, such as Gordon of Fodderletter, who, in the very restricted possession he finally held, was without subtenants to labour his ground or secure fuel; or, it might be, to grant assistance to Willox with his Kirktown harvest.

The duke himself was temporarily at some disadvantage through his having permanently dispensed with the services of his Mortlach tenants in return for their giving up pasturage in Glenfiddich, where custom wedders were grazed and where he was, in 1773, having a house built for his accommodation during the grouse and stalking seasons. He had recourse to Glenlivet for assistance, the ground officer requiring all tenants to give a "draught" of their horses to carry heather for thatching the lodge. On the Glenlivet tenants, too, fell the burden of 'leading' peats for Glenfiddich. (1)

The duke had made a generous allowance of services to William Gordon of Glenbucket when the latter renounced his large tack in 1773 and was left with only the Mains of St. Bridget. All Glenbucket's former subtenants, on becoming direct tenants of the duke, had conditions like the following engrossed in their minutes of tack (1774): "The saids Patrick Gow and David McDonald and foresaid are yearly at their own expense without meat drink or entertainment of any kind to cast winn load or ...

"stack upon the stack hill of Saintbridget yearly for William Gordon of Glenbucket or the possessor of Saintbridget for the time fourty creel loads of proper and sufficient peats under the penalty of six pence sterling money for each load thereof failed to be delivered as aforesaid, also to afford four sufficient persons one day in harvest for cutting down the corns of Saintbridget or eight pence sterling in case of refusal or neglect." (1)

By the terms of the minute it was competent to Glenbucket to recover payment of these conversions, and such a step was indeed suggested by the factor some years later when Glenbucket was having considerable trouble in enforcing the services. When tenants, in 1778, were making proposals for renewing their tacks, it was frequently with an offer of "services to the duke but not to Glenbucket or any possessor in St. Bridget". (2)

Conditions of Tenure

In May, 1783, when leases throughout the Gordon estates were expiring, being due for renewal in 1784, the duke's cashier wrote to Charles Gordon, the duke's legal agent in Edinburgh:

"It would be of great consequence to me and for the duke's interest to have a scroll of a lease, containing all necessary clauses adopted for his Graces low country estate that I might walk by it in making out the leases to be granted. The lease must be very long if no method is fallen upon to contract it and therefore I beg leave to submitt to you whether it would not be..."

(1) G.C.P. 23/4.
(2) G.C.P. 23/6; Letter Book No. 41, p. 478.
proper to make General Conditions etc in a paper apart (for example such as are established in the Highlands) as might be referred to in the lease, and which would shorten it considerably. This is entirely from myself, but if you approve of the plan I shall communicate the whole to the duke and endeavour to receive his directions thereupon."

Ross's suggestion was in fact adopted, and a series of "Articles and Regulations" drawn up in readiness for the year 1784. A printed copy was delivered to each tacksman with his lease and by the terms of the lease the regulations were held to be as effective as if they were engrossed in the lease itself.

The twelfth article of the regulations concerned services and ordained "that every tenant shall perform his proportion of the necessary and accustomed services to milns, miln dams, manses, kirk, kirk yard dykes, and schoolhouses, and assist at making bullworks, bridges, water courses and roads to limestone quarries and mosses used by themselves or within the parish". The penalty for non-compliance with the directions of the ground officer to assist at such public works was a half-crown for each day's absence. Strathavon and Glenlivet tenants, however, were by their leases still required to perform the accustomed services for each oxgata as formerly or pay the conversions, in addition to which tenants in the Braes were still held bound to transport deer as required from Glenavon to Gaulrig.

(1) G.C. Letter Book No. 44, p. 79.
(2) G.C.P. 40/12.
In the revision of these conditions of tenure(1) which took place in 1802 before the next general renewal of leases, bulwarks, bridges, water courses and roads were omitted from the regulation governing services.

In 1784 thirlage was still in full force, all tacksmen being "restricted to the different milns at which they formerly grinded their corns (except where it has been or may be convenient to make alterations) and bound to pay and perform the usual multures as well as services for upholding sd milns leads and dams and for bringing home millstones all conform to use and wont."(2) And it being His Graces resolution as soon as may be...

(1) G.C.P. 40/15.
(2) In December, 1778, when Glenbucket was incapacitated through lack of subtenants, we find the Strathavon factor paying Lewis Grant in Findron 4 shillings for doing Glenbucket's portion of the repairs to the mill-lead, and 5/6 for the like share of the work of bringing home the millstone of Achriachan. (Vouchers, Press 1, d. 4.)

Some instances may be cited to show the vicissitudes of the miller's lot in Strathavon:

In September, 1770, William Gordon of Glenbucket writes from St. Bridget to Gordon Castle on his return from Glengarry where he had just married his own first cousin (his second wife) Christina Macdonnell of Glengarry. The mill of Achriachan (then in his tack) he writes, "is just now quite out of order and her sucketh quite destitute of meal". The need was for timber to repair it, and though he had sent the "millart" to Abernethy, the latter had returned without procuring it. He begs his Grace to order this to be supplied to him. (G.C.P. 36/24.)

By 1774 the mill was out of Glenbucket's hands and set to Lt. James Grant of Achnahyle, with William Leslie as miller. Grant had sent in a petition as a result of which Ross wrote (6 Nov.) to the Strathavon factor: "If the intake or waterlead is so totally demolished as he represents there no doubt must be a greater and speedier exertion to put it in repair than the suckners are capable of, and for that reason I must desire you to go to the country immediately, and after seeing how matters stand take the measures to get it repaired sufficiently without delay that Lt. Grant may have no pretence for keeping up his/
"to abolish altogether or at least greatly to abate the burden of thirllage in his estate, he hereby reserves full power and liberty to him and his heirs or the factor commissioned by them to settle the multures according as they shall think proper by a deed under their hand, and whatever time they shall establish such regulations the tenant shall during the remainder of his lease pay annually with rent a proportion of multures as shall...

(Note 2) continued from p. 318.)

his rent. It is impossible for me to give any directions about the work, further than to tell you that if the suckners are not able to do it expeditiously on the footing of mill services you must call for services payable to the duke which you know can be applied for repairing breaches in the rivers or for any purpose he chuses, and when you do call for such services you must take care that the tenants perform them punctually. If any wood is necessary for making up this breach it must be given but you will take care it be of the worst kind and particularly such as is peeled or otherwise damaged." (G.C. Letter Book 39, p. 217.)

Shortage of wood was almost always the drawback. On 31st July, 1778, James Grant of Ruthven wrote: "The inner wheel of the mill of Ruthven has lately broke, the dukes forrester refuses to give any timber without orders, the wheel is so necessary that it must be immediately supply'd. Please be so good and send orders to give a few allar sticks for the use I will thankfully pay ready money." (G.C.P. Drawer IV, 66.)

In October, 1781, Willox, then tacksman of Achriachan mill at 412 12s., complains that the mill is idle and timber needed. He has "been cut a good deal of monie for timber to that mill".

Three years later Willox, still tacksman, has another cause for complaint, and asks Ross to "represent to his Grace that all the meal I hade from the mill of Achriachan for my twelve guineas the year eighty two was six bolls of bad meal, and all I have for this twelve guineas for year eighty three is five bolls of bear meal and thirteen pecks of oat meal, so that I have payed twenty four guineas for twelve bolls of meal bett three pecks, all this is owing to the bad years. I know his Grace would not chuse to take from a man of my great famillie but what his Grace thought I had vallow for." (G.C.P. Drawer V, 164.)
The tacksmen of the several mills are hereby bound to accede to this measure when called upon so to do upon getting notice three months previous to the term of Whitsun at which the same is to take place, discount of rent being allowed at the sight of two men mutually chosen in proportion to the rent payable for the farm and mill together where the rent of each is not specified by the lease.

At the expiry of their leases in 1803 the duke's tenants were in fact relieved of the burden of thirlage and made free to have their corn ground at any mill of their choice in the duke's estate. They were obliged only to make the miller a reasonable payment in money or meal for his work. This payment was afterwards to be fixed by the duke or his factor to prevent disputes. Tenants were, however, still to assist in repairing mill-leads and dams of the mills to which they had been astricted, but not, as formerly, to uphold the mill itself or bring home mill-stones. (1)

To the rental of the year 1802 was added the value of the multures of each tack (nearly 9 4d. per £ of rent) totalling £47 for the parish of Kirkmichael. This amount was apportioned to the three mills (2) (Kuthven, £15; Achriachan, £17; Inverchebit, ...

(1) G.C.P. 40/15.
(2) The total production of meal does not seem to have been great. The writer of the Old Statistical Account assessed the multures of the parish at something under 80 bolls. Taking the price of oats at 13/4d. per boll (Banff fairs, 1793) the value of 75 bolls would have been £30, which bears comparison with the £47 of the 1802 assessment. The same writer stated the proportion paid in multures to be one thirty-second part; whereas Donaldson (op. cit., p. 11) in the same year (1794) gave it for Banffshire generally as an eighth to a fifteenth part; on the average, about a twelfth.
to be deducted from the rents of the mills. Though it does not appear to have been allowed to affect this settlement, there was a fourth meal mill in the parish on the Grant property of Delnabo to which the Braes of Avon and other parts of Kirk-michael had been astricted. (1) It was not indeed until 1829 (2) that a contract was made between the representatives of the Earl of Seafield and of the Duke of Gordon converting the multures in respect of Delnabo mill to an annual payment of nine pounds sterling. (3)

Many changes had at different times taken place as regards the astriction of certain farms in Strathaven. Wester Camdel, for example, was in 1626 astricted to Ruthven mill, and latterly to the mill of Achriachan. Shealings, too, when first cultivated were astricted to the same mill as the 'parent' property; and thus a tack of 1784 refers to the former astriction of Inverourie and parts of Braes of Conglass to the mill of Ruthven "but now disjoined therefrom and astricted to the mills of Inverchebit and Achriachan", to the latter of which the Braes of Conglass were much nearer. (4)

(1) As late as 1767, Willox's tack of Gaulrigs shows that property to have been astricted to Delnabo (to which mill it was nearest), "or to any other mill the heritor may appoint".
(2) The year in which the Delnabo mill was completely sanded up by the "Moray" floods — though a short time after the contract mentioned was made. (v. Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, The Moray Floods, p. 122.)
(3) This payment is now made in two portions to the Delnabo proprietor by the proprietor of Inchryoe (£2.15. 2) and the Commissioners of Crown Lands (£6. 4.10). (This information and the Contract of 1829 contained in the title deeds held by the present proprietor of Delnabo.)
(4) G.C.P. 23/5.
By the conditions governing leases in his estates the Duke of Gordon in 1784 reserved to himself certain rights: the liberty to re-arrange marches with other proprietors, or those between his own tenants, for the purpose of enclosing and improving farms, with compensation to be made for loss incurred by any tenant; power to enclose woods, to enclose and plant ground, to cut and remove timber at any season, with the right to search for and to work minerals; freedom to make and repair roads where necessary, his rights to all mosses and market stances being also reserved.

By 1784 each tenant was strictly bound not to "outlabour or mislabour" his farm, (1) being prohibited from taking more than three successive crops after liming; after which, if not sooner, he must sow clover and rye grass and leave the land in that condition for at least four years. Where the ground was suitable each tenant was obliged to sow at least one acre of turnips every year. No tenant was at any time to have less than a quarter of his farm in grass. The outgoing tenant was free to possess such grass until the first of November after the term of removal (Whitsun). Failure in each case brought a penalty of one pound sterling, while for ploughing any summer grass or meadow ground without written permission, the penalty was five pounds. Where tenants, by the third year of their...

(1) In one of the earliest Strathavon tacks (1710) Grigor Grant, Delavorar, was required "to leave also much weall rested outfieild ley land att his removeall as will serve the incoming tenant to tawth upon for two years under the failly of one court unlaw". (G.C.P. 23/2.)
leases, failed to replan their farms in regular divisions, the
duke claimed the right to carry out the improvements; and
where tenants had their lands mixed or runrigged with one
another, factor and birlaymen could redistribute the lands in
suitable compact holdings to each tenant. The right of
'reousing' and 'souning' (1) commonties, in order to prevent
overstocking, was also reserved to the heritor, as well as the
right to bring parts of such commonties or barren ground under
cultivation. (2) Neighbouring tenants were bound to share the
cost of maintaining march dykes or fences, the heritor undertak¬
ing to allow compensation on their removal. Tenants were,
in the regulations of 1784, clearly prohibited from taking in
cattle of other owners upon common grazings, or even upon their
own grass, when harm to neighbours could result, without the
special permission of the factor. The herding of their black
cattle was at the same time made obligatory in winter as well
as in summer, under the usual penalty of recompense for actual
damage and half a merk for each beast pointed on a neighbour's
ground.

Tacksmen were encouraged to build "sufficient comfortable

(1) The term 'souning' was still in use in the district in the
19th century. (Minutes of Tomnabat Hill Committee,
Clydesdale and North of Scotland Bank, Tomintoul.)
(2) The onus for this improvement had for a time been placed on
the tacksmen who was bound "to improve into corn ground
such pieces of barren ground as will admit of improvement
to the extent of half a boll's sowing yearly for each
plough's labouring or otherways to yield up the same to the
heritor and his foresaids or to his factor to be improved
by them." (1785.) Prasa I, d. 6.
houses" and to make enclosures in order to introduce better methods of cultivation, under the assurance that on their removal compensation would be given for the improvements effected, according to the valuation set on them by "disinterested men of skill and character to be mutually chosen".

The promise of payment for "meliorations" had been a constant feature of Strathavon tacks throughout the century, a corresponding obligation being put on the tenant "to maintain the biggings or pay the peroration thereof". At one period (c. 1743) tenants could choose either to accept payment for such timber as they had used to improve buildings or to take the timber with them at their removal. As the taste for improvements spread, however, a limit of £20 Scots for each hundred merks of rent was imposed (1765) on payments for mason work, timber and other improvements.

About 1770 it was agreed to allow James Gordon fifty pounds sterling for enclosures he proposed to make at Croughly - "and no more whatever the value of the fences may be". The vast schemes of improvement which Cuthbert Gordon had in mind for Camedmore in 1772 had rather alarmed the duke's chamberlain. "I was very doubtful," Ross wrote, "of his carrying on such a work, and not less so of its being prudent for your Grace to embark to such an extent for inclosing in that highland country. At last, with some difficulty, I got his plan reduced." A maximum allowance of £80 was agreed upon. With Captain Grant of Lurg, who took over the same tack, a different plan was adopted, after parts of his scheme had been dispensed with as
being "extremely expensive and difficult". He was to be requited only for such improvements as he accomplished over the value of one hundred pounds sterling.

Clearly, in the Gordon estates at large a "ca' canny" policy had had to be adopted in view of the duke's costly undertakings nearer home. The enlargement of Gordon Castle, the re-siting of Fochabers, the "endless" acres of fir plantations and the high standard of the ducal farms had evoked praise from Andrew Wight(1) about 1780; but, no farther off than the Anzie district the same writer found the appearance of the country "chequered" and the land "uniformly ill-cultivated". Little advancement, then, need be looked for at that date in a remote Highland portion of the estates where, as the writer of the Statistical Account of 1794 remarked, the country was "ill-calculated" for improvements. Though the stamp of the 'improver' was on the nineteen-years' leases in vogue in Strath-avon from 1736 onwards, it was quite another matter to make all the conditions and inducements contained in them effective, and by 1794, the tacksmen of Kirkmichael were, with the exception of some attention to the cultivation of turnips and potatoes, still adhering to "the practice of their ancestors".

NOTE

Of Fodderletter's five sons, George and Cuthbert had a scientific bent. Some time before 1788, George had discovered...

how to produce a natural dye from certain mosses, and with the help of money advanced by their father, the brothers went to Leith where they formed the Cudbear Company to manufacture dyes.

In 1764 they made a proposal to the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates. It was couched in mysterious terms. They undertook to improve the forfeited estates "so as to double the present rent on such farms as abound with rock, water, and heath,...by raising a certain annual produce thereon". The produce, it was claimed, would find "a never-failing market through different countries in Europe without detriment to the tenants". They wished the secret of the industry to be kept until they could reveal it without prejudice to their own interest.

In the same year the brothers were granted a contract by the Commissioners, drawn up in similarly vague terms. They were to experiment at the expense of the Commissioners for four years, and the whole profit for eleven years was to be their reward. In 1765, however, George died and that was only the beginning of Cuthbert's misfortunes. The difficulty of promoting his business against the established interests of others in the trade, a dispute over the secret of the process, and family misfortunes, led to the dissolution of the company. He had had an unfortunate difference with his remaining brothers, James and William, and as a result of a legal decision which held him responsible for the whole debt on Fodderletter, he had been imprisoned for a time in 1776.

He continued to make fresh discoveries of value, however,
and by personal application succeeded in getting various manufacturers in Yorkshire and Glasgow to adopt his dyeing process. A new company was formed in Glasgow in 1777, but he soon held little or no capital in this, having disposed his shares to meet the duke's and other debts. His creditors, it seems, were not without sympathy and accepted 7s.6d. in the pound. His hope lay in further discoveries from his investigations of plants, and in the possibility of a Government grant, others having been well rewarded, it seems, for such discoveries.

For a time he took to medicine, graduating M.D. at Aberdeen in 1785. He then set up practice in London where his brother, James, joined him; but chemistry continued to attract him and we finally find him in correspondence with the Duke of Gordon and the Commissioners of the Privy Council for Trade regarding his most recent discoveries. He proposed to make great savings in imports on such substances as archei, madder, and cochineal, by using indigenous plants. A species of lichen supplied the black and grey dyes which, he held, could compare with the best French dyes. His red dyes were secured from the root of a species of Gallium (probably Gallium Verum, or yellow bedstraw which abounds on Avonside, and the flowers of which were once used as rennet) the family of plants which also provided the madder dye then used for the coarse cloth of the soldiers' uniform.

Cuthbert continued to be responsible for the rent of the house of Mid-Fodderletter which remained the home of his unmarried sister.
A postscript is supplied by Souter, who stated in 1612 that the "Cudbear" manufacture had been revived, and that in the summers of 1608 and 1609 merchants from Glasgow had purchased four or five hundred pounds' worth of the plants which had been procured on the mountains of Banffshire and Aberdeenshire: "It is gathered from the rocks by boys and girls who collect from one to three stone weight each in the course of a day, and sell it at the rate of 3s.4d. per stone."

(G.C.P. 41/41, 23/22.
Forfeited Estate Papers, General Management II: Schemes of Improvement No. 5 - Improvements in Agriculture on Various Estates, 1785-65.
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