IX.—Inquiry into the Earlier History of the Clan Gregor, with a view to ascertain the causes which led to their Proscription in 1603.

By DONALD GREGORY, Esq. Secretary S. A. Scot.

[Read to the Society 22d March 1830.]

The History of the Clan Gregor, a race characterized by an illustrious Author, in the notes to one of his most popular poems, as “the most unfortunate and most persecuted, but neither the least distinguished, least powerful, nor least brave of the tribes of the Gae,” has of late years, owing chiefly to the gifted individual above mentioned, been viewed with that romantic interest which attaches to every subject treated of by his magic pen. As, however, it is not in works of fiction, even the most interesting, that the Antiquary must look for that historical information in which he almost exclusively delights, I trust I shall be indulged by the Society, whilst, putting romance and tradition aside, I endeavour, from authentic sources, to trace the History of this Clan, with the view of accounting, if possible, for that state of insubordination in which they appear to have been for a considerable period previous to the proscription of their name.

The total want of private papers and title-deeds connected with the different branches of this family (a fact unfortunately but too easily accounted for by their sufferings for many generations), and the defective state of the earlier records of Scotland, in relation more especially to the Highlands, have made this investigation no easy task. These disadvantages, however, are compensated, in some measure at least, by the very full and very clear intimations which attach to every subject treated of by his magic pen. As, however, it is not in works of fiction, even the most interesting, that the Antiquary must look for that historical information in which he almost exclusively delights, I trust I shall be indulged by the Society, whilst, putting romance and tradition aside, I endeavour, from authentic sources, to trace the History of this Clan, with the view of accounting, if possible, for that state of insubordination in which they appear to have been for a considerable period previous to the proscription of their name.

The total want of private papers and title-deeds connected with the different branches of this family (a fact unfortunately but too easily accounted for by their sufferings for many generations), and the defective state of the earlier records of Scotland, in relation more especially to the Highlands, have made this investigation no easy task. These disadvantages, however, are compensated, in some measure at least, by the very full and very clear intimations which attach to every subject treated of by his magic pen. As, however, it is not in works of fiction, even the most interesting, that the Antiquary must look for that historical information in which he almost exclusively delights, I trust I shall be indulged by the Society, whilst, putting romance and tradition aside, I endeavour, from authentic sources, to trace the History of this Clan, with the view of accounting, if possible, for that state of insubordination in which they appear to have been for a considerable period previous to the proscription of their name.

An early, if not the original seat of the Clan Gregor, a family which is generally allowed to be one of the most ancient and renowned of the Highland.

1 The Lady of the Lake, a Poem by Sir Walter Scott, Bart., first published in 1810.
child the barony of Glenurchy appears to have returned to the family of Macgregor, for there is undoubted evidence of the death, so late as 1390, of "John Macgregor of Glenurchy."  

I have been thus minute in tracing the history of this barony, as I conceive it to have been the last freehold possession of any consequence held by the name of Macgregor.

Glendochart is another district with which the Clan appear to have been connected at an early period. John Glendochir witnesses a charter by Mal-Elizb and his brothers, sons of John, do homage to Edward I. at Berwick-upon-Tweed, 28th August 1296, being a short while after the disastrous conflict of Dunbar. In the lists of the Scots on this occasion, printed by Prynne, Malcolm de Glendochart is mentioned twice, and in separate peces, once as Malcolm de Glendochart simply, and again, in company with, amongst others, Alexander de Argyle (Lord of Lorn), as "King's Tenant in Perthshire." From these facts the obvious inference is, that Malcolm de Glendochart held lands both as a free baron and as a kindly tenant. That the individuals designated of Glendochart were Macgregors, appears highly probable, when, in addition to the well-known fact of the long settlement of the Clan in this quarter, we find that the names Malcolm and Patrick were common in the tribe.

But these were not the only territories in which the Clan Gregor succeeded in gaining a footing. The numbers of the name that have for centuries been found connected at an early period. John Glendochir witnesses a charter by Mal-Elizb and his brothers, sons of John, do homage to Edward I. at Berwick-upon-Tweed, 28th August 1296, being a short while after the disastrous conflict of Dunbar. In the lists of the Scots on this occasion, printed by Prynne, Malcolm de Glendochart is mentioned twice, and in separate peces, once as Malcolm de Glendochart simply, and again, in company with, amongst others, Alexander de Argyle (Lord of Lorn), as "King's Tenant in Perthshire." From these facts the obvious inference is, that Malcolm de Glendochart held lands both as a free baron and as a kindly tenant. That the individuals designated of Glendochart were Macgregors, appears highly probable, when, in addition to the well-known fact of the long settlement of the Clan in this quarter, we find that the names Malcolm and Patrick were common in the tribe.

But these were not the only territories in which the Clan Gregor succeeded in gaining a footing. The numbers of the name that have for centuries been found connected at an early period. John Glendochir witnesses a charter by Mal-Elizb and his brothers, sons of John, do homage to Edward I. at Berwick-upon-Tweed, 28th August 1296, being a short while after the disastrous conflict of Dunbar. In the lists of the Scots on this occasion, printed by Prynne, Malcolm de Glendochart is mentioned twice, and in separate peces, once as Malcolm de Glendochart simply, and again, in company with, amongst others, Alexander de Argyle (Lord of Lorn), as "King's Tenant in Perthshire." From these facts the obvious inference is, that Malcolm de Glendochart held lands both as a free baron and as a kindly tenant. That the individuals designated of Glendochart were Macgregors, appears highly probable, when, in addition to the well-known fact of the long settlement of the Clan in this quarter, we find that the names Malcolm and Patrick were common in the tribe.

But these were not the only territories in which the Clan Gregor succeeded in gaining a footing. The numbers of the name that have for centuries been found connected at an early period. John Glendochir witnesses a charter by Mal-Elizb and his brothers, sons of John, do homage to Edward I. at Berwick-upon-Tweed, 28th August 1296, being a short while after the disastrous conflict of Dunbar. In the lists of the Scots on this occasion, printed by Prynne, Malcolm de Glendochart is mentioned twice, and in separate peces, once as Malcolm de Glendochart simply, and again, in company with, amongst others, Alexander de Argyle (Lord of Lorn), as "King's Tenant in Perthshire." From these facts the obvious inference is, that Malcolm de Glendochart held lands both as a free baron and as a kindly tenant. That the individuals designated of Glendochart were Macgregors, appears highly probable, when, in addition to the well-known fact of the long settlement of the Clan in this quarter, we find that the names Malcolm and Patrick were common in the tribe.

But these were not the only territories in which the Clan Gregor succeeded in gaining a footing. The numbers of the name that have for centuries been found connected at an early period. John Glendochir witnesses a charter by Mal-Elizb and his brothers, sons of John, do homage to Edward I. at Berwick-upon-Tweed, 28th August 1296, being a short while after the disastrous conflict of Dunbar. In the lists of the Scots on this occasion, printed by Prynne, Malcolm de Glendochart is mentioned twice, and in separate peces, once as Malcolm de Glendochart simply, and again, in company with, amongst others, Alexander de Argyle (Lord of Lorn), as "King's Tenant in Perthshire." From these facts the obvious inference is, that Malcolm de Glendochart held lands both as a free baron and as a kindly tenant. That the individuals designated of Glendochart were Macgregors, appears highly probable, when, in addition to the well-known fact of the long settlement of the Clan in this quarter, we find that the names Malcolm and Patrick were common in the tribe.

But these were not the only territories in which the Clan Gregor succeeded in gaining a footing. The numbers of the name that have for centuries been found connected at an early period. John Glendochir witnesses a charter by Mal-Elizb and his brothers, sons of John, do homage to Edward I. at Berwick-upon-Tweed, 28th August 1296, being a short while after the disastrous conflict of Dunbar. In the lists of the Scots on this occasion, printed by Prynne, Malcolm de Glendochart is mentioned twice, and in separate peces, once as Malcolm de Glendochart simply, and again, in company with, amongst others, Alexander de Argyle (Lord of Lorn), as "King's Tenant in Perthshire." From these facts the obvious inference is, that Malcolm de Glendochart held lands both as a free baron and as a kindly tenant. That the individuals designated of Glendochart were Macgregors, appears highly probable, when, in addition to the well-known fact of the long settlement of the Clan in this quarter, we find that the names Malcolm and Patrick were common in the tribe.

But these were not the only territories in which the Clan Gregor succeeded in gaining a footing. The numbers of the name that have for centuries been found connected at an early period. John Glendochir witnesses a charter by Mal-Elizb and his brothers, sons of John, do homage to Edward I. at Berwick-upon-Tweed, 28th August 1296, being a short while after the disastrous conflict of Dunbar. In the lists of the Scots on this occasion, printed by Prynne, Malcolm de Glendochart is mentioned twice, and in separate peces, once as Malcolm de Glendochart simply, and again, in company with, amongst others, Alexander de Argyle (Lord of Lorn), as "King's Tenant in Perthshire." From these facts the obvious inference is, that Malcolm de Glendochart held lands both as a free baron and as a kindly tenant. That the individuals designated of Glendochart were Macgregors, appears highly probable, when, in addition to the well-known fact of the long settlement of the Clan in this quarter, we find that the names Malcolm and Patrick were common in the tribe.
Earlier History of the Clan Gregor.

Some of the Clan, however, appear to have taken the other side; for in 1293 John Baliol, then King of Scotland, issued a mandate to Alexander de Engadia (Lord of Lorn), and to the Bailie of Lochawe, charging them to summon “Sir Angus Macdonald, Knight, Lawmund Macgregor, and Angus son of Duncan Macgregor,” to appear in the royal presence on a specified day, to do homage and various other things obligatory upon them. The first of these three individuals is evidently the son and heir of the Lord of the Isles, and the same as he who proved afterward so steadily a friend to Robert Bruce. It would thus seem that Sir Angus, and the two Macgregors mentioned along with him, and who from the terms of the writ are evidently free barons, holding their lands of the crown, had not acquitted in the award which placed Baliol on the Scottish throne; an inference which, as it seems perfectly legitimate, will serve to account for Glenurchy’s being, as we have seen, in 1290, the property of John Macgregor. This, however, did not prevent the chiefs of the Campbells, who, by their close alliance with the new dynasty, had now commenced that rise which has been not less permanent than it was rapid, from acquiring a superiority over the Macgregors, which was improved by every succeeding generation. At what time the barony of Glenurchy was finally lost to the Macgregors, by becoming as it did the property of the Campbells, is a point on which, so far as I can learn, there is no extant evidence. Nor is it certainly known how the change took place. It has already been stated from good authority that John Macgregor of Glenurchy died in 1390. This individual was contemporary with Sir Colin Campbell of Lochawe, of whom I find them in a situation totally different from that of any other Clan in the Highlands, namely without an acre of land held free of the crown. Although, however, this was a very singular situation for a clan so numerous, and so long and extensively established, I have not discovered, from any authentic source whatever, that they had at this time become distinguished any more than the neighbouring tribes for a predatory disposition. In Perthshire the crown still possessed extensive lands, on which the chiefships of the tribe were seated, nominally as crown tenants, but in reality, from the unsettled state of the country, as the absolute proprietors; their numbers and their warlike habits making it very difficult, or next to impossible, for the crown to enforce payment of the rents. Such a state of things could not last. During the

134

Evelyn’s Fodera, first edition, ii. 64.

For a perusal of this history (a copy apparently) I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Dr Norman Macleod of Campsie.

135

Earlier History of the Clan Gregor.

son of Sir Colin above mentioned, married a daughter of Robert Duke of Albany, brother of King Robert III., and many years Governor of Scotland. This Duncan Lord Campbell, long known as Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochawe, was one of the wealthiest and most powerful of the Scottish barons. He held under the Jameses I. and II. the office of King’s Lieutenant in Argyleshire, which invested him with very extensive powers against rebels to the King’s authority. Whether he exercised those powers to strip the Macgregors of the territory of Glenurchy, or inherited this possession from his father, is a point on which, in the present state of our information, it is impossible to come to a decision. This much, however, is certain, that he possessed Glenurchy, and gave it in patronymy to a younger son, Sir Colin, founder of the House of Breadalbane, who is mentioned in a charter by the style of Glenurchy, anno 1442.

I have now brought down the history of the Clan Gregor to the time when I find them in a situation totally different from that of any other Clan in the Highlands, namely without an acre of land held free of the crown. Although, however, this was a very singular situation for a clan so numerous, and so long and extensively established, I have not discovered, from any authentic source whatever, that they had at this time become distinguished any more than the neighbouring tribes for a predatory disposition. In Perthshire the crown still possessed extensive lands, on which the chiefships of the tribe were seated, nominally as crown tenants, but in reality, from the unsettled state of the country, as the absolute proprietors; their numbers and their warlike habits making it very difficult, or next to impossible, for the crown to enforce payment of the rents. Such a state of things could not last. During the

134

Evelyn’s Fodera, vol. ii. p. 302. At the return of James I. of Scotland from captivity, A. D. 1424, Duncan Campbell, Lord of Argyle, was one of the several hostages for payment of the stipulated ransom, and is ranked as one-third richer than most of the rest, some of them Ears; nor does this appear to be a clerical error, for the Fodera Angliae and the Rotuli Scotiae agree in the statement.

135

Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, iv. 21.

The histories of the Campbells are silent on this point.

136

Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, iv. 21.

The Macdonalds of Koppoo and Glencoe can hardly be considered exceptions, as they were branches merely of a very powerful tribe the other members of which held extensive freehold possessions. The sufferings of these two septs, however, bear a striking analogy to those of the Clan Gregor, and thus confirm the hypothesis brought forward in this Essay.

137

Of the numbers of the Clan Gregor some idea may be formed, from the preamble to an
government of Albany, accordingly, and in the minorities of the four immediate successors of James I., owing to the above, and other causes not less important, these lands gradually passed into the possession of the various powerful barons in that part of the country whom it was the interest of a weak government to conciliate.

Although it be well known that the Duke of Albany, in order to strengthen his party during the captivity of James I., dilapidated the royal revenues to a very great extent, by bribing the most powerful families with grants of the crown-lands on very favourable terms in every part of the kingdom; yet I have not been able to trace any such transactions relating to the part of Perthshire of which we speak while he held the government. It appears, however, that the governor himself, besides the lands which he held in the Highlands as Earl of Moray, and as heir to the earldom of Fife, acquired extensive possessions in Breadalbane. He had, in 1375, a royal charter of the lands and barony of Glendochart, proceeding on the resignation of Alexander de Menzies. A large portion of this territory, comprehending Glenfalloch, Strathfillan, and the upper half of Glendochart, was held under Albany, by Arthur Campbell of Strachur, the representative of a family which had long been seated in this part of the country. The lands conveyed to Campbell (afterwards erected into the barony of Glenfalloch) were, in later reigns, and we may therefore presume at this time also, almost exclusively occupied by the Clan Gregor.

Act of Parliament in 1617, at which time the Clan was much broken and dispersed. It states that "the bare and simple name of Macgregor made that whole Clan to presume of their power, honor, and strength." Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, latest edition, commenced in 1814, vol. iv. p. 550.

20 Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. iii. passim.
21 Isabella, Countess of Fife, resigned into the hands of King Robert II. (amongst other lands) the barony of Strathmichael, Strathfillan, and Tayside, with the Lordship of Loch Tay in Perthshire, 30th June 1389. This resignation is mentioned by Sir John Skene, in his work De Forbarn Significacione, voce Angae.
22 Ibid.
23 Prynne, iii. 556. Arthur Campbell, king's tenant in Perthshire, did fealty to Edward I. of England anno 1396. Ever Campbell (so probably of this Arthur) had two charters of these lands, the later dated 20th July 1340, from Alexander Menzies, son and heir of that Alexander who, as formerly mentioned, obtained Glendochart from Robert Bruce. Crawford's Manuscript Collections, Adv. Lib. Jaq. V. 2. 14.
24 Record of Court of Session, vol. clxix. 91.

Earlier History of the Clan Gregor.

The mischievous system, introduced by Albany, of granting the crown-lands to those families whose support he wished to gain, without reference, as may easily be supposed, to the antiquated claims of the Celtic occupants, was checked for a time under the active and vigorous sway of James I.; but, during a century after the untimely death of that Monarch, and particularly under the long minorities with which Scotland was afflicted during this melancholy period of her history, we can trace the rise of several distinguished families, through their acquisition principally of the hereditary property of the Crown. A contemporary writer of undoubted authority says, under the year 1452, "Ther was sindrie landis gevvin to sindrie men be the Kingis Secret Counsell; that is to say, the Lord Campbell, to Schir Colyne Campbell, to Schir Alexander Hwme, to Schir Dauiel Hwme, to Schir James Kyr, and to uther sindrie, quha werrewardit be the said Secret Counsell, the qhillik men denyt waith nocht stand." Many such grants having been made during the minorities of the respective sovereigns, were, on their attaining majority, revoked; whilst others, according to the influence of the grantees, were confirmed. The uncertainty attending these new titles to the crown-lands must, doubtless, have encouraged the actual occupants to despise the authority of the charters by which over-lords were imposed upon them, and, in many cases, from families with whom they had long been at mortal feud. The Macgregors, as may be supposed, soon rendered themselves obnoxious to such of the families as had been fortunate enough to obtain charters to any of these lands; and consequently it became, in almost every instance, an object of the new proprietors to expel them. Resistance, though natural enough, became in the end ruin to the weaker party; and it may, I think, be safely affirmed that, in proportion as the Macgregors, from being kindly tenants of the Crown, became subject to their neighbours, who had a greater interest and better opportunities, and were consequently more successful than the King and his Bailies had formerly been in depriving them of lands to which they could produce no better title than occupancy, the Clan grew remarkable for opposition to law and order. This position will appear to have a better foundation, if we enter a little more into detail as regards the history of the Campbells of Glenorchy, of the family of Menzies, and of others of the Perthshire families closely connected, in one way or other, with the Clan Gregor.
In the reign of James III., but in what year is uncertain, Sir Colin Campbell, first of Glenurchy, acquired the large barony of Lawers, on Loch Tay, in the hands of the Crown since the forfeiture of Thomas Chalmor, who had been executed for aiding in the murder of James I. He acquired also the lands of Achniechan and Achinnorach in Glendochart, which, along with Lawers, he gave to his youngest son John, ancestor of the Campbells of Lawers.

In 1473, John Stewart of Forthingal, and Neil Stewart his son and heir, had from the same King a nineteen years' lease of the lands and lordships of Aparadull, Glencoich, Glenlyon, Strathbravin, and Rannoch, all in Perthshire. They had, beside, a royal grant, for the same term, of the office of bailiary of those lands; and it was at the same time provided, that they should have the lands of Rannoch, free of all duties and services, during the whole of the period above mentioned—a plain proof, that so far as Rannoch was concerned, it was not expected to prove, in any other way at least, beneficial to the lessees. This lease expired in 1492; and, to Stewart's great mortification, was not renewed. A great part of the power which it had conferred on this family passed, as we shall have occasion to see, into the hands of Glenurchy.

In the minority of James IV., anno 1488, being the first of his reign, a parliamentary act was passed for the "stanching of thift, reiff, and uther inormi-tees throw all the realme;" and, amongst others of the barons, the following became bound to seek out and punish such as should be guilty of those crimes in the districts over which their authority came bound to seek out and punish such as should be guilty of those crimes in the districts over which their authority came.

In 1491, Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, in this reign, made vast additions to the property of his family in Perthshire. He acquired the King's Lands of Balloch (now Taymouth), and others on Loch Tay, in 1492. About the same time he obtained the important office of bailiary of the crown-lands of Disher and Toyer, Glenlyon, and Glendochart, in most of which he was, moreover, the principal tenant. The acquisition of the office of bailiary was in this, as in most other cases, merely a prelude to the lands becoming hereditary in his family. Accordingly in 1502 he had a charter of the lands of Glenlyon, which he gave to his son Archibald, founder of the family of Campbell of Glenlyon. Some years later he acquired, from private individuals, the barony of Fynlarig, at the west end of Loch Tay; the lands of Scheane and others; and the lands of Crannoch, all in the same district; so that before his death (in the Battle of Flodden in 1513) he had undoubtedly become one of the most influential barons of Perthshire; and, if we take into account his possessions in Argyle, there were few barons of greater power in Scotland.

Whilst the Laird of Glenurchy was thus extending the influence of his house in one part of the territory occupied by the Clan Gregor, the head of the ancient family of Menzies followed his example in another. Robert Menzies, first of Glenurchy, Rannoch, Appadull, Glenlyon, and Glenfalloch. It is evident that, if this Act was enforced at all, it must have fallen with accumulated severity upon the landless and consequently desperate Clan Gregor. It is much to be doubted, however, if the morals of this now obnoxious race would be greatly improved by such discipline; and whether it was not rather to be expected that their feelings, in the situation in which they found themselves placed relatively to these powerful barons, must, in even a people far less high spirited, have been indignation and the thirst of vengeance.

Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, in this reign, made vast additions to the property of his family in Perthshire. He acquired the King's Lands of Balloch (now Taymouth), and others on Loch Tay, in 1492. About the same time he obtained the important office of bailiary of the crown-lands of Disher and Toyer, Glenlyon, and Glendochart, in most of which he was, moreover, the principal tenant. The acquisition of the office of bailiary was in this, as in most other cases, merely a prelude to the lands becoming hereditary in his family. Accordingly in 1502 he had a charter of the lands of Glenlyon, which he gave to his son Archibald, founder of the family of Campbell of Glenlyon. Some years later he acquired, from private individuals, the barony of Fynlarig, at the west end of Loch Tay; the lands of Scheane and others; and the lands of Crannoch, all in the same district; so that before his death (in the Battle of Flodden in 1513) he had undoubtedly become one of the most influential barons of Perthshire; and, if we take into account his possessions in Argyle, there were few barons of greater power in Scotland.

Whilst the Laird of Glenurchy was thus extending the influence of his house in one part of the territory occupied by the Clan Gregor, the head of the ancient family of Menzies followed his example in another. Robert Menzies, first of Glenurchy, Rannoch, Appadull, Glenlyon, and Glenfalloch. It is evident that, if this Act was enforced at all, it must have fallen with accumulated severity upon the landless and consequently desperate Clan Gregor. It is much to be doubted, however, if the morals of this now obnoxious race would be greatly improved by such discipline; and whether it was not rather to be expected that their feelings, in the situation in which they found themselves placed relatively to these powerful barons, must, in even a people far less high spirited, have been indignation and the thirst of vengeance.

Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, in this reign, made vast additions to the property of his family in Perthshire. He acquired the King's Lands of Balloch (now Taymouth), and others on Loch Tay, in 1492. About the same time he obtained the important office of bailiary of the crown-lands of Disher and Toyer, Glenlyon, and Glendochart, in most of which he was, moreover, the principal tenant. The acquisition of the office of bailiary was in this, as in most other cases, merely a prelude to the lands becoming hereditary in his family. Accordingly in 1502 he had a charter of the lands of Glenlyon, which he gave to his son Archibald, founder of the family of Campbell of Glenlyon. Some years later he acquired, from private individuals, the barony of Fynlarig, at the west end of Loch Tay; the lands of Scheane and others; and the lands of Crannoch, all in the same district; so that before his death (in the Battle of Flodden in 1513) he had undoubtedly become one of the most influential barons of Perthshire; and, if we take into account his possessions in Argyle, there were few barons of greater power in Scotland.

Whilst the Laird of Glenurchy was thus extending the influence of his house in one part of the territory occupied by the Clan Gregor, the head of the ancient family of Menzies followed his example in another. Robert Menzies, first of Glenurchy, Rannoch, Appadull, Glenlyon, and Glenfalloch. It is evident that, if this Act was enforced at all, it must have fallen with accumulated severity upon the landless and consequently desperate Clan Gregor. It is much to be doubted, however, if the morals of this now obnoxious race would be greatly improved by such discipline; and whether it was not rather to be expected that their feelings, in the situation in which they found themselves placed relatively to these powerful barons, must, in even a people far less high spirited, have been indignation and the thirst of vengeance.

Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, in this reign, made vast additions to the property of his family in Perthshire. He acquired the King's Lands of Balloch (now Taymouth), and others on Loch Tay, in 1492. About the same time he obtained the important office of bailiary of the crown-lands of Disher and Toyer, Glenlyon, and Glendochart, in most of which he was, moreover, the principal tenant. The acquisition of the office of bailiary was in this, as in most other cases, merely a prelude to the lands becoming hereditary in his family. According to...
Ijard of Weyme quhen Neil Stewart segit him, vij. s. Some details of the damage done in all cases of need, and to help them in getting tenants for their lands.

53

his son in the peaceable enjoyment of their lands in Perthshire, to aid them that could be found; and also to assist and maintain the Laird of Weyme and
tend the Parliament on a charge of treason.

53

of Glenurchy and Strowan Robertson, with Macgregor, were summoned to at-
tend the Earl of Athole, a near kinsman of Stewart, Stewart himself, and the lairds

50

the lands of Rannoch, a district claimed by the Clan as more peculiarly their

50

Diplomatum Collectio, vol. i. ...

53

Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, Transumpt of this Instrument, in Macfarlan's

54

xiv.' 204. The person who burned the castle of Weyme, and who resigned

50

the lands of Rannoch, be further investigated.

56

Several years appear to have passed over before

any very vigorous measures were taken against the Clan Gregor in this quar-
ter. In 1530, the "Lard of Enoch," Menzies of that Ilk, "askit instru-
mentis that without sum gud rewle be fundin for the Clan Gregour, he may
be laid to his charge."

55

Douglas's Peerage. _

5

This Lady is omitted in both editions of Douglas's Peerage.

5

Ada Dominorum Conclii, in General Register House, Edinburgh, xxxiii. 185, [MS].

5

Ibid.

2d December 1530, and 12th December 1531.
Earlier History of the Clan Gregor.

Weyme found himself under the necessity of obtaining an exemption from answering for the police of his lands of Rannoch, on the score of the alleged untameable insubordination of the Clan Gregor dwelling therein. This state of things was in full force so late as the year 1644, when Sir Alexander Menzies of Weyme obtained an exemption of this kind, which refers to two former exemptions granted by Mary of Guise, Queen Regent, and by her daughter Queen Mary, respectively. It was long after even this late period ere the family of Menzies succeeded in enforcing all the rights of free property in this large barony.

A proof of the tenacity with which, amidst all their sufferings, the Clan Gregor adhered to the claim thus kept up by successive generations of "broken men" to the ancient possessions of their race, is to be found in a certificate from the great Marquis of Montrose, King's Lieutenant in Scotland, to the Laird of Macgregor of the period, who had followed the fortunes of that accomplished leader with unshaken fidelity, and who distinguished himself by many gallant actions in the course of these wars. In this certificate, which is dated 7th June 1645, the Marquis, after bearing testimony to the services performed by this gallant gentleman and his Clan, promises, in name of his royal master, restitution to them of "whatever lands and possessions belonging justly to the said Laird of Macgregor and his predecessors in Glenlyon, Rannoch, or Glenurchy, or whatsoever lands belonging justly to his friends and their predecessors that are now in the possession of rebels and enemies to his Majesty's service," when it shall please God to put an end to these troubles.

The Clan Gregor had during the reign of James V. become very numerous in Ballquhaidh, and in the adjacent district of Strathearn, and, as may well be supposed, were proportionally annoying to the Lowlands next that to that great natural boundary by which the Highlands are so strikingly defined. This appears from several passages in the Justiciary Records, and likewise from a deposition made before the Lords of Council on 23rd December 1530, by John Drummond of Innerpeffray, and William Murray of Tulibardin, to the following effect: "That Sir John Campbell of Caklor, Kayacht, be autirate, supplie and help of the Erie of Ergyle, may cause the Clan Gregour to keep gude

---

61 Record of Secret Council, anno 1684.
62 The Lairds of Glenurchy and Weyme, and the gentlemen of their families, are evidently the persons here alluded to.
63 Transcript of this certificate, in the author's possession.
64 This individual, in addition to the extensive estates inherited by him, acquired from the Laird of Maccab considerable lands in the lower part of Gleschuchy; and, at a later date, added to his possessions the barony of Gleschuchy in Breadalbane, comprising a great portion of the ancient Lordship of Diesel and Teyor. Mag. Sig. xxxi. 181, xxxii. 489.
65 Record of the Privy Seal, xxxi. 52.
Of this most anomalous production (the precursor of many such, in later times, and which, in the preamble, indulge like this in the most unqualified abuse of the unfortunate race against whom they were directed), a prominent feature is the strict manner in which it is directed that the Clan be expelled from all the districts in which they dwelt, or to which they were in the habit of resorting, without specifying or so much as hinting at any other district into which they might be received. The impolitic and remorseless severity of this measure, which could only have been carried into effect by a universal massacre, naturally rendered it abortive. Another commission was accordingly next year (1564) issued to two only of the nine former commissioners, from which we may infer that the former had not answered its purpose.

Sir Colin of Glenurchy had, about the date of the first of these commissions, been individually armed with a separate and additional commission of fire and sword against the "Haarbourers of the Clan Gregor, in whatever part of the kingdom,"—a proof that the Secret Council not only neglected to provide a place to which the Clan Gregor might, when ejected from their homes, retire, but absolutely attempted to exclude them from every spot on which they might, on retiring, seek shelter, or even existence. Sir Colin, under colour of his individual commission, perpetrated on the lieges, as appears, atrocities not inferior to those alleged against the Clan Gregor; and, in consequence of a regular complaint by the barons and landlords of Strathearn, was, in the following year, threatened with the loss of his commission, and in 1565, having been deaf to remonstrance, and persevering in the most intolerable outrages, actually deprived of it.

As Glenurchy had been thus pre-eminent in severity against all whom he chose to suspect of tenderness towards the persecuted Clan Gregor, we may fairly presume that his conduct towards the latter was not remarkable for moderation. In the manuscript history, indeed, of the Campbells of Glenurchy, and in a passage written by order of his son and successor, it is expressly asserted of him that "he was one great Justiciary all his time, through the quhilk he susteit that deidly feid of the Clan Gregour ane lang space; and, besides that he causit execut to the death mony notabill lymmaris, he beheidit the Laird of Makgregour himself, at Kenmor, in presence of the Erel of Athole, the Lord Justice Clerk, and sindry other nobill men." With the assistance, as appears, of Macdonald of Keppoch, he invaded Rannoch, the Clan Gregor's stronghold. His proceedings, however, on this occasion were formally complained of by the Laird of Weyme; whence we may infer that, in this, as in other instances, Glenurchy had overleaped the limits of his double and too ample commission.

There occurs in the history of the Clan at this time a singular instance of the weakness of Government, and of the difficulty of administering the laws in the then state of the Highlands. A number of the best disposed of the Macgregors had, on being charged to that effect, given hostages and found security for their good behaviour. While still under this obligation, one of them lost his life in a private feud with some neighbouring Highlanders. His kinsmen, eager for revenge, but at the same time deterred by the penalty in the bond from taking it on the spot, applied to the Sovereign (Queen Mary), and obtained, not the trial of the alleged culprits, but a warrant to relieve themselves from their obligation to keep the peace, seeing, as the warrant expresses it, "that none ar mair mete for persequitiouu of the tressonabill murthouraris of the said uniq Gregor nor the forinamit persones hauing thair neir kinsman shane quhilkis dar nocht put on armes and persew the said murthouraris be resoun of thair sourceteis standard undischarget." It cannot be surprising that the disorders of the Clan Gregor, far from being suppressed, should, under such a Government, have increased with each succeeding year. I find, accordingly, that in the year 1566, the tenants and feuars of Menteith presented to the Government a supplication praying to be relieved

---

62 Record of Secret Council ad annum 1563. The commissioners, and the districts over which they had power, were as follows:—The Earl of Mar, and Breadenoch, Lochaber, Strathnairn, and Strathdearn; the Earl of Argyll in Argyll, Lorn, Lennox, and Menstieh; the Earl of Athole in Athole, Strathardill, Glenaray, and Dunkelvel; the Earl of Errol in Logyalmond; Lord Ogilvy in Brae of Angus; Lord Ruthven in Strathbrawin; Lord Drummond in Strathearn; Colin Campbell of Glenurecy in Breadalbane and Balquhidder; and John Grant of Freuchy (Laird of Grant) in Strathspey, Strathavon, and Brae of Strathbany.

63 The Earl of Argyll and Athole. Record of Secret Council ad annum 1564.

64 Record of Secret Council ad annum 1568.

65 Ibid. 1566.

66 Ibid. 1565.

71 Warrant preserved in the books of Adjournal, dated in June 1565.
from payment of their rents and duties, the whole Lordship having, as stated
in the complaint, been laid waste by the Clan Gregor.27

That the Clan Gregor were in many instances the tools merely of their more
powerful neighbours is highly probable. The celebrated George Buchanan, in
a political pamphlet, printed and circulated in 1571, alluding to the Hamilton
Fraction, introduces, as illustrative of this theme, a passage descriptive of the then
known state of society in Scotland. "Howbeit," says he, "the bullerant blude of
a King and a Regent about their harts, quhaib be the last in their appetite gev
thame little rest, dayly and hourly makynge neu provocation; yit the small space
of rest quhilik they haue beside the executioun of their creatavitie they sped in
devising of generall unquyetness thro' the haill countrie; for, hecht content of
it that thay thameselffis may steal, bribe, and reave, thay set out ratches on
everie side to gnaw the pepillis banes, after that thay haue consumit the flesch,
and houldis out, ane of thame the Clan Gregour, another the Grantis and Clan-
quhhattane, another Balcough and Fairnyhirst, another the Johnstounis and
Armstrangis."28 The peculiar circumstances, doubtless, in which the Clan Gregor
had so long been placed in relation to their ancient possessions, must have dis-
pensed them to enter with alacrity into every plan, however violent and rapaci-
ous, by which they might have the slightest chance to better their condition;
and more particularly as, in any event, they had nothing to lose.

In 1561 an act of the Legislature, reprehensible for its glaring iniquity, was
passed under the title "Ane additioun to the Actis maid aganis thae Note-
rious Thieffis and Sorwarie of Glencraig."29 By this it was made lawful for any indi-
vidual who might happen to sustain damage from a notorious thief, or from a
ruffian insisting to be an inmate of a family, living at its expense, and on the
dead they thay thameselffis may steal, bribe, and reave, thay set out ratches on
everie side to gnaw the pepillis banes, after that thay haue consumit the flesch,
and houldis out, ane of thame the Clan Gregour, another the Grantis and Clan-
quhhattane, another Balcough and Fairnyhirst, another the Johnstounis and
Armstrangis."28 The peculiar circumstances, doubtless, in which the Clan Gregor
had so long been placed in relation to their ancient possessions, must have dis-
pensed them to enter with alacrity into every plan, however violent and rapaci-
ous, by which they might have the slightest chance to better their condition;
and more particularly as, in any event, they had nothing to lose.

In 1561 an act of the Legislature, reprehensible for its glaring iniquity, was
passed under the title "Ane additioun to the Actis maid aganis thae Note-
rious Thieffis and Sorwarie of Glencraig."29 By this it was made lawful for any indi-
vidual who might happen to sustain damage from a notorious thief, or from a
ruffian insisting to be an inmate of a family, living at its expense, and on the
best it could produce,30 provided the actual delinquent could not be laid hold
of, to apprehend and slay the bodies, and arrest the goods, of any of the Clan
to which the culprit belonged, until satisfaction was made to the injured party
by the rest of the said Clan. This act must have been severely felt by the
Clan Gregor, whose feud with the family of Glenurchy still continued to rage
with unabating animosity. About this time, accordingly, Gregor Macgregor

27 History of the family of Glenstray, in the Book of Taymouth.
28 Glenstray lies to the north-west of Glenurchy, and between that valley and the moun-
tainsous ridge of Cruachan. At the mouth of the glen, and near to the Castle of Kilchum, is
Strevenochan, the principal mansion, which occupies a very commanding station.
29 Earl of Argyll's Book of Casualties in the beginning of the 16th century. See also Sir
James Macgregor's Latin manuscript.
30 Record of the Privy Seal, xxxvii. 107.
31 From the investiture of Allaster's nephew, John Murray, otherwise and properly Gregor
Macgregor, who was restored to these lands in 1524, it appears that neither Allaster nor his
father were included in Glenstray; and the Sheriff Books of Perth mention, under 3d May
1590, that Glenstrachy appeared in court to oppose Allaster's service, in which, however, no
further steps were taken.
32 Record of Secret Council, 1590.
Earlier History of the Clan Gregor.

In January 1584-5 the Secret Council summoned several of the Highland Chiefs and Barons connected with Perthshire and Argyllshire, and amongst the rest Ewin Macgregor, Tutor of Glenstray, to appear personally before the King and Council, to answer to such things as should be inquired at them touching the suppression of the Lymmars and broken men of the Highlands, by whom the countries of Lennox, Menteith, Stirlingshire, and Strathearn had, as alleged, been cruelly harassed. What proceedings, if any, were adopted by the Council, does not appear. It is probable, however, that they now commenced the draft of a long act of Parliament, vulgarly called "The General Bond," and which was passed in 1587. By one of the many sections of this voluminous act, it was declared that theft committed by landed men should be reckoned treason, and punished as such. It was further ordained, that the Captains, Chiefs, and Chieftains of the Clans, both Border and Highland, be noted in a roll, and obliged, under pain of fire and sword, to surrender to the King and Council certain pledges or hostages, liable to suffer death if redress of injuries were not made by the persons for whom they lay. We shall presently have occasion to see the attempts made, under the operation of this act, to reduce the Clan Gregor to obedience. The slaughter of Drummond of Drummondernoch, Under King's Forrester of Glenartney, said to have been committed in 1589 or 1590, by some of the Clan Gregor, induced the Secret Council to grant, in 1590, a commission of fire and sword against the Clan Gregor, who are described as being for the most part rebels, and at the horse, for diverse horrible crimes and offences committed by them; and also against their harbourers; with power to convene the lieges of Breadalbane and the adjacent districts to aid in the execution. The various noblemen and barons of these countries are enjoined, under severe penalties, to aid Sir Duncan with all their power. The King, as stated in the commission, had been informed of certain bonds of maintenance subsisting between Sir Duncan and some barons, and some of the more leading individuals of the Clan Gregor on the other, and between the last mentioned and sundry others of the noblemen, barons, and gentlemen; and which, if suffered to remain in force, might, as was thought, hinder the execution of the commission. All such bonds, therefore, were declared void and null, and Glenurchy strictly prohibited from entering into any engagements of this nature. Six months, however, had scarce elapsed, when Sir Duncan obtained his Majesty's licence to enter into bonds of friendship with the Macgregors, including an oblivion of all past animosities, and authorizing him to liberate such of the Clan as were then in his custody, in consequence, as may be presumed, of his fidelity in the discharge of his late commission against them. In virtue of the royal licence, a contract was entered into by the principal barons in the Highlands of Perthshire, amongst others Sir Duncan Campbell on one part, and Allaster Roy Macgregor of Glenstray, having 26 of the leading persons of the Clan Gregor as his sureties, on the other. The parties became bound to abstain from mutual slaughters and depredations; and, in any disputes that might arise, to renounce their own jurisdictions, and submit to the commissariat of Dunblane. The youthful Laird of Macgregor soon found, to his confusion, that he had undertaken a task beyond his strength; nor was it long ere he incurred the usual penalties of the law for non-fulfilment. On 1st February 1592-3, Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyll, whilst yet in mourning, had, from the King and Council, a commission "against all and sundrie of the wicked Clan Gregour and the Stewartis of Balquhidder," with power to charge them by his precept to appear before him, to find surety, or to enter

---

84 Record of Secret Council, January 1584-5.
86 Record of Secret Council, 1589, 1590. The commissioners were the Earls of Hautly, Argyll, Athol, Montrous; the Lord Drummond, the Commissor of Inchaffray, the Lairds of Lochiel, Glenurchy, Cleder, and Aricklouns (Campbells), Macbeth; and MacIochlan; Sir John Murray of Tullibardine and Sir George Buchanan of that Ilk, Knights; and the commission was to endure for three years.
87 Quarterly Review for 1816; Review of the Calladien Papers.
88 Ibid. 1591-2.
89 These were, John Earl of Menteith; Patrick Lord Drummond; Alexander, Master of Livingstone; James, Commendator of Inchaffray; Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenvear; Knight; Sir John Campbell of Lawers; Sir James Chisholme of Dunbarton; Colin Campbell of Argyll; Colin Campbell of Glenlyon; Donald Robertson of Struan; Hugh Shaw of Cashinmoir; and Alexander Ridloch of Culsthegus.
90 Record of Horning for Perthshire.
He seems, however, to have soon become tired of this unwonted thraldom, remain in attendance on the King, as a hostage for the obedience of his tribe.* acknowledging his past offences, and expressing his contrition, promised to
force, and in defiance of the proprietor. On this occasion the Chief, after
fidently be affirmed, scarce a single farm occupied by a Macgregor, unless by
Macgregor appeared.personally before the King and Council at Dunfermline,
of Decrees of the Court of Session.

and Inchcalzeoch and Monzie, the Drymen, Callander, Kilmahog, Lany, Aberfoyle, Luss,
Port, Rannoch, Balquhidder, Comrie, Tullicliettle, Strowau (in Strathearn, Perthshire), Monyvalrd

—...to such things as should be laid to their charge touching their obedience to
the laws, under pain of being held “part-takers” with the “broken men” of
the Clan in all their wicked deeds, and punished accordingly."

About this time, those barons and gentlemen who had the Clan Gregor as
tenants, and who in the Records are forensically styled “landlords of the Clan
Gregor,” forced by the severe enactments of the General Bond, which made
every landlord answerable for the misdemeanours of his tenants, began to take
measures for an universal ejection of the Clan from their possessions; and, as
far as the forms of law could go, numerous ejectments did in consequence take
place,—to such an amount, indeed, that when, in July 1596, the Laird of
Gregor,” forced by the severe enactments of the General Bond, which made
every landlord answerable for the misdemeanours of his tenants, began to take
measures for an universal ejection of the Clan from their possessions; and, as
far as the forms of law could go, numerous ejectments did in consequence take
place,—to such an amount, indeed, that when, in July 1596, the Laird of

The Laird of Macgregor, however, took the uncommon step of resorting to a court of law for redress, being in-
duced to this, probably, by the persuasions of his real friends, or by the heavy
penalties under which he lay. He succeeded in obtaining a sentence of the
court for a large sum of damages; but, as may be supposed, it was easier to
obtain the sentence than to put it in execution in a state of society in which
some notion may be formed from the terms of a protest taken by Macgregor’s
counsel in this suit, “that the Laird of Macgregor and his kinsmen were
charged to produce before the King, on 3d July, each of them the

This assertion cannot be taken literally, but there must evidently have existed
good grounds for making it.

In May 1599, the barons on whose lands any of the Clan resided were
charged to produce before the King and Council, on 3d July, each of them the
persons of the name of Macgregor for whom he was bound to answer; and
the chief and his whole Clan were charged to appear on the same day, “to underly
such order as should be taken with them touching the weal and quietness of
the country.” On 25th July “Offers for Allaster Makgregour of Glenstray”
were in his name presented to the King by Sir John Murray of Tullibardine,
Knight, Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, Knight, and John Grant of
Frenchy (known as Laird of Grant). This document is as follows:—

---

94 Record of Secret Council, 1593.
95 Record of Sheriff Court of Perthshire; Register of Horrowes for Perthshire; Register
of Decrees of the Court of Session.
96 Record of Secret Council regarding the order of the Borders and the Isles.

---

99 See the Laird of Macgregor’s Declaration, Appendix A.
98 Record of the High Court of Justiciary.
97 Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland.
Earlier History of the Clan Gregor.

"Because it is impossible to the said Allaster to find inland caution upon the condition of the General Band conform to the act of Parliament, in respect neither is he responsible in the sovereigns whereupon the caution is founded, and that no inland man will be cautious for him in respect of the bishop enormities of his Clan; that is to say it is offered that the said Allaster, for satisfaction of his Majesties honour, shall send in his Homes for one once commit himself to be, and that he shall deliver to his Majesty three pledges of sax, to be taken by his Majesty out of the three houses of that Clan, his Majesty namend too for everie house; John Dow Makgregour [brother to Allaster], being always exceptit, to be placed quhair his Majesty and Counsell shall appoint, to remove as pledge for the good rule and obedience of the haill Clan and name of Macgregor; and for each of the said Clan and name as be inobedient, he shall suffer entire blame to his Homes or his Justice, or else use justice in pursuance of these offers, various proceedings took place, in which the anxiety of the Council to reduce the Clan Gregor to obedience without undue severity is very manifest. All their good intentions, however, were secretly frustrated by Argyle, who undid in the Highlands what had been done at court; whilst the whole blame, meanwhile, rested upon the unfortunate Laird of Macgregor, solemn engagements. For proof of this assertion, reference is made to the solemn engagements. For proof of this assertion, reference is made to the statement made by the gentlemen who had become his sureties, that the default of the not entrie of the said Allaster with his said pledge, at the period appointed for his Majestie and his Counsell upon the 28th instant, and get a resolute answer to his Majestie and his Counsell, must be the due performance of this offer in erie respect. [Signed] TULLIBARDIN.

DUNCANE CAMPBELL of Glumerquhay.

JOHNE GRANT of Euchquhie."

In pursuance of these offers, various proceedings took place, in which the anxiety of the Council to reduce the Clan Gregor to obedience without undue severity is very manifest. All their good intentions, however, were secretly frustrated by Argyle, who undid in the Highlands what had been done at court; whilst the whole blame, meanwhile, rested upon the unfortunate Laird of Macgregor, who was charged by the Council with having dishonourably violated his most solemn engagements. For proof of this assertion, reference is made to the statement made by the gentlemen who had become his sureties, that the default of the not entrie of the said Allaster with his said pledge, at the period appointed for his Majestie and his Counsell upon the 28th instant, and get a resolute answer to his Majestie and his Counsell, must be the due performance of this offer in erie respect. [Signed] TULLIBARDIN.

DUNCANE CAMPBELL of Glumerquhay.

JOHNE GRANT of Euchquhie."

Earlier History of the Clan Gregor.

Earlier History of the Clan Gregor.

and invested him with the most ample powers, extending over as well the harbourers of the Macgregors as the Macgregors themselves; and it was provided that the former should be responsible for the crimes of those of the latter to whom they might give shelter and protection. The commission was to continue in force for a year, and longer if not specially discharged; and the King promised not to show favour or to grant pardon to any of the Macgregors during the continuance of the commission, but to remit them and their suits to the Earl's disposal.

Under Argyle's administration, the Clan, as might be expected from the policy pursued by that nobleman, became daily more troublesome to the Lowlands, and to such of the proprietors more particularly as had the misfortune to be at feud with Argyle. The Lairds of Buchanan and Luss suffered severely from the incursions of the Clan Gregor; and those of Aulkenlas and Ardlincaple escaped assassination only by the Laird of Macgregor's refusal to execute in their cases the revolting fiats of the King's Lieutenant. Finally, in the spring of 1603, at the instigation of Argyle, couched probably in the most imperious terms, Macgregor, with his men of Rannoch, invaded the Lennox, and fought the celebrated conflict of Glenean, opposed by the Colquhouns and their friends and dependants; and having routed these with great carnage, ravaged the whole district, and carried off an immense booty.

100 Record of Secret Council, 1601.

101 See the Laird of Macgregor's Declaration, appended to this Essay, Appendix A.

102 Ibid. The following extract from Mr Fuette's Criminal Trials, vol. ii. p. 431, is here introduced in justice to this much calumniated race: — "The popular accounts of the conflict of Glenean charge the Macgregors with two atrocities, committed after the battle, viz. the murder of Sir Humphrey Colquhoun, who had fled from the field of battle, and had taken refuge in the castle of Bannachrea; and the slaughter of a number of discomfited boys, from the Grammar School or 'College' of Dunbarton, who, from curiosity, came to see the fight, and had by Colquhoun's order been put into a barn for safety, where, on the success of the Highlanders, they were said to have been murdered. In justice to the Clan Gregor, it is but fair to mention, that, in investigating this subject, it clearly appears that Sir Humphrey was murdered in his castle of Bannachrea in July 1592, above eleven years before this conflict, by his own brother John, with the assistance of some of the Macfarlanes, under circumstances of extreme necessity. He was succeeded by his brother Sir Alexander, who was alive anno 1610. The then Laird of Luss must therefore have fled from the field of battle, leaving his vassals."

1 So called, probably, from their tradition being conducted in the Collegiate Church there, or under the auspices of the Clergy of that establishment, by virtue of some charitable endowment.
Earlier History of the Clan Gregor.

The King and Council, horrified by the intelligence of this hostile inroad, proceeded to take the most severe measures for bringing the offenders to justice. A series of sanguinary enactments against the unhappy Clan Gregor was crowned by that of the proscription of the names of Gregor and Macgregor, under pain of death, which bears date 3d April 1603. Argyle was the first to turn upon the unfortunate chief, whom, and several gentlemen of his Clan, he betrayed in circumstances peculiarly infamous; and all inquiry into the origin of the Raid was studiously stifled to save the Earl. The Declaration, however, of his victim, produced on the trial, and preserved in the original, distinctly charges Argyle with having caused Macgregor not only to violate the engagements under which he had come to the King and Council in 1599, as above detailed, but to commit many of the crimes for which he was about to suffer death.

I have thus, in the preceding pages, endeavoured to show that the causes of the proscription of the Clan Gregor were closely connected with the impolitic system on which the ancient crown lands were managed; and that this Clan suffered more severely under that system than others from having lost their early freehold possessions, or at least the greater part of these, by forfeiture, as early as the reign of King Robert Bruce, and being thus deprived of that weight in the Councils of a rude nation which uniformly accompanies the possession of extensive land-property. This view is farther confirmed by a fact which I have lately discovered, that King James V. actually proscribed the Clan Chattan, by acts equally severe with those directed by his grandson against the Clan Gregor. Yet the proscription of the former has been forgotten, whilst the effects of that of the latter are still felt. Wherein consisted the difference between the two Clans? The answer is obvious. The Captain of the Clan Chattan, and several of the chief gentlemen of his tribe, held extensive possessions under the Crown, and were thus in a measure independent of the great families in their neighbourhood. How different the case was with the Clan Gregor we have already seen; and the fate of the Macdonalds of Glenco (who in other respects were much more favourably situated) is nearly parallel to that of the Macgregors, and may be traced to the same causes.

Having now brought down the history of this family to the date of the proscription of their name, I may on a future occasion, should the present attempt meet with the approbation of the Society, give a sketch of the history of the Clan during the proscription; which, as may be supposed, possesses considerable interest, and for which the records offer abundant materials.

I cannot conclude without expressing my obligations to Thomas Thomson, Esq. Deputy Clerk Register, to Alexander Macdonald, Esq. and to the Rev. William Macgregor Stirling, for the assistance these gentlemen have afforded me in my investigations on this and similar subjects.

154

Earlier History of the Clan Gregor.

155

weight in the Councils of a rude nation which uniformly accompanies the possession of extensive land-property. This view is farther confirmed by a fact which I have lately discovered, that King James V. actually proscribed the Clan Chattan, by acts equally severe with those directed by his grandson against the Clan Gregor. Yet the proscription of the former has been forgotten, whilst the effects of that of the latter are still felt. Wherein consisted the difference between the two Clans? The answer is obvious. The Captain of the Clan Chattan, and several of the chief gentlemen of his tribe, held extensive possessions under the Crown, and were thus in a measure independent of the great families in their neighbourhood. How different the case was with the Clan Gregor we have already seen; and the fate of the Macdonalds of Glenco (who in other respects were much more favourably situated) is nearly parallel to that of the Macgregors, and may be traced to the same causes.

Having now brought down the history of this family to the date of the proscription of their name, I may on a future occasion, should the present attempt meet with the approbation of the Society, give a sketch of the history of the Clan during the proscription; which, as may be supposed, possesses considerable interest, and for which the records offer abundant materials.

I cannot conclude without expressing my obligations to Thomas Thomson, Esq. Deputy Clerk Register, to Alexander Macdonald, Esq. and to the Rev. William Macgregor Stirling, for the assistance these gentlemen have afforded me in my investigations on this and similar subjects.

154 See Appendix B.

156 See Appendix B.
APPENDIX.

THE LAIRD OF MAKREGOUR’S DECLARATION, proclit wha the tymes of Convictioun.

I, Allester Magrigoour of Glenstra, confesse heir before God, that I have been personally, movit and intyset, as I am now present accussit and trubleit for; also, gif I had sit on counsel or command of the man that he intyset me, I wald have done and committed saindris heich Marthouris maire; for trewe, se I was first his Majesteis man; I cud never be at ane eis, by my Lord of Argylls falslie and inventionis; for he cannot McClain and Gleachamrowse commit heuris and slauchter in my roun of Rennoche, the quhilk causit my pure men therefter to bege and stell: also, thereafter, he movit my brother and sum of my frendis to commit heuris and slauchter upon the Laird of Luss: Alsu, he perfused myself, with message, to weir4 against the Laird of Buquhanan, quhilk I did refuse; for the quhilk I was contumelie kousit' that he sould be my unfreind; and quhen I did refuse his desire in that point, then he intyset me with uther messingeris, as be the Laird of McKenzie and utheris of my frendis, to weir and truble the Laird of Luss; quhilk I behurfit to de for his fals faltgait7 to the land. Then, quhen he saw I was at ane strait, he huffit to do for his fals boutgait.

1 The original of the very interesting and important paper now given (which has been print- ed by Mr Pincairn in his valuable and interesting criminal trials, in the appendix to the trial of the Laird of Macgregor, ii. p. 433) is preserved in the General Register House, and is in the hand of the then Clerk of Secret Council, James Primrose. It is marked as “PRAESENTIT ad MR WILLIAMS HAIRT” (of Levilaiids), as an article of evidence of Macgregor’s guilt at the hand of the then Clerk of Secret Council, James Primrose. It is marked as “PRESENTIT to the time of Convictioun.”

2 Mr Pitcairn in his valuable and interesting criminal trials, in the appendix to the trial of the Laird of Macgregor, ii. p. 433.

3 Advertised, informed.

4 Clan Cameron.

5 Wage war.

6 Threatened.

7 Deseretful courses; literally, “round about ways.”

8 Believe.

9 Slow, slack.

10 Did my endeavour, mages.

11 Advertised, informed.
quhilk I did refus, in respect of my faithfull promis made to McCallay of-befor. Also, he did all the diligence he cud, to mowe me to slay the Laird of Arkyndlaa in lyk maner; but I neuer grantit therto; throw the quhilk he did invy me—gret-tumly.

And now, seing God and man seis it is greidenes of warldlie geir quhilk causis him to putt at me and ray kin, and not the weill of the realme, nor to pacific the samyn, nor to his Majesties honour, but to putt down innocent men, to cause pure bairnes and infanttis hege, and pure wemen to perisch for hunger, quhen they ar heriet of their geir: The quhilk, I pray God, that thinys falls lycht not upon his Majestie heirefter, nor upon his successions.

Quherfor, I wald beseik God that his Majestie knew the weratie, that at this hour I wald be content to tak Baneisment, with all my kin that was at the Laird of Lussis slauchter, and all utheris of thame that ouy fait can be laid to their charge. And his Majestie, of bis mercie, to lat pure innocent men and young bairnes pas to libertie, and lerne to leiff as innosent men: The quhilk I wald fulfill, but ony kynd of faill quhilk wald be mair to the will of God and his Majesteis honour nor the greidie, crewall forme that is devysit, only for leuf of geir, bauceing rather respect to God nor honestie!

**Appendix to Earlier History of the Clan Gregor.**