

# Two 1585x1612 surveys of vernacular buildings and tree usage in the lordship of Strathavon, Banffshire<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

These two vernacular building surveys were produced as evidence in a long-running court case involving Alexander Gordon of Strathavon and the Grants of Freuchie between 1585 and 1612. Essentially, the Gordons had accused their Grant tenants of the wanton destruction of forest in the lordship of Strathavon. To defend themselves, the Grants ordered that surveys should be undertaken of their properties that had been cited, to determine exactly how many trees were required either annually or biennially for each structure in every area of settlement occupation, and how many trees were also required for household items, agricultural implements, fencing, and ladders. During the period of the case it can be demonstrated that the Grants held other lands in Strathavon that were not included in either of the surveys so it appears as though the Gordon lawsuit was specifically targeted at a distinct block of Grant lands, amounting to a total of six *dabhaichean* (davochs).

The two surveys, both of which are undated, vary in length and detail. The preamble in the longer of the two documents specifically names both John Grant (5<sup>th</sup> of Freuchie) and his late grandfather John Grant (4<sup>th</sup> of Freuchie), and so it must post-date 2 June 1585 when John Grant (4th) died.<sup>2</sup> Both documents must also pre-date 1612 when the feud was finally resolved. Only the shorter document occasionally mentions the names of Grant sub-tenants. Unfortunately, it has proven difficult to track this small number of sub-tenants in the historical record. When Sir William Fraser arranged bundles of Grant documents either for inclusion or mention in his three-volume work *The Chiefs of Grant*,<sup>3</sup> he placed both documents in a large bundle dated 1580x89. There is, nevertheless, one area of common ground shared by both documents: they each list the numbers of couples required for every structure.<sup>4</sup> By assessing these numbers, it can be argued that the shorter of the two documents (Document A) is the later of the two and may thus date to the period between the early-1590s and 1612 when legal hostilities between the two families were resumed. Different information is provided in each of the documents, both in terms of the numbers of buildings and in the size of those buildings in each area of settlement occupation, thus demonstrating that there had been some re-organisation of structures in these six *dabhaichean* between the two surveys.

Currently, in Scottish terms these documents appear to be unique in the detail they provide and on one level this is very important in terms of both environmental history and vernacular building history. More will be said about this at a later stage. Nevertheless, as all historians of Scotland are aware, the country was strongly regional in nature and there must be a suspicion that while these building surveys are perhaps relevant to the types and sizes of buildings found at that time in areas of

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<sup>1</sup> My thanks to Dr Alison Cathcart, Dr Piers Dixon, John Harrison, Dr Aonghas MacChoinnich, and Professor Richard Oram for reading this article in draft.

<sup>2</sup> NAS, CC8/8/17.

<sup>3</sup> W. Fraser (editor), *The Chiefs of Grant* 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1883).

<sup>4</sup> A single couple formed an A-shaped roof support.

upland Banffshire, Strathspey and Highland Mar, they may be completely unrepresentative, both in terms of tree use and in building structure and design, of other regions of Scotland.

As far as editorial conventions are concerned, in the transcripts all place and personal names have been capitalised, yoghs have been replaced with 'y' and thorns with 'th'.

### **A: shorter document**

Informatione for L. Grant contra Strathdownis summondis for Spolie of Wodis etc

\*This contenis townis, landis & houssis thairof quhairupoun sindrie tries necessarlie bestowit for Beiting<sup>5</sup> thairof.<sup>6</sup>

\*propone prescriptione

\*Sie quhat possessione lis befor tyme of spolie

\*na Inhibitione execut

Beddis, buirdis,<sup>7</sup> durr<is>, windelis, plewis, harrowis, creillis, cruiksadillis, Maingeris, Jaikis,<sup>8</sup> Crubbis,<sup>9</sup> staikis to xxiii & guidis chymbryes brasis<sup>10</sup> thairof

Delvorar, Geanlargis, Auchnahyill, Keppauch and Ballabeg ane davauch land occupeit as followis

Delvorar occupeit be Mr William Farquharsone<sup>11</sup> haveand in his awin possessioun ane fyir hous of fywe cuppill lenth and tua taill forkis tua chalmeris<sup>12</sup> ilk chalmer four cupillis with tua taill forkis tua aitt barneis ilk barne of fyve cuppillis and tua taill forkis ane beir barne of fyve cuppillis and tua taill forkis tua oxin byiris ilk ane thairof thrie cuppillis and tua taill forkis Ane cow byir of sex cuppillis and tua taill forkis ane stabill of thrie cuppillis and tua taill forkis ane kill of four cuppillis & tua taill forkis Ane kilbarne<sup>13</sup> of tua cuppillis and ane taill fork with sommer<sup>14</sup> and staikis Ilk cuppill extending in sollis<sup>15</sup> bakis<sup>16</sup> hous f [sic] howis<sup>17</sup> feit<sup>18</sup> angleris<sup>19</sup> and naigis naillis to

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<sup>5</sup> Mending, repairing, replacing.

<sup>6</sup> NAS, GD248/13/6/9.

<sup>7</sup> Tables.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps a privy.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps a hen coop.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps a chimney mantlepice or the brace on a chimney.

<sup>11</sup> Described as servitor to John Grant of Freuchie on 27.7.1570. Fraser, *Grant*, iii, 389-90. Signitory to obligation to assist and defend John Grant of Freuchie on 21.3.1584. Fraser, *Grant*, iii, 157. Witness to Grant document where he was described as William Farquharson of Ruthven in September 1588. Fraser, *Grant*, iii, 169-70.

<sup>12</sup> The common definition of this word is a sleeping place for farm workers. However, since this township also contained buildings designated as cottar houses and servant houses, it seems that a different meaning was meant here.

<sup>13</sup> Literally a barn containing a kiln, presumably for drying grain.

<sup>14</sup> A beam or joist set in the floor of a corn-kiln.

<sup>15</sup> Sollis, plural of sole: a wooden beam forming a threshold of a door or a turnpike stair; the sill of a window; the wooden beam or joist forming part of a foundation. In this context probably referring to the joist and Dr Piers Dixon has suggested that it was probably a sill beam attached to the foot of the couple, running at right angles to that couple, and joined at the other end to the foot of the next couple. There is evidence for this in the barn at Corrimony: G.D. Hay, 'The Cruck-Building at Corrimony, Inverness-shire', in *Scottish Studies*, 17, 1973, 127-34.

<sup>16</sup> A crossbeam or rafter, perhaps forming the horizontal part of the A-frame.

<sup>17</sup> The couples consisted of several parts: the two arms of the couple called 'hoos' which were fixed to the tops of the legs. It is likely that this is what is meant in this context.

tuelf treyis Item of cassokis betuix ilk cupill to hald up the feall<sup>20</sup> wallis fourscoir Item of kebberris<sup>21</sup> to ilk cuppill rowme ~~fywe~~ Ten dossane Item to ilk cuppill of pannis<sup>22</sup> and Ruiffis<sup>23</sup> sewin treyis tua coittis ane for sheip and ane for gait of sex cupillis and four taill fork.

Item ane tenent ~~haw~~ Callit [blank] haweand ane fyir hous with byir and stabill on the end thairof of aucht cuppillis and tua taill forkis Ane aitt barne and ane beir barne of aucht cuppill lenth and four taill forkis Ane Coitt<sup>24</sup> of four cuppillis & tua taill forkis, ilk cupill and rowme thairof furnesit on ather syid of the hous with soill bak fute howis angleris naillis cassokis and kebberris as the wthers of Mr Williame Farquharsonis.

Item four cotteris ilk cotter haweand in fyir hous barne byir coit & stabill ten cuppillis of biging inde xl cuppillis furnesit as said is.

Four wemen houssis for service ilk woman hous being of four cuppillis lenth Inde xvi cuppillis.

Geanlargis occupeit be four tenentis callit [blank] ilk tenent haweand in fyir hous ~~ehalmer~~ barneis byiris ~~stabill~~ coittis and killis thriescoir cupillis of biging plennesit as said is in sortis of houssis forsaidis.<sup>25</sup>

Auchnahyill occupeit occupeit<sup>26</sup> be ~~four~~ fyve tenentis callit [blank] ilk tenent haweand thriescoir cuppillis of biging in kyndis of houssis abonespecifeit.<sup>27</sup>

Keppauch occupeit be ~~four~~ tua tenentis callit [blank]<sup>28</sup> ilk tenent haweand in maner of houssis forsaidis thriescoir cuppillis of bigingis inde xii<sup>xx</sup> cuppillis.

Ballabeg<sup>29</sup> occupeit be tua tenentis ilk tenent haweand in maner forsaid inde vi<sup>xx</sup> cuppillis

Delnaboyth occupeit be tua tenentis Callit William Grant haweand in his awin possessioun in fyir hous chalmeris barneis byiris stabill coittis and killis with kilbarneis thriescoir ten cupillis of bigingis furnesit as is abonewrittin

Tua Coitteris ilk cotter haweand ten cuppillis of biging inde xx cuppillis

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<sup>18</sup> The upright posts of the couples, sometimes referred to as 'legs'. My thanks to Dr Piers Dixon for suggesting that this probably indicates a jointed couple, often used when there was not enough suitable timber for a complete couple beam.

<sup>19</sup> A brace piece in the interior angle of a wooden frame and there is some evidence of this in the Corrimony structure.

<sup>20</sup> Turf.

<sup>21</sup> A subsidiary rafter.

<sup>22</sup> Horizontal timbers fixed to the roof cuples which run at right angles to them.

<sup>23</sup> In this context probably the ridge beam of the roof.

<sup>24</sup> In the Scots dictionary this word is defined as either a cotter house or a sheep house. In this instance it must refer to the latter as cotter houses are listed separately.

<sup>25</sup> 'tua seattis' and 'cotter houssis' written in left hand margin.

<sup>26</sup> Sic.

<sup>27</sup> 'tua seattis' written in left hand margin.

<sup>28</sup> 'kill' written in upper margin above this space.

<sup>29</sup> 'Omit', written in left hand margin.

Four wtheris houssis tuelf cupill of bigingis for servandis

The wther tenent callit [blank] haveand in fyir hous barneis byiris coittis and stabill with his cotteris and wtheris servandis houssis fourscoir cuppillis of biging furnesit as said is

Auchlonye occupeit be four tenentis Callit [blank] Ilk tenent haveand in the kyndis of houssis forsaidis with tua cotteris fourscoir ten cuppillis of bigingis inde xviii<sup>xx</sup> cuppillis

Innerloquhye occupeit be Robert Grant<sup>30</sup> brother to the laird of Grant haveand Cotteris and wtheris servandis extending in hall chalmeris kitchein stabill barneis byiris Coittis kill and kilbarneis sex scoir cuppillis of biging furnesit in maner forsaid

~~Glenloquhye occupeit be Alester McRobye haveand in houssis forsaidis fourscoir cuppillis of bigingis<sup>31</sup>~~

Ballinedin occupeit be thrie Ane tenentis ~~ilk~~ Callit [blank]<sup>32</sup> ilk tenent haveand fiftie cuppillis of biging planesit in maner forsaid

Dellivrogatt occupeit be ane tenent haveand thriescoir cuppillis of bigingis

Thrie ane pleughis land

Foirletter occupeit be Suetonnis Grant<sup>33</sup> haveand in hall chalmeris barneis byiris coittis killis ~~ban~~ Coittis and stabill with his cotteris and wtheris servandis fourscoir ten cuppillis of biging plennesit as said is<sup>34</sup>

Thombrek occupeit be thrie tenentis ~~ilk~~ Callit [blank] ilk tenent haveand fiftie cuppillis of biging plennesit as said is<sup>35</sup>

Torrenses occupeit be tua tenentis callit [blank] ilk tenent haveand fiftie cuppillis of biging<sup>36</sup>

Wester Innerrourie occupeit be Johne Grant Mcalester haveand in his awin possessioun by his tua tenentis in hall chalmeris stabill barneis byiris Coittis and kill foirscoir cuppillis of biging<sup>37</sup>

Ilk ane of his tua tenentis hes fiftie cuppillis of biging

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<sup>30</sup> 'ane uyer tenent by Robert' written in left hand margin. Eventually became known as Robert Grant of Lurgs. Dead before 1634.

<sup>31</sup> 'Nota this the lairdis awin heretage', written in left hand margin.

<sup>32</sup> 'kill' written in margins of this space.

<sup>33</sup> Swein Grant of Dalcharne signed an obligation to assist and defend John Grant of Freuchie on 21.3.1584. Fraser, *Grant*, iii, 157. The same name also occurs in connection to Grants in Duthil and Inverallan parishes. Whether these are different people or the same man is unclear. Fraser, *Grant*, i, 526-27 and iii, 315.

<sup>34</sup> 'Tua tenentis' written in left hand margin.

<sup>35</sup> 'Omit', written in left hand margin.

<sup>36</sup> 'Omit', written in left hand margin.

<sup>37</sup> 'Half' written in left hand margin.

Tua cotteris and wtheris greshoussis<sup>38</sup> for serwandis thrattie cupillis of biging

Over Camdell occupeit be Johne Grant Mcien og haveand in his awin possessioun (by his thrie tenentis) in hall chalmeris barneis byiris coittis stabill and kilbarneis with kill thriescoir ten cuppillis of biging

Ilk tenent of thrie tenentis haveand in thair awin possessioun thriescoir cupillis of biging<sup>39</sup>

Four coitteris haveand fourtie cuppillis biging amongis thame

In wther servandis houssis ten cuppillis biging

Nether Camdell occupeit be Patrick Grant<sup>40</sup> brother to the laird of Grant haveand in hall chalmeris kitchein stabill barneis byiris kilbarne ~~and~~ Coittis and kill ~~four scoir~~ sex scoir cuppillis of biging plennesit and furnesit as said is

His ~~four~~ tua tenentis ilk ane thairrof haveand fiftie cuppillis of biging

And in cotter houssis and wtheris servandis houssis fourtie cuppillis of biging

Fynrane occupeit be ~~sex~~ four tenentis Callit [blank] Ilk tenent haveand in fyir hous barneis byiris ~~stabill~~ Coittis and servandis houssis fourscoir cuppillis of biging<sup>41</sup>

Ruthvene occupeit be ~~fyre~~ four tenentis Callit [blank] Ilk tenent haveand in the sortis of houssis forsaidis thriescoir ten cuppillis of biging

Item ilk tenentis tua cotteris haveand ten cuppillis of biging

#### Innerloquhye

The mylnes of Ruthvene ~~and Innerloquhye~~ haveand ~~four~~ tua cuppillis of biging and ane taill fork

Item in stuill crubbis clap<sup>42</sup> trouch<sup>43</sup> and wtheris necessaris tuentie treyis.

Item the mylne croft of Ruthvene occupeit be ane tenent haveand tua syrvandis and in houssis to fourscoir cuppillis of biging

Item in the forest and shealling placeis of the saidis landis thriescoir shealling houssis and in ilk houssis sex cuppillis

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<sup>38</sup> Gress house: the cottage of a grassman. A tenant who has no land attached to his house, only a right of pasture. Different from a cottar.

<sup>39</sup> 'Ane tenent fyvetene' written in the left hand margin.

<sup>40</sup> 'aucht cotteris' written in left hand margin. Eventually became Grant of Easter Elchies. Infest in lands by 1589 and dead by 1640. Fraser, *Grant*, i, 506.

<sup>41</sup> 'Four' written immediately above 'sex'.

<sup>42</sup> A mill clap: a device for shaking the hopper.

<sup>43</sup> A wooden conduit for water which leads to a millwheel.

Ilk cuppill extendis in soill bak howis angleris naillis & feit & to tuelf treyis ilk cuppill rowme on bayth the sydeis of the hous fourscoir stakis als cassokis and on bayth syidis ilk cuppill rowme of siddis pannis and Ruiffis sewin treyis And ii kebberris to ten dossine etc.

## **B: longer document**

The particular tries of birk,<sup>44</sup> alrone<sup>45</sup> and vtheris vnder specifeit necessarlie requiseit to the biging, beitting, repairing and vphalding of all and sindrie the housis and bigingis of the landis, mylnes and vtheris abone and ~~vtherispeci~~ vnder specifeit perteing to Johne Grant of Frewchie be vertew of his lyfrent richt and charter maid to vmqle Johne Grant of Frewchie his guidschir within the Landis and baronie of Strathawin, and in the vther necessar vses thairof vnder exprimit as followis.<sup>46</sup>

First Vpon the principall onsett<sup>47</sup> and steidding of the mainis of the saidis landis of Deluorar Ane hall or fyre hous haifing fyve trein<sup>48</sup> cuppillis thairintill and tua taill forkis, Extending Ilk cuppill thairof ~~haifing fyve trein cuppillis thairintill~~ In soillis, leges, balkis angleris howis and naillis To Ten tries of birk and alrone, vther twa Lyke tries for the said twa taill forkis. Inde fyfty twa tries ~~of birk and alrone, vther twa lyke tries~~. Item Twenty staikis callit cassokis In Ilk rowme of sex rowmes Interiacent betuix the saidis fyve cuppillis and tua taill forkis on ather syde of the said hous Extending to tuelf rowmes on baith the sydes of the samyn hous, Inde tuelf scoir staikis or cassokis in the said haill hous for vphalding of the faill wallis thairof. Quhilk wilbe Sex scoir tries of Birk and alroun. Item Sevin lyke tries for pannis and Ruiffis to ~~the said haill hous~~ Ilk ane of the saidis Sex rowmes Inde xlii tries for pannis and ruiffis to the said haill hous, Item fourty caberis of birk tries for ilk ane of the saidis Sex rowmes on ather syde of the said hous and Swa for Ilk rowm of Tuelf rowmes in the haill Inde xxiiii scoir caberis, Extending to twelf scoir of birk Tries.<sup>49</sup> And Swa the haill tries of the said hall or fyre hous<sup>50</sup> extending yeirlie at the leist ilk twa yeiris of the yeiris libellit<sup>51</sup> To four hundreth fyfty four tries of Birk and alroun, pryce of ilk trie thairof great and small<sup>52</sup> yeirlie ovir heid Twa schillingis.

Item vpon the said principall onset and steiding of Delvorar tua chalmeris uther thairof haveing four trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis extending In tries of birk and alroun to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonewrittin And haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending

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<sup>44</sup> Birch.

<sup>45</sup> Alder.

<sup>46</sup> NAS, GD248/13/6/10x.

<sup>47</sup> Dwelling.

<sup>48</sup> Made of wood, wooden.

<sup>49</sup> Dr Piers Dixon has suggested that this statement should not be taken literally because there are no other known examples of longitudinal sub-division either in standing buildings or in archaeological excavation. However, the document does seem to be quite clear on this point and it is likely that this matter will only be resolved through excavation.

<sup>50</sup> Literally a house with a fire-place in it. In this context an ordinary fire house cannot have had a chimney since special provision is made for a house with a chimney at a later point in this document.

<sup>51</sup> As specified in an indictment.

<sup>52</sup> The phrase 'great and small' could refer to either mature and immature trees or to the girth of the different pieces of wood.

all the treis of bayth the saidis chalmeris to sevin hundreth fiftie four treyis of birk and alroun forsaid price of ilk trie thairof great and small yeirlie overheid as is abonewrittin.

Item vpone the said principall onset of Delvorar Tua aitt barneis and ane beir barne ilk ane thairof haveing haveing [sic] fyve trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in treis of birk ~~and~~ alroun quakesp<sup>53</sup> and Ravin<sup>54</sup> trie to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonewrittin and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis is and vtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treyis of the said thrie barneis To thrattene hundreth thrie scoir tua treyis ~~pryce of~~ of the kyndis of birk alroun quakesp and Ravin treyis pryce of ilk trie thairof as said is great and small overheid yeirlie.

Item tua oxin byiris and ane stabill ilk ane thairof haveing thrie cuppillis & tua ~~treyis~~ taill forkis Extending in treyis of birk alroun quakesp and Ravin trie to ilk cuppill thairof and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treyis of the saidis tua oxin byiris and stabill to Nyne hundreth treyis of the kyndis and sortis forsaid pryce of ilk trie great and small overheid yeirlie as saidis.

Item of staikis to the oxin byiris tuentie extending to ten treyis yeirlie. Item of timber to mak thair Crubbis and stallis aucht treyis of birk and alroun yeirlie, pryce of ilk trie overheid as saidis.

Item in the stabill to be haik<sup>55</sup> manger and wtheris necessaris thairto yeirlie ~~four~~ sex treyis Pryce forsaid of ilk trie overheid yeirlie as said is.

Item vpone the said onset of Delvorar ane cow byir of sex cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in treis of birk alroun quakesp and Ravin trie to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonewrittin and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treis of the said Cowbyir to fyve hundreth thrattie tua treyis of birk alroun quakesp and Ravin trie pryce of ilk trie thairof great and small overheid yeirlie<sup>56</sup> as is abonewrittin.

Item on the said onset of Delvorar tua coittis ane for scheip and ane vther for gaitt ather thairof haveing thrie trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis of the kyndis and sortis of treyis forsaid is Extending in treyis of the saidis kyndis and sortis to ilk cuppill rovme thairof as is abonewrittin and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis and kebbberis to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treyis of bayth the saidis coittis to fyve hundreth thrattie four treyis pryce of ilk trie thairof of the kyndis & sortis of timmer as saidis yeirlie overheid.

Item upon the samen onset ane kilbarne of four cuppillis and tua taill forkis extending in treyis of birk alroun quakesp and Ravin trie to ilk cuppillis rovme thairof as is

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<sup>53</sup> Aspen

<sup>54</sup> Rowan.

<sup>55</sup> A rack for cattle or horse fodder.

<sup>56</sup> Word, or beginning of word, deleted after 'yeirlie'. It is not clear what this might have been.

abonewrittin and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis Cabberis staikis casokis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treis of the said kilbarne to thrie hundreth thrie scoir sevintene treyis of the saidis sortis and kyndis pryce of ilk trie thairof great and small yeirlie ~~overheid~~ Overheid forsaid.

Item ane kill haveing ane treyin cupill, Extending in treyis to the said cuppill with Caberis and staikis ten treyis of birk and alroun pryce of ilk ane thairof yeirlie overheid as said is Item ane great trie of birk or alroun to be ane sommer thairto pryce thairof xs monie.

Item of wtheris treis to furneis the said onset and occupieris thairof in pleuch<sup>57</sup> pleuch geir harrovnis<sup>58</sup> barrovnis<sup>59</sup> Corne forkis muk forkis sadillis schullis<sup>60</sup> spaidis creillis and wther necessaris appertening to husbandrie yeirlie fourtie treis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane thairof great and small overheid as said is.<sup>61</sup>

Item to be doris windovis buirdis kistis formeis<sup>62</sup> stuillis chearis and wther necessaris appertening to ane hous fiftie treis of the kyndis forsaidis & of alroun treis to be ledderis four treyis pryce of ilk trie of the kyndis forsaidis yeirlie overheid as is abonespecifeit.

Item yeirlie to be flaikis<sup>63</sup> to fauld<sup>64</sup> thrattie treis pryce of ilk trie of birk and alroun as said is yeirlie.

Item<sup>65</sup> vpon the wther onsett of the saidis landis of Delvorar ane fyir hous haveing four trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in treis of birk and alroun to ilk cuppill thairof as said is and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treis of the said fyir hous yeirlie at least ilk tua yeiris of the yeiris libellit to thrie hundreth thrie scoir sevintene treis of birk and alroun pryce of ilk trie thairof great and small overheid yeirlie as is abonewrittin

Item on the said onsett ane chalmer ane oxin byir ane coubyir ane aitt barne ane<sup>66</sup> beir barne and ane stabill ilk ane thairof haveing thrie trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in treis of birk & alroun to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonespecifeit and haveing the number of Ruiffis, pannis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treis of the saidis particular houssis to aughtene

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<sup>57</sup> Plough.

<sup>58</sup> Perhaps wooden crossbars for harrows.

<sup>59</sup> Barrows.

<sup>60</sup> Sieves.

<sup>61</sup> My thanks to Dr Piers Dixon for drawing my attention to the similarities between this list and the lists of husbandry items contained in the fourteenth century inventories and account rolls of Coldingham Priory, J. Raine, *The Correspondence, Inventories, Account Rolls, and law Proceedings, of the priory of Coldingham* (Newcastle, 1841), 104 and at lxxvi.

<sup>62</sup> Furnishings.

<sup>63</sup> Portable lattice fence or gate or animal pen. Probably a gate in this context.

<sup>64</sup> A livestock fold.

<sup>65</sup> 'Delvorar' written in left hand margin.

<sup>66</sup> This word has originally been 'and' but the scribe has changed it to 'ane'.



hundreth treis of birk and alroun pryce of ilk trie thairof as said is great and small yeirlie overheid.

Item on the said onsett ane coitt of tua cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in treis of birk and alroun to ilk cuppill thairof as said is And haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treyis of the said Coitt yeirlie to ane hundreth four scoir aughtene treis pryce of ilk trie of birk and alroun great and small yeirlie overheid as is abonementionat.

Item<sup>67</sup> on the said onsettis thrie cotter<sup>68</sup> houssis and four wther houssis for service of ilk hous thairof haveing tua trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in treis of birk and alroun to ilk cuppill thairof as said is and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis & wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as is abonewrittin Extending all the treis of the saidis seven houssis to thrattene hundreth foirscoir sex treyis of birk and alroun pryce of ilk trie thairof yeirlie overheid great and small aboneexpremit.

Item to the said last onset yeirlie in furnesing of pleuch pleuch geir harrovis barrovis Corne forkis muk forkis sadillis schuillis spaidis Creillis and wtheris necessaris appertening to husbandrie yeirlie thrattie treyis of birk alroun quakesp and Rovin trie pryce of ilk trie overheid as said is.

Item to be doreis windovis buirdis stuillis chearis and wtheris necessaris appertening to houssis fourtie treyis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk trie forsaid.

Item yeirlie to be flaikis to nolt<sup>69</sup> fauldis and ledderis thrattie treyis pryce of ilk trie forsaid.

Item yeirlie to furneis the saidis byiris and stabill in crubbis stallis staikis haik manger and wtheris necessaris apperteneand thairto ten treyis of birk & alroun pryce of ilk trie as saidis.

Item<sup>70</sup> In Geavlargis four fyir houssis four aitt barneis four beir barneis four oxin byiris four stabillis ilk ane of thir houssis haveing four trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in treis of birk alroun quakesp and Ravin trie to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonewrittin and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treyis of the saidis particular houssis abonenominat to sevin thousand fyve hundreth and fourtie treis pryce of ilk trie of the sortis and kyndis forsaidis yeirlie overheid as said is.

Item in the said toun of Geavlarigis four cowbyiris ilk ane thairof haveing fyve ~~tre~~ trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in treis of birk alroun quakesp and sauche<sup>71</sup> to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonementionat and haveing the number of Ruiffis

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<sup>67</sup> 'delvorar' written in left hand margin.

<sup>68</sup> A tenant occupying a house without land.

<sup>69</sup> This could refer to either oxen or cattle.

<sup>70</sup> 'Geaulargis' written in left hand margin. Now called Easter and Wester Gaulrig.

<sup>71</sup> Willow.

pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the trieis of the saidis four coubyiris to aughtene hundreth and sextene treyis of birk alroun quakesp and sauch treis pryce of ilk ane thairof overheid yeirlie as said is.

Item in the saidis aucht byiris and four stabillis to be staikis crubbis stawis<sup>72</sup> haikis mangeris and wtheris necessaris thairto yeirlie four scoir treyis of birk and alroun pryce of ilk trie thairof overheid yeirlie as said is.

Item in the said toun four Coittis ilk ane thairof haveing tua trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in trieis of birk and alroun to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonespecifeit and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis Caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treyis of the saidis four coittis to sevin hundreth four scoir tuelf treis pryce of ilk trie thairof as is abonespecifeit yeirlie overheid great and small yeirlie.

Item ane kill haveand ane cuppill furnesit with caberis and Ribbis extending to ten trieis pryce of ilk trie as said is yeirlie.

Item ane sommer yeirlie thairto pryce thairof xs.

Item<sup>73</sup> on the said onset four houssis for service ilk hous haveing tua trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis extending in treis of birk & alroun to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonewrittin and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis cassokis staikis caberis & wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treyis of the saidis four houssis to sevin hundreth four scoir tuelf treyis of birk and alroun pryce of ilk trie overheid yeirlie as said is.

Item to furneis the said toun & occupearis thairof in pleuch pleuchgeir harrovis barrowis Corne forkis mulk<sup>74</sup> forkis sadillis schuillis spaidis Creillis and wther necessaris appertening to husbandrie yeirlie tua hundreth treis of birk alroun & Ravin treis pryce of ilk ane thairof great & small overheid yeirlie as said is.

Item to be doreis windovis buirdis kistis stuillis chearis and wtheris necessaris appertening to ane hous thrie hundreth trieis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk trie yeirlie overheid great and small as is abonerehearsit.

Item to be ledderis and flaikis yeirlie to the nolt fauldix sex scoir trieis pryce of ilk trie as said is yeirlie overheid.

Item<sup>75</sup> in Auchnahyill four fyir houssis four aitt barneis four beir barneis four oxin byiris and four stabillis ilk ane of thair houssis haveand four trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in trieis of birk and alroun to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonewrittin and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treyis of the saidis particular

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<sup>72</sup> A stall.

<sup>73</sup> 'Geaulargis' written in left hand margin.

<sup>74</sup> Probably meant 'muk'.

<sup>75</sup> 'Auchnahyill' written in left hand margin.

houssis abonominat to Sevin thovsland fyve hundreth and fourtie treis pryce of ilk trie of birk and alroun great and small yeirlie overheid as said is.

Item in the said toun of Auchnahyill four cowbyiris ilk one thairof haveing fyve trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in treis of birk and alroun to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonespecifeit and haveing the number of Ruiffis as pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treis of the saidis four cowbyiris to aughtene hundreth and sexten treis of birk & alroun pryce of ilk ane thairof yeirlie overheid as said is.

Item in the saidis aucht byiris and four stabillis to be staikis crubbis stallis haikis mangeris and wtheris necessaris thairto yeirlie fourscoir treis of birk & alroun pryce of ilk trie thairof yeirlie overheid as is abonewrittin.

Item<sup>76</sup> in the said toun four Coittis ilk ane thairof haveing tua trein cuppillis & tua taill forkis extending in treis of birk and alroun to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonespecifeit and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis as caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as saidis Extending all the treis of the saidis four Coittis to sevin hundreth fourscoir tuelf treis pryce of ilk trie thairof yeirlie overheid as is abonementionat.

Item ane kill haveand ane cuppill furnesit with caberis and Ribbis extending to ten treis pryce of ilk trie yeirlie overheid as saidis.

Item ane sommer thairto pryce thairof 10s.

Item in the said onset four houssis for service ilk hous haveing tua trein cuppillis & tua taill forkis extending in treis of birk and alroun to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonewrittin and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis cassokis staikis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treis of the saidis four houssis to sevin hundreth fourscoir tuelf treis of birk & alroun pryce of ilk trie thairof overheid yeirlie as is abone expremit.

Item to furneis the said toun and occupearis thairof in pleuch pleuchgeir harrovis barrovis Corneforkis mukforkis sadillis schuillis spaidis creillis and wther necessaris appertening to husbandrie yeirlie tua hundreth treis of birk alroun and Ravin treis pryce of ilk ane thairof great and small overheid yeirlie as said is.

Item to be doreis windoeis buirdis kistis stuillis chearis furmeis traistis<sup>77</sup> and wther necessaris appertening to ane hous thrie hundreth treis of the kyndis & sortis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid forsaid.

Item to be ledderis and flaikis to the nolt fauldus yeirlie sex scoir treyis pryce of ilk trie of the saidis kyndis great & small overheid as is abonerehearsit.

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<sup>76</sup> 'auchnahyill' written in left hand margin.

<sup>77</sup> A trestle.

Item<sup>78</sup> In the toun and landis of Keppaucht four fyir houssis four aitt barneis four beir barneis four oxin byiris & four stabillis ilk ane of thir houssis haveing four trein cuppillis & tua taill forkis extending in treis of birk alroun quakesp ravin trie and sauche to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonewrittin and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treyis of the saidis particular houssis abovenominat to sevin thowsand fyve hundreth and fourtie treis of birk alroun quakesp ravin trie and sauche pryce of ilk ane thairof yeirlie overheid great & small as said is.

Item in the said toun of Keppauche four Cowbyiris ilk ane thairof haveing fyve trein cuppillis & tua taill forkis extending in treis of birk alroun quakesp sauch and hissill<sup>79</sup> to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonementionat and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis & wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treis of the saidis four Cowbyiris To aughtene hundreth and sextene treis of birk alroun quakesp sauche Ravin trie & hissill treis pryce of ilk ane thairof yeirlie overheid great & small forsaidis.

Item in the saidis aucht byiris & four stabillis to be staikis Crubbis stallis Raillis haikis mangeris and wtheris necessaris yeirlie four scoir treis of birk alroun and hissill treyis pryce of ilk ane thairof yeirlie overheid great & small as saidis.

Item<sup>80</sup> in the said toun of Keppauch four sheip Coittis Ilk ane thairof haveing tua trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis extending in treis of birk alroun sauche ravin trie quakesp and hissill to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonespecifeit and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis staikis [sic] cassokis cabberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treis of the saidis four Coittis to sevin hundreth fourscoir tuelf treis of birk alroun quakesp Ravin sauch & hissill treis pryce of ilk ane thairof great & small yeirlie overheid as saidis.

Item ane kill haveand ane trein cuppill furnesit with kebberris and Ribis extending to ten treis pryce of ilk trie as said is yeirlie.

Item ane sommer thairto pryce forsaid 10s.

Item on the said toun four houssis for service ilk hous haveing tua trein cuppillis & tua taill forkis extending in treis<sup>81</sup> of the kyndis & sortis of treis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonewryttin and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis cassokis staikis caberis & wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treyis of the saidis four houssis to sevin hundreth fourscoir tuelf treis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane thairof great & small overheid yeirlie as said is.

Item to furneis the said toun and occupearis thairof in pleuch pleughgeir harrovis barrovis corneforkis mukforkis sadillis schullis spaidis creillis and wtheris necessaris appertening to husbandrie yeirlie tua hundreth treis of birk alroun quakesp Ravin trie

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<sup>78</sup> 'keppauch' written in the left hand margin.

<sup>79</sup> Hazel.

<sup>80</sup> 'keppauch' written in the left hand margin.

<sup>81</sup> The phrase 'extending in treis' is an interpolation above the line.

hissill & sauch pryce of ilk ane thairof yeirlie overheid great & small as is abonewrittin.

Item to be doreis windoeis buirdis kistis stuillis chearis furneis traistis & wther necessaris appertening to ane hous thrie hundreth treyis of the kyndis & sortis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid forsaid.

Item to be ledderis and flaikis to nolt fauldys yeirlie sex scoir treyis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid as said is.

Item<sup>82</sup> In the toun and landis of Delnaboyth tua fyir houssis & tua chalmeris haveing in ilk ane thairof four cuppillis and tua taill forkis extending In treis of birk alroun quakesp sauch hissill and ravin trie to ilk cuppill thairof as said is and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis & wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as is beforsaid Extending all the trieis of the saidis tua fyir houssis & tua chalmeris of fyvetene hundreth and aucht treyis of birk alroun quakesp hissill sauch and Ravin trieis pryce of ilk ane thairof yeirlie overheid great & small as said is.

Item in the samen toun tua oxin byiris tua cowbyiris tua stabillis tua aitt barneis & tua beir barneis of fyv ilk ane thairof haveing fyve cuppillis & tua taill forkis extending in treis of of the kyndis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof as said is and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis cassokis staikis caberis & wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme in maner forsaid extending all The trieis of the saidis particular houssis To four thowsand fyve hundreth & fourtie treyis of the particular kyndis abonespecifeit pryce of ilk trie great & small overheid yeirlie of the saidis forsaidis.

Item in the said toun tua Coittis for sheip ilk ane thairof haveing thrie trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis extending in treis of the kyndis & sortis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof in maner forsaid and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis & wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme in maner befoirspecifeit Extending all the treyis of the saidis tua coittis to to sex sex [sic]<sup>83</sup> hundreth ~~thretyefour~~ treis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk trie great and small overheid yeirlie as saidis.

Item in the saidis tua oxin byiris & tua cow byiris & tua stabillis to be staikis crubbis stallis Raillis haikis mangeris and wtheris necessaris thairof yeirlie fourtie treyis of birk alroun quakesp hissill rawin trie & sauch pryce of ilk ane of the saidis yeirlie overheid as is befoir setdown.

Item ane kill haveand ane trein cuppill furnesit with caberis and Ribbis extending to ten treis pryce of ilk trie yeirlie as said is.

Item ane sommer thairto pryce forsaid 10s.

Item in the said toun of Delnaboyth four cotter houssis for service ilk hous haveing tua trein cuppillis & tua taill forkis Extending in trieis of the kyndis & sortis forsaidis

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<sup>82</sup> 'delnaboyth' written in the left hand margin.

<sup>83</sup> The second 'sex' has clearly been written over another word that is now illegible. This may be why the scribe interpolated a second 'to sex' in the left hand margin and forgot to erase the original phrase.

to ilk cuppill thairof as is aboneryttin and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis cassokis staikis caberis & wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treis of the saidis four houssis to sevin hundreth fourscoir tuelff trieis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid great & small abone expressit.

Item to furneis the said toun in pleuch pleuchgeir harrovis barrovis Corneforkis mukforkis sadillis schuillis spaidis Creillis & wtheris necessaris appertening to husbandrie yeirlie aucht scoir treyis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid as saidis.

Item to be doreis windoeis buirdis traistis kistis stuillis fourmeis chearis hallaneis<sup>84</sup> & wtheris necessaris appertening to ane hous tuelf scoir treyis of the sortis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane thairof yeirlie overheid as is afoirwrittin.

Item to be ledderis and flaikis yeirlie to the noltfootis fourscoir treis pryce of ilk trie yeirlie overheid as said is.

Item<sup>85</sup> in the toun of Auchlonye four fyir houssis four aitt barneis four beir barneis four oxin byiris and four stabillis Ilk ane of thir houssis haveand four trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in trieis of birk alroun quakesp sauch hissill and Rawin trie trieis to ilk cuppill thairof as is aboneryttin and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis & wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the trieis of the saidis particular houssis abonespecifeit to Seven thousand fyve hundreth and fourtie trieis pryce of ilk trie thairof great and small overheid yeirlie as is befoirmaid.

Item in the said toun of Auchlonye four cow byiris ilk ane thairof haveing fyve trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in treis of birk alroun sauch quakesp hessill and Ravin trie tries to ilk cuppill thairof as is befoirspecifeit and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis cassokis staikis caberis & wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as is abonementionat Extending all the treis of the saidis fowr coubyiris to aughtene hundreth and sextene trieis pryce of ilk ane thairof yeirlie as said is overheid great and small.

Item<sup>86</sup> in the saidis aucht byiris and four stabillis to be staikis crubbis stallis haikis mangeris and wtheris necessaris thairto yeirlie fourscoir trieis of the kyndis of trieis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane thairof yeirlie overheid as said is.

Item in the said toun four Coittis ilk ane thairof haveing tua trein cuppillis & tua taill forkis Extending in treis of the kyndis forsaidis to ilk cuppill of the samen in maner forsaid and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis & wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the trieis of the saidis four Coittis to sevin hundreth four scoir tuelf trieis pryce of ilk trie thairof yeirlie overheid as said is.

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<sup>84</sup> Inner wall or door screen.

<sup>85</sup> 'Auchlonye' written in the left hand margin.

<sup>86</sup> 'Auchlonye' written in the left hand margin.

Item ane kill haveand ane cuppill furnesit with caberis and Ribbis extending to ten trieis pryce of ilk trie yeirlie overheid as said is.

Item ane sommer thairto pryce forsaid 10s.

Item in the said toun of Auchlonye four Cotter houssis for service ilk hous haveing tua trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in trieis of the kyndis & sortis forsaidis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonewrittin and haveing the number of ruiffis pannis cassokis staikis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is extending all the trieis of the saidis four houssis to Sevin hundreth fourscoir tuelf treis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane of the saidis trieis yeirlie overheid forsaid.

Item to furneis the said toun yeirlie & occupearis thairof in pleuch pleuchgeir harrovis barrovis corneforkis mukforkis saddillis schuillis spaidis creillis and wtheris necessaris appertening to husbandrie yeirlie aucht scoir treis pryce of ilk ane thairof overheid as said is.

Item to be doreis windoeis buirdis traistis furmeis stuillis kistis chayreis hallaneis and wtheris necessaris appertening to ane hous tuelf scoir treis of the pryce forsaid overheid yeirlie great and small.

Item to be ledderis and flaikis yeirlie to be nolt fauld is fourscoir treis pryce yeirlie pryce of ilk ane of the samen overheid as said is.

Innerloquhye Ane hall or fyir hous haveing fyve trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in trieis of the kyndis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof as said is and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the trieis of the said fyir hous yeirlie at the least ilk tua yeiris ~~libellit~~ of the yeiris libellit to four hundreth fiftie four treis of the speciall kyndis for saidis pryce of ilk ane thairof overheid yeirlie as said is.

Item ane brace<sup>87</sup> to the chimley tua stoupis<sup>88</sup> to wphald the samen with tuentie vprychtis to mak the chimley extending the said chimley furnesit as said is to tuelf trieis pryce of ilk trie as said is yeirlie overheid.

Item ane chalmer ane oxin byir ane cow byir ane aitt barne ane beir barne ane kilbarne and ane stabill ilk ane thairof haveing thrie trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis extending in trieis of the kyndis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonespecifeit and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis cassokis staikis caberis & wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treis of the saidis particular houssis to tuentie ane hundreth treis of the sortis forsaidis pryce of ilk ~~foer~~ trie overheid yeirlie great and small as said is.

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<sup>87</sup> Band of stonework, timber or metal used to strengthen a framework or structure; in later use especially the breast or arch of a chimney. This is the only fire house in the survey to have a chimney and it is not yet clear why this was so.

<sup>88</sup> Post or pillar of wood.

Item ane seidhous and ane Coitt ilk ane thairof haveing tua cuppillis & tua taill forkis Extending in trieis of the kyndis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonementionat and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis cassokis staikis caberis and wytheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as is abonementionat-specificit Extending all the trieis of the saidis tua houssis to thrie hundreth fourscoir sextene treyis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid as said is.

Item tua coitter houssis ilk ane thairof haveing tua trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis extending in trieis of the sortis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof as is befoirwrittin and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis cassokis staikis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme forsaid Extending all the saidis treyis of bayth the saidis houssis to thrie hundreth fourscoir sextene trieis pryce of ilk ane thairof yeirlie as said is overheid great and small.

Item to the said oxin byir cowbyir and stabill to be staikis Crubbis stallis haikis mangeris and wtheris necessaris aucht trieis pryce of ilk trie overheid yeirlie as said is.

Item to furneis the said toun and possessouris thairof in pleuch pleuchgeir harrovis barrovis corneforkis mukforkis spaidis schuillis sadillis crelleis and wtheris necessaris appertening to husbandrie yeirlie fourscoir treis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid forsaid.

Item to be doreis windoeis buirdis kistis traistis stuillis chearris furmeis & wther necessaris belanging to houssis sex scoir treis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid as said is.

Item to be ledderis and flaikis to nolt fauldis yeirlie fourscoir treyis pryce of ilk ane thairof yeirlie overheid as said is.

Item In Ballinedin and Dellivrogatt four fyir houssis four aitt barneis four beir barneis four oxin byiris four cowbyiris four stabillis ilk ane of thir houssis haveing four trein cuppillis & tua taill forkis Extending in treyis of the kyndis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonewrittin and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treyis of the forsaidis particular houssis abonementionat to Nyne thowsand fourtie aucht treis of the speciall sortis aboneryttin pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid great and small abonecontentit.

Item in the saidis aucht byiris and four stabillis to be staikis crubbis stallis haikis mangeris and wtheris necessaris thairto yeirlie fourscoir treis of the kyndis abonedesignit pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid forsaid.

Item in the saidis landis four Coittis ilk ane thairof haveing tua trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis extending in treis of the kyndis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonespecificit and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the trieis of the saidis four Coittis to sevin hundreth fourscoir tuelf treyis pryce of ilk trie thairof yeirlie overheid as is abonedesignit.



Item to furneis the saidis landis and possessouris thairof yeirlie in pleuch pleuchgeir harrovis barrovis corneforkis mukforkis sadillis schuillis spaidis creillis and wther necessaris is belanging to husbandrie tua hundreth yeiris treis pryce of ilk ane of the samen of the kyndis forsaidis as said is yeirlie overheid.

Item to be doreis windoeis buirdis traistis furmeis kistis Counteris stuillis chearis and wther necessaris appertening to houssis thrie hundreth treis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane thairof yeirlie overheid abonespecifeit.

Item to be ledderis and flaikis to the nolt fauld is yeirlie sex scoir treis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid in the yeiris libellit.

Item In the toun of Foirlettir ane fyir hous haveing fyve trein cuppillis thairintill and tua taill forkis extending in treis of birk alroun sauch quakesp hissill and Ravin trie treis to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonevrittin and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis and vtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treyis of the said fyir hous yeirlie at least ilk tua yeiris of the yeiris libellit To four hundreth fiftie four treis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk trie thairof great and small overheid forsaid.

Item ane chalmer ane aitt barne ane beir barne ane oxin byir ane cowbyir ane stabill ilk ane thairof haveing four trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis extending in treis of the kyndis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonementionat and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis cassokis staikis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as is befoirspeifeit Extending all the treis of the saidis particular houssis to tua thovsant tua hundreth thriescoir tua treis pryce of ilk trie thairof great and small yeirlie overheid as said is.

Item to the saidis tua byiris and stabill to be staikis stallis crubbis haikis mangeris and wtheris necessaris thairto yeirlie aucht treis pryce of ilk ane thairof as is befor said yeirlie.

Item ane scheip Coit and ane Cotter hous ilk ane thairof haveing thrie trein cuppillis & tua taill forkis extending in treis of the sortis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof as is aboneexpremit and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as is befor rehearsit extending all the treis of the saidis tua houssis to sex hundreth treis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk trie thairof as is abonewrittin yeirlie overheid.

Item ane kill haveand ane cuppill plennesit with kaberis & Ribbis extending to ten treis pryce of ilk trie forsaid yeirlie.

Item ane sommer thairto.

Item to furneis the said toun and occupearis thairof in pleuchgeir harrovis & wtheris belanging to husbandrie yeirlie fourscoir treis pryce of ilk ane thairof yeirlie overheid forsaid.

Item to be doreis windoeis buirdis traistis furmeis and wtheris necessaris for houssis sexscoir treis pryce of ilk ane of the samen as said is yeirlie overheid.

Item to be ledderis and flaikis to the nolt fauldis four scoir treyis pryce of ilk trie thairof overheid yeirlie abonementionat.

Item in the landis of Wester Innerourie ane hall or fyir hous and ane chalmer ilk ane thairof haveand four trein cuppillis & tua taill forkis extending in treis of the kyndis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof as is befoirexpressit and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis cassokis staikis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme thairof as is befoirsaid Extending all the treyis of the saidis tua houssis to sevin hundreth fiftie four treis of the sortis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane of the saidis trieis great and small yeirlie overheid as said is.

Item ane aitt barne ane beir barne ane oxin byir ane cow byir ~~of fyve~~ ilk ane thairof haveing fyve cuppillis and tua taill forkis extending in trieis of the sortis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof as is befoirrehearsit and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis cassokis staikis caberis & wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as is beforsetdoun Extending all the trieis of the saidis four houssis to aughtene hundreth and sextene trieis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane thairof yeirlie overheid as is abovespecifeit.

Item ane stabill ane scheip Coitt and ane Cotter hous ilk ane thairof haveing thrie trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in trieis of the kyndis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonespecifeit and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is

Extending all the saidis treis of the saidis thrie houssis to Nyne hundreth trieis pryce of ilk trie thairof yeirlie overheid great and small as is befoir contenit.

Item to the saidis tua byiris and stabill in staikis stallis crubbis Raillis haikis mangeris and wtheris requisite to the lyik houssis aucht trieis pryce Of ilk ane thairof as said is.

Item ane kill furnesit with ane cuppill kebbberis and Ribbis extending to ten trieis pryce of ilk ane of the samen forsaid.

Item ane sommer thairto pryce forsaid xs.

Item mair in the saidis toun & landis of Wester Innerourie tua fyir houssis tua ait barneis tua beir barneis tua byiris ilk ane thairof haveing four trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in trieis of the saidis kyndis to ilk cuppill as is abovenominat and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis & wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as is aforsaid Extending all the treyis of the saidis aucht houssis to thrie thowsand and sextene treis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid great and small abonewrittin.

Item tua coittis ilk ane thairof haveing tua trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis extending in trieis of the saidis kyndis to ilk cuppill as said is & haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme in maner forsaid Extending all the treyis of the saidis tua coittis to ~~sæx~~ thrie hundreth fourscoir

sextene<sup>89</sup> treyis of the saidis sortis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid abonerehearsit.

Item to furneis the saidis landis of Wester Innerourie and possessouris thairof in pleuch pleuchgeir harrovis barrovis and siclyk wtheris necessaris requisite to husbandrie yeirlie ilk yeir aughtscoir trieis pryce of ilk ane of the samen forsaid overheid yeirlie.

Item to be doreis windoeis buirdis traistis furmeis and wtheris necessaris pertening to houssis yeirlie fourscoir treyis pryce of ilk ane of the samen forsaid yeirlie overheid.

Item to be ledderis and flaikis to the nolt fauld is yeirlie fiftie treis of the spaceis and kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid abonespecifeit.

Item in Over Camdell ane hall or fyir hous tua chamberis ane aitt barne ane beir barne ane cowbyir and ane ox byir ilk ane thairof haveing four cuppillis and tua taill forkis extending in trieis of the kyndis and sortis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof in maner forsaid and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis cassokis staikis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the trieis of the saidis sevin houssis to tua thovsant sex hundreth ~~thrieseoir~~ thrattie nyne trieis of the sortis forsaidis pryce of ilk trie of the samen yeirlie overheid great and small forsaid.

Item ane stabill and Coitt ilk ane thairof haveand thrie cuppillis tua taill forkis extending in trieis of ~~ilk~~ the kyndis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof in maner befoirexpremit and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis cassokis Caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as is abonedenydit Extending all the trieis of the saidis stabill and Coitt to sex hundreth trieis of the kyndis and qualiteis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid great and small as is abonerehearsit.

Item In Over Camdell tua fyir houssis tua aitt barneis tua beir barneis ilk ane thairof haveing thrie cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in the trieis of the kyndis and sortis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonementionat and haveing the number of pannis Ruiffis cassokis staikis caberis and wtheris as is befoirexpressit Extending all the trieis of the saidis sex houssis to Nyne hundreth trieis of the kyndis and sortis abonerehearsit pryce of ilk trie of the samen yeirlie overheid great and small as said is.

Item tua coittis and ane cottir hous ilk ane thairof haveing tua trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis of the kyndis & sortis forsaidis Extending in trieis to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonerehearsit and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis cassokis staikis caberis and wtheris In maner befoirrecitad Extending all the trieis of the saidis thrie houssis to Fyve hundreth fourscoir sextene<sup>90</sup> trieis of the kyndis and sortis forsaidis pryce of ilk trie of the samen great and small yeirlie overheid forsaid.

Item ane kill furnesit in maner forsaid extending to ten trieis pryce of ilk ane thairof as said is.

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<sup>89</sup> 'Fourscoir sextene' interpolated in the left hand margin.

<sup>90</sup> Interpolation 'Fourscoir sextene' written in left hand margin

Item ane sommer thairto pryce abonespecifeit xs.

Item to furneis the said toun of Over Camdell and haill occupearis thairof in pleuch pleuchgeir and wtheris siclyik pertening to husbandrie yeirlie fourscoir trieis pryce of ilk ane thairof yeirlie overheid forsaid.

Item to be doreis windoeis buirdis traistis furmeis and wtheris necessaris appertening to hous sex scoir trieis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid as said is.

Item to be ledderis and flaikis to the nolt fauld is yeirlie thriescoir treyis of the diuers kyndis forsaidis pryce of trie overheid as is befoirmaid.

Item In Nether Camdell ane hall or fyir hous ane chalmer tua aitt barneis tua beir barneis ilk ane thairof haveing four trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in trieis of the kyndis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof as is aboneexpremit and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis cassokis staikis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as is befoir mentionat Extending all the treis of the saidis sex houssis to tua thowsand tua hundreth thriescoir tua Treis of the kyndis and sortis abonespecifeit Pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid great and small as is afoircontentit.

Item ane kitchein ane stabill tua coitter houssis ilk ane thairof tua trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in trieis of the kyndis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof as said is and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis cassokis staikis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as is befoirnumerat Extending the haill treis of the saidis four houssis To Sevin hundreth fourscoir tuelf treis of the kyndis forsaidis ~~ix~~ Pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid great and small forsaid.

Item ane Cowbyir and ane Coitt of ilk ane thairof haveand fyve trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in trieis of the kyndis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof as is abonespecifeit And haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as said is Extending all the treis of the saidis tua houssis To Nyne hundreth aucht treis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid great and small aboneexpremit.

Item tua fyir houssis tua ait barneis tua beir barneis ilk ane thairof haveing thrie trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in trieis of the saidis kyndis to ilk cuppill thairof as is beforsaid and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis cassokis staikis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as is afoir denyeit Extending all the treis of the saidis sex houssis to Nyne hundreth trieis pryce of ilk trie of the samen yeirlie overheid forsaid.

Item tua coittis ilk ane thairof haveing tua trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis extending in trieis of the kyndis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof and haveing the Number of pannis ruiffis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme In maner forsaid Extending all the treis of the saidis tua coittis to thrie hundreth fourscoir sextene treis of the kyndis aboneexpremit pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid as is afoirsetdoun.

Item to furneis the said toun and hail possessouris thairof In pleuch pleuchgeir and wtheris necessaris requisite to husbandrie yeirlie fourscoir treis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid as said is.

Item to be doreis windoeis and wtheris necessaris for hous yeirlie sex scoir trieis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid forsaid.

Item to be ledderis and flaikis to the nolt fauld is yeirlie thriescoir trieis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid abonespecifeit.

Item In Fynrane four fyir houssis four aitt barneis four beir barneis four oxin byiris four cowbyiris ilk ane thairof haveing four trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis extending in treis of the kyndis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris In maner abonespecifeit Extending all the treyis of the saidis particular houssis to Sevin thousand fyve hundreth and fourtie treyis Of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid forsaid.

Item four stabillis four Coittis & four wtheris houssis for service ilk ane thairof haveing tua trein cuppillis & tua taill forkis Extending in treis of the saidis kyndis to ilk cuppill thairof and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme as is befoirmentionat Extending all the treyis of the saidis tuelf houssis to tua thovsant thrie hundreth thriescoir sextene trieis Pryce of ilk trie of the samen yeirlie overheid great & small forsaid.

Item ane kill furnesit as saidis with cupill ~~Ribbis and~~<sup>91</sup> Ribbis and caberis extending to ten trieis ane sommer thairto pryce of ilk ane thairof respective as said is.

Item to furneis the said toun of ~~Nether Camdell~~ Fynrane and the occupieris thairof thair stabillis and byiris with staikis crubbis stallis haikis mangeris and wtheris necessaris apperteneand to the lyk vseis tuentie treyis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane of the samen as said is yeirlie overheid.

Item in pleuch pleuchgeir and wtheris necessaris requisite for husbandrie fourscoir treis yeirlie pryce of the samen trie forsaid.

Item to be doreis windoeis and wtheris necessaris for houssis sexscoir treyis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid forsaid.

Item to be ledderis and flaikis to nolt fauld is yeirlie fourscoir treis pryce of ilk ane thairof yeirlie as said is.

Item In Ruthven sex fyir houssis sex sex [sic] aitt barneis sex beir barneis sex byiris ilk ane thairof haveing four trein cuppillis and tua taill forkis extending in treis of the sortis and kyndis forsaidis to ilk cuppill thairof and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme in maner forsaid Extending all the treyis of the fornarnit particular houssis to Nyne thovsant fortie

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<sup>91</sup> Two words 'Ribbis and' immediately after 'cupill' have been deleted. Since these words overwrote a previous entry, the scribe may have decided to clean up the passage by deleting the words and rewriting them.

aucht trieis of the saidis sortis and kyndis pryce of ilk trie of the samen yeirlie overheid great and small forsaid.

Item in the said toun sex coittis and sex wther houssis for service with sex stabillis ilk ane thairof haveing tua cuppillis and tua taill forkis Extending in trieis of the ~~triais~~ kyndis forsaidis to ilk cuppill and haveing the number of Ruiffis pannis staikis cassokis caberis and wtheris to ilk cuppillis rovme in maner forsaid Extending all the treis of the forsaidis speciall houssis To thrie thovsand nyne hundreth thriescoir treis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid great and small as said is.

Item to furneis the stabillis and byiris forsaidis in crubbis staikis stallis haikis mangeris & wtheris necessaris yeirlie fourtie treyis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid as said is.

Item to be pleuch pleuchgeir and wtheris necessaris to husbandrie tua hundreth treis yeirlie pryce of ilk ane thairof forsaid.

To be doreis windoeis & wtheris necessaris requisite for houssis yeirlie fourtene scoir treis of the saidis kyndis pryce of ilk ane thairof yeirlie as said is.

Item to be ledderis and flaikis to nolt fauldis yeirlie ten scoir treis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie as said is.

Item the mylne of Ruthven haveing thairintill tua trein cuppillis furnesit with pannis Ruiffis cassokis caberis and wtheris In maner forsaid extending all the treyis of the said mylhous to tua hundreth treis of the kyndis forsaidis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie as said is.

Item to be quheillis<sup>92</sup> mylne crubbis hopper trouch<sup>93</sup> and wtheris necessaris thairto fiftie treis pryce of ilk ane of the samen overheid forsaid.

Item to the schealling houssis Of the saidis landis requisite yeirlie ane thovsand treyis pryce of ilk ane of the samen yeirlie overheid great & small as is abonespecifeit.

Item ilk ane cuppillis biging of all and sindrie the houssis and bigingis abonewrittin necessarlie requerit yeirlie at the least ilk tua yeiris In mending beitting and repairing thairof in cassokis staikis and caberis with wattling is iii<sup>xx</sup> iiii small trieis abonedesignat pryce of ilk pece thairof xiid monie forsaid.

Ilk cuppill of biging extending in legis angleris housis spurris<sup>94</sup> vpstanderis and maillis<sup>95</sup> to aucht great treis & tua smal treis And ilk taill fork of the said biging with the geavillis & syidis of that samen taill fork comptit to ane cuppill of biging extending as said is.

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<sup>92</sup> Wheels.

<sup>93</sup> A wooden conduit for water which leads to a millwheel.

<sup>94</sup> A strut or diagonal stay in a roof. Dr Piers Dixon suggests that they may be spurs jointed to the legs of the A-frame to support purlins or pans.

<sup>95</sup> Probably in error for naillis.

Item ilk cuppill biging in soillis pannis Ruiffis cassokis all staikis geavill pannis sparris caberis & watlingis extending ilk sevint yeir at the new making & biging of all the saidis houssis & bigingis in great treis to seven treis & in small treis to xxiii cassokis & xl caberis pryce of ilk great trie vis vid & of ilk small trie ~~wi~~ wnvrocht with the branches thairof to be watling xiid.

To the miller of Ruthven haveing a fyr hous barne byir cott & wtheris houssis xviii cuppillis the mylne ane cuppill quheillis crubbis hopper troch & wtheris necessaris yeirlie at least ilk tua yeris tuentie great treis & ten small.

To be doreis vindeis etc to the mylleris hous x treis

To the schealling ~~place thairof~~ houssis yeirlie & ilk yeir xl cuppillis of biging.

Delvorar ~~fyrthe~~ windeis etc xx treis byiris & stabillis x treis pele<sup>96</sup> pleuis etc xxx treis laderis fiftie treis.

Gearlargis windeis xl treis byiris xx treis / pleuis xxx treis laderis l treis alter siclyk.

Auchnahyill windeis l treis byiris fyve scoir treis / pleuis fiftie treis laderis sex scoir treis.

Keppauch vindois vindois [sic] xl treis byiris tuentie treis plevis etc xxx laderis fiftie.

Delnaboyth Windeis/ xl treis byiris tuentie plevis xxx laderis iii<sup>xx</sup>

Auchlonye iii onsettis for tenentis iii<sup>xx</sup> cupillis Windeis fourscoir treis byiris xl treis plevis thriescor treis laderis aucht scoir treis

Innerloquhye ii tenentis iii<sup>xx</sup> cupillis /Windeis/ xl / treis byiris tuentie treis plevis xxx laderis fourscoir.

Ballinedin & Dellivrogat tua tenentis xlviiii cuppillis doreis xl treis byiris xx Tries plevis xxx laderis l treis.

Forlettir ii tenentis iii<sup>xx</sup> cuppillis doreis fourtie treis byiris ~~xxx~~ xx laderis iii<sup>xx</sup> plevis xxx

Over Camdell ii tenentis iii<sup>xx</sup>x cup. doreis xl byiris xx plevis xx laderis iii<sup>xx</sup>.

Nether Camdell thrie tenentis v<sup>xx</sup>/ doreis iii<sup>xx</sup> byiris xxx treis plevis xl treis laderis fyve scoir tries.

Fynran four tenentis iii<sup>xx</sup> cup. doreis fourscoir treis byiris xl treis plevis thriescoir treis laderis iii<sup>xx</sup> treis.

Ruthven iiiii tenentis iii<sup>xx</sup>x cup. doreis iii<sup>xx</sup> treis byiris xl plevis xxxviii laideris iii<sup>xx</sup>.

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<sup>96</sup> A long handled shovel

## Landholding in medieval and early-modern Banffshire

The twenty-three *dabhach* lands that formed the two Banffshire parishes of Inveravon and Kirkmichael, and which also comprised the lordship of Strathavon, first appear in the charter record between 1194 and 1232 in a series of agreements between successive bishops of Moray and Earl Duncan II of Fife.<sup>97</sup> It is currently impossible to prove beyond doubt that Strathavon was an older unit of lordship that pre-dated the 1190s but one clue that might help support such a theory can be found in place-name evidence.

In 1980 Geoffrey Barrow argued that the western boundary marker of Strathavon, Beinn Macduibh (Macduff's mountain – Dubh being the eponymous ancestor of the leading Fife kindred, *Clann Duib*) commemorated the granting of this territory to Earl Duncan II by King William I between 1187 and 1204 after the defeat of Donald MacWilliam.<sup>98</sup> This theory seems plausible but for two reasons. First, it pre-supposes that landholders in Moray actively backed Donald MacWilliam in 1187 and were disinherited by the crown for their 'treason' in supporting the senior branch of the royal kindred. In fact, there is no evidence of this.<sup>99</sup> Second, there is another place-name, *Allt an Gille Mícheil* (burn of the servants of St Michael), on the south-eastern boundary of the lordship. If there is any link between place-names in Strathavon and personal-names of earls of Fife, this latter place-name could commemorate the name of an even earlier earl, Gille Mícheil, who died before July 1136.<sup>100</sup> This suggests that Fife possession of lands in Strathavon could go as far back in time as the 1130s, perhaps to the period following the death of Oengus of Moray in 1130 if a political rationale is sought for the appearance of the Fife kindred in northern Scotland at this time. Such a scenario could even explain the parochial dedication to St Michael, the avenging archangel who commanded the army of God, as a commemoration to celebrate the defeat of Oengus and the Moravians by King David.

Alternatively, it might be objected that *Allt an Gille Mícheil* commemorates the same saint remembered in the parochial name (Kirkmichael), so that the place-name was coined for a boundary that marked the extent of lands belonging to a saintly cult devoted to St Michael in Strathavon, perhaps similar to the Gaelic kindred who maintained the cult of St Cainnech of Achadh Bó around Loch Laggan in the lordship of Badenoch. This was *Clann mhic Gille Choinnich* (the children of the sons of the servant of St Cainnech), although their earlier patronymic appears to have been 'MacIlchynich' (*Mac Mhaol Choinnich* - the sons of the devotee of St Cainnech).<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> *Mor. Reg.*, nos.16 & 62.

<sup>98</sup> G.W.S Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (Oxford, 1980), 86; Bannermen, 'MacDuff of Fife', in A. Grant and K. Stringer (editors), *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 20-38, at 24.

<sup>99</sup> Alasdair Ross, 'Moray, Ulster, and the MacWilliams', in Seán Duffy (editor), *The World of the Galloglass: Kings, warlords and warriors in Ireland and Scotland, 1200-1600* (Cornwall, 2007), pp. 24-44.

<sup>100</sup> Victor Gaffney, *The Lordship of Strathavon: Tomintoul under the Gordons* (Aberdeen, 1960), map facing 24 [hereafter: Gaffney, *Strathavon*]; A.A.M. Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), 164, n.55.

<sup>101</sup> Alan G. Macpherson, 'An Old Highland Parish Register', in *Scottish Studies*, 11, pt. 2, 1967, 149-92, at 190, n.13. In Ireland 'Máel' seems to have been regularly used until c.850. It then fell out of use



Furthermore, it cannot be a coincidence that the parochial church dedicated to St Michael and the extensive shielings on *Allt an Gille Mícheil* were both located within the boundaries of the *dabhach* of Inverchebitmore. However, one important difference between the cult of St Cainnech at Laggan and a supposed cult of St Michael at Kirkmichael is that there is no trace in the historical record of there ever having been a significant cult or kindred dedicated to St Michael anywhere in Strathavon. While this does not mean that such a cult could never have existed, it does make it less likely that *Allt an Gille Mícheil* was named after the saint rather than the earl.

More importantly, none of the above affects the place-name Beinn Macduibh. If the westernmost and highest point of Strathavon is named after *Clann Duib*, this is a grand gesture which makes quite a statement and, while there are many other place-names in Scotland that contain personal or kindred names, none of them are on quite the same scale as Beinn Macduibh. Moreover, no other major medieval kindred in Scotland seem to have left a similarly giant onomastic footprint. This should perhaps raise a question mark over the geographic origins of *Clann Duib* who clearly possessed many of their scattered earldom lands in Fife thanks to post-1157 grants from kings of Scots.<sup>102</sup>

A case can also be made that the lordship of Strathavon was originally just one part of a much larger and older unit of *Clann Duib* lordship that had once straddled the River Spey and included much of the medieval parish of Advie. While a lack of early written evidence makes such reconstructions problematic in Scotland, one piece of printed evidence relating to these lands can be found in Lachlan Shaw's classic book on Moray. Here, he stated that the lands in Advie that had previously belonged to the earls of Fife were granted to Grant of Ballindalloch by the crown in the fifteenth century. To support this Shaw quoted from a document dated 22 June 1389 when Countess Isabel of Fife resigned the lands of *Strathavie*, *Abrondolie* and *Affyne* to King Robert III.<sup>103</sup> This document does not appear to have survived but further proof that Shaw had seen a genuine document can be found in the Grant archive. On 23 August 1622 an inventory of family charters was completed for Sir John Grant (5<sup>th</sup>) of Freuchie. The first entry in this list noted the existence of 'ane auld charter' made by Earl Duncan of Fife to his steward 'Andro Frewheirich' of the lands of Auchnefur and the two Culquhoichis in the parish of Advie.<sup>104</sup> It is possible to narrow down the date of this record a little further, even though Andrew Frewheirich is otherwise unknown, as there were four earls of Fife called Duncan between c.1133 and 1353. The second oldest charter recorded in the inventory (which has survived) is dateable to the mid-thirteenth century so it looks as though the previous record must relate to a charter of either Earl Duncan I (d.1154) or of Earl Duncan II (1154-1204).

Situated on the south side of the River Spey, and sandwiched between these two blocks of Fife lands was the royal thanage of Cromdale, which was also controlled by the earls of Fife on behalf of the crown, and two small blocks of lands possessed by the bishops of Moray. Together, these lands form a distinct territory in the middle of

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during the next hundred years and was gradually replaced by 'Gille' [cf. M.A. O'Brien, 'Old Irish Personal Names', in *Celtica*, 10, 1973, 211-360, at 229].

<sup>102</sup> G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Earls of Fife in the 12<sup>th</sup> century', in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 87, 1952-53, 51-62.

<sup>103</sup> Lachlan Shaw, *The History of the Province of Moray* 3 vols. (new ed. Edinburgh, 1882), i, 226-27.

<sup>104</sup> NAS, GD248/92/1.

the Spey valley that was once bounded on the west by the secular lordships of Badenoch, Abernethy and Glencarnie, by the earldom of Mar to the south, and on the north and east by large blocks of mensal lands belonging to the bishops of Moray.

By the 1230s the Fife lands in the parishes of Inveravon and Kirkmichael had been granted to a younger son of Earl Duncan II, David de Strathbogie, and his descendents held the lordship until King Robert I disinherited them after Bannockburn under the terms of the Statute of Cambuskenneth.<sup>105</sup> Although the Strathbogie branch of the Fife kindred temporarily regained these lands in the 1330s, the death of Earl David IV de Strathbogie at Culblean in 1335 probably resulted in the lordship reverting to the earls of Fife before Countess Isabel later resigned the same lands to the crown in 1389. Thereafter, Alexander Stewart, younger son of King Robert II, received a grant of lands in Strathavon and one of his descendents, Sir Walter Stewart, still held the lordship in 1482 when King James III re-granted the barony of Strathavon to him and, failing any male heirs, to George Gordon, earl of Huntly. Eight years after this, on 31 August 1490, Sir Walter granted the lands and lordship of Strathavon, including the castle of Drummyn, to Lord Alexander Gordon (later the third earl of Huntly).<sup>106</sup> This was the beginning of Gordon lordship in Strathavon and their new lands formed a convenient stepping-stone between the core of the Gordon earldom at Strathbogie and the lordship of Badenoch that they had received from the crown in 1451.<sup>107</sup> Yet another family that was expanding its area of influence in Moray at this time, though less spectacularly than the Gordons, were the Grants.

The early history of the Grant family in Moray has yet to be entirely revealed but they gained their foothold in Strathspey via three distinct paths. First, as tenants of a block of crown lands centred upon Freuchie, which were eventually given by the crown to John Grant (2<sup>nd</sup> of Freuchie d.1528) in barony in 1493. Second, as the heirs to the earlier lords of Glencarnie, and the lordship (essentially the equivalent of medieval parish of Duthil) of the same name was granted by King James IV to the same John Grant in 1499.<sup>108</sup> The same year Freuchie also received a tak of the lands and forest of Abernethy for nine years from the crown.<sup>109</sup> Thirdly, more lands were gained through co-operation with the Gordons of Huntly. In 1483, for example, George Gordon, the second earl of Huntly, granted four *dabhaichean* (Kinrara, Rait, Blairowie, and Gask) in his lordship of Badenoch to John Grant (2<sup>nd</sup> of Freuchie).<sup>110</sup> Eight years later, on 4 February 1491, the same earl made a further grant of Badenoch lands to Freuchie with the *dabhach* of Clewrie in the parish of Inverallan.<sup>111</sup> This latter agreement was the first of three transactions between the two families during the first half of 1491.

This 4 February grant of the *dabhach* of Clewrie to Freuchie meant that he then must have possessed all three *dabhaichean* in the parish of Inverallan (fully one third of the

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<sup>105</sup> A.A.M. Duncan (editor), *Regesta Regum Scottorum v: The Acts of Robert I* (Edinburgh, 1988), no.41.

<sup>106</sup> NAS, GD124/1/1131; GD124/1/1132.

<sup>107</sup> J. M. Thomson (editor) and others, *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum in Archivis Publicis Asservatum* (Edinburgh, 1814-1914), ii, no.442, [hereafter: *RMS*].

<sup>108</sup> Alasdair Ross, 'The lords and lordship of Glencarnie', in Steve Boardman & Alasdair Ross (editors), *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland c.1200-1500*, (Chippenham, 2003), 159-74.

<sup>109</sup> M. Livingstone & others (editors), *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, (Edinburgh, 1908-), i, no.268.

<sup>110</sup> Fraser, *Grant*, iii, no.42.

<sup>111</sup> *ibid.*, no.48.

medieval parish) that formed a detached portion of Huntly's lordship of Badenoch. On 15 April 1491, however, Freuchie entered into a new agreement whereby he resigned two of his three *dabhaichean* in Inverallan (Cur and Tullochgorm) to Huntly in return for the three *dabhach* lands of Kincardine parish.<sup>112</sup> Two months later, the picture was further complicated when on 14 June Huntly exchanged the two *dabhaichean* of Cur and Tullochgorm he had just previously received from Freuchie in return for Freuchie's three *dabhach* lands of Fodderletter, Inverourie, and Inverlochry in the lordship of Strathavon and sheriffdom of Banffshire.<sup>113</sup>

The earl of Huntly must then have granted two of these three Strathavon *dabhaichean* to his son, Lord Alexander Gordon. On 22 October 1495 Alexander Gordon sued John Grant (2<sup>nd</sup>) of Freuchie for 600 merks because John had still not infeted him in either the two *dabhaichean* of Inverowrie and Inverlochry in Strathavon or the lands of Fochillater in the sheriffdom of Inverness. The Lords of Council gave John Grant forty days to rectify this situation and infet Alexander Gordon or they threatened to distrain Grant of the 600 merks claimed by Gordon.<sup>114</sup> Given the nature of this lawsuit, it seems likely that John Grant was acting as a local sheriff in Strathavon at that time.

So, despite a little local difficulty, by the end of the fifteenth century the two families generally appear to have been co-operating closely in the Spey valley and it is a shame that the earlier fifteenth century charters do not seem to have survived as they might have shed some light on how the Grants of Freuchie first gained lands in Strathavon. All that really can be said is that since Huntly did not enter into possession of the lordship of Strathavon until 31 August 1490, it may have been Sir Walter Stewart, the previous lord, who first gave the Grants of Freuchie lands there. At face value, Freuchie seems to have come out of this exchange of lands one *dabhach* to the better, although such accounting is meaningless since we do not know the relative values of each of the *dabhaichean* involved in these excambions.

Around the same time as these convoluted land transactions were occurring, John Grant (2<sup>nd</sup>) of Freuchie also played an important role in the day-to-day running of Moray and he occasionally appeared in the twin roles of judge and arbitor in landholding disputes. One such event occurred in 1517 when he and Alexander Ogilvy were commanded to perambulate and judge upon a dispute between James Hepburn, bishop of Moray (1516-24), and William Balye of Ardnely. This case revolved around the fact that the bishop had accused Balye of illegally manuring shieling lands, converting them into arable, and had also erected buildings upon them. On this occasion, Grant and Ogilvy found in favour of the bishop, took the illegal corn for themselves to sell, and ordered that the new corn lands with their associated buildings be destroyed and the land converted back to pasture.<sup>115</sup>

### **The Grants in Strathavon**

After the land transactions of the early-1490s the Grant family do not seem to have regained a foothold in Strathavon until the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

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<sup>112</sup> NAS, GD248/214/4/2/10.

<sup>113</sup> NAS, GD248/92/1.

<sup>114</sup> *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, ii, 308-09.

<sup>115</sup> NLS, MS.Adv.34.4.9, fo.106r. – 106v.

George Gordon, fourth earl of Huntly, did not immediately succeed his grandfather Earl Alexander in 1524. As a result, the wardship of the Huntly lands was first possessed by the Douglas earl of Angus and later ended up in the hands of James Stewart, earl of Moray. King James V was himself a minor at this time and under the guardianship of Margaret Tudor and Angus until June 1526.<sup>116</sup> In fact, later legal documents from the reign of Queen Mary clearly indicate that King James V had taken the Gordon lands into his personal wardship before 18 December 1527 when he granted substantial lands in the lordship and barony of Strathavon to John Grant (2<sup>nd</sup>) of Freuchie in liferent.<sup>117</sup>

George Gordon must have attained his majority shortly afterwards since he had granted the lordship and barony of Strathavon to his younger brother, Alexander Gordon, before 1530. Such an award does not mean that John Grant had to relinquish his 1527 royal grant of Strathavon lands and it looks as though George Gordon had to accept Freuchie as a liferent tenant. Indeed, if anything the Grant family increased their interests in Strathavon when, on 6 June 1530, Alexander Gordon made John Grant's heir, James Grant (3<sup>rd</sup>) of Freuchie (d.1552), baillie of the lordship and forest of Strathavon with the right to keep half of the profits of the lordship and forest courts for himself. This arrangement between George Gordon and James Grant was to stay in force during the lifetimes of both Alexander Gordon of Strathavon and Grant.<sup>118</sup>

Nine years after this agreement, on 31 August 1539, Alexander Gordon of Strathavon and his brother Huntly came to an agreement that seems to indicate that Alexander exchanged his lands in Strathavon, including Drummin Castle, for those of Cluny in Aberdeenshire. However, a separate charter demonstrates that Alexander Gordon bought the half-*dabhach* of Blairfindie in Strathavon at this time,<sup>119</sup> and this helps explain why he was named as still possessing interests in Strathavon, together with continuing possession of Drummin Castle, in a legal dispute relating to those lands in the 1550s.<sup>120</sup>

James Grant further enhanced his landed interests in Strathavon when he persuaded the two female heirs of the last known *toiseachdoir* of Strathavon, Alasdair Crom Macallan's daughters Marjorie and Katherine, to give up their joint-inheritance of the *dabhach* of Inverchebitmore in return for lands elsewhere in Strathspey and Mar in 1542.<sup>121</sup> This excambion, however, was dwarfed by the agreement reached between James Grant and Earl George of Huntly on 8 May 1546. On that day, in a bond of manrent Huntly granted Freuchie and his son John a total of six *dabhaichean* in Strathavon in liferent, together with the keeping of the forest of Strathavon, the keeping of the castle of Drummin, and the bailiery of two-thirds of the lordship, provided that Freuchie kept the shieling and grassing of Inchrory and the mountain of Beinn Avon reserved for the earl's hunting. An additional codicil was that Freuchie had to feed two 'bullis' of cows in the forest for Gordon each year.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Alison Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage: Highland Clanship 1451-1609* (Leiden, 2006), 47, n.57, [hereafter: Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage*]; Jamie Cameron, *James V: The Personal Rule 1528-1542* (East Linton, 1998), 9.

<sup>117</sup> NAS, GD248/78/2/18.

<sup>118</sup> NAS, GD248/78/3/7.

<sup>119</sup> RMS, iii, no.2248.

<sup>120</sup> NAS, GD248/78/2/18.

<sup>121</sup> *Spalding Misc.*, iii, 88-89.

<sup>122</sup> NAS, GD248/87/3/8.

These six *dabhaichean*, which amounted to just over a quarter of the extent of the lordship of Strathavon, were situated in the south-western part of the lordship and were bounded on the south-west by the forest of Strathavon. This forest ran westwards up to the summit of Beinn Macduibh and, like the two halves of the forest of Mar, seems to have been permanently set aside for the two activities of hunting and transhumance. The life-rent agreement for these lands between the Gordons and the Grants was re-affirmed upon the death of the fourth earl of Huntly in 1562, and again in 1586 just after the death of John Grant (5<sup>th</sup>) of Freuchie. Given these two instances it is only reasonable to assume that the liferent agreement had also been renewed upon the respective deaths of James Grant (3<sup>rd</sup>) of Freuchie before April 1558 and George Gordon, the fifth earl of Huntly, in 1572, but that no record of these latter two renewals has survived. A final point to note is that by 1586 the new lord and baron of Strathavon was another Alexander Gordon. He had received these lands from his father in 1575 and this Alexander was a younger brother of the sixth earl of Huntly.<sup>123</sup>

### **Bydand versus Standfast**

This picture of close co-operation between the Gordons and the Grants in Strathavon and elsewhere in Moray post-1524 appears to have been badly broken during the last fifteen years of the sixteenth century. Famously, during the period between 1587 and 1592 members of the Gordon family were responsible for killing two of Grant's kinsmen and, shortly afterwards, Huntly's position of power in the north-east came under threat by the creation of James Stewart as earl of Moray. Disenchanted with a lack of protection from Huntly, Grant of Freuchie temporarily aligned himself and his kindred with the earl of Moray though this alliance was brought to a close by unknown means in October 1591 when Grant was again received into the favour of Huntly. Shortly afterwards, however, Huntly murdered the earl of Moray on 7 February 1592 and this act again temporarily severed the bonds between Huntly and Grant.<sup>124</sup>

This short-lived falling-out between Freuchie and Huntly would provide a good and convenient context for the lawsuit between Alexander Gordon of Strathavon and Freuchie over the alleged destruction of trees in Strathavon, assuming of course that a political agenda was pursued by other means. However, in fact a good case can be built to demonstrate that the relationship between the Grants and the Gordons in Strathavon had been under stress for a much longer period of time before 1587 and actually dated back to the 1530s. The later legal squabble about the misuse of trees in Strathavon seems to have been only one aspect of a much deeper sense of injustice between the two families.

The first signs of a souring of their lordly/tenant relationship in Strathavon occur in a document issued in 1557. Upon the death of James Grant (3<sup>rd</sup>) of Freuchie, the evidence indicates that the earl of Huntly refused to give John Grant entry to the lands he should have inherited in Strathavon, despite Grant offering caution to Huntly 'on

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<sup>123</sup> NAS, GD248/69/3. This reference is to a copy of the original sasine made for the Grant family between 1594 and 1603.

<sup>124</sup> Jenny Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603* (Edinburgh, 1985), 120-21 [hereafter: Wormald, *Bonds of Manrent*]; Keith M. Brown, *Bloodfeud in Scotland, 1573-1625* (Edinburgh, 1986), 152-53.

numerous occasions'. The Falkland pursuivant<sup>125</sup> was dispatched to sort out the mess and given letters commanding Huntly to halt the arrestments and to accept John Grant's caution for the Strathavon lands.<sup>126</sup> This initiative must have failed because there were further related problems.

Between 4 April 1558 and 10 July 1559 a document was issued in the joint names of Queen Mary and the Dauphin Francis. This states that although the recently deceased James Grant had been granted a share of the profits of the courts of Strathavon in 1530, either Alexander Gordon of Strathavon in person or people acting in his name had taken all the profits of these courts of Strathavon for the last twenty-two years. In 1558, John Grant, the heir of James Grant, asked for compensation to the amount of 100 merks per annum (a total of 2,200 merks) to ameliorate the financial losses suffered by his family through Alexander Gordon's actions. The Lords of Council agreed that Alexander Gordon should be warned, charged, and summoned to Edinburgh to answer the case.<sup>127</sup>

This second initiative must also have failed because in 1562 the Falkland pursuivant charged the withholders of Drummin castle (which should have been in the care of Grant as baillie of Strathavon) to hand the keys of the castle over to John Grant, under pain of treason.<sup>128</sup> This warning must have been effective since a later document refers back to a contract made between Huntly and John Grant on 24 August 1562 regarding Grant's heritage in Strathavon.<sup>129</sup> However, Huntly's death in battle on 28 October 1562 must have prevented Grant from receiving sasine since he complained again to the Queen in 1564 that for seven years Alexander Gordon had occupied, laboured, and withheld from him all of the lands in Strathavon that he should have inherited from his father. On this latter occasion, Alexander Gordon was commanded to repay to John Grant all of the mails, entry silver, and duties that he should have received had Alexander not seized his lands, and Gordon was again summoned to Edinburgh to explain his actions.<sup>130</sup>

While it would be easy in the latter instance to accuse John Grant of making mischief while the earl of Huntly was in opposition to the crown in 1562 and the Gordons were subsequently forfeited, this cannot be used as a rationale for origins of the dispute between Huntly, Alexander Gordon, and Grant since it began in 1557 when both Huntly and Grant were in favour at court.<sup>131</sup> This would indicate that both the origins of the dispute and the accusations were genuine rather than political manoeuvring. In the end, John Grant did not have to wait too long after the restoration of the earls of

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<sup>125</sup> One of the Scottish heralds.

<sup>126</sup> NAS, GD248/78/2/35.

<sup>127</sup> NAS, GD248/78/3/7. It is also worth noting that at some point during this period Alexander Gordon of Strathavon had married a woman who was probably the sister of John Grant (4<sup>th</sup>) of Freuchie so Gordon was now opposing his brother-in-law [Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage*, 230-31]. It is worth speculating that this marriage may have been negotiated in an attempt to solve the dispute between the two families. If so, it failed.

<sup>128</sup> Fraser, *Grant*, iii, no.122.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, no.337.

<sup>130</sup> NAS, GD248/78/2/18.

<sup>131</sup> During the period of Huntly forfeiture, the lordship of Strathavon was granted to Robert Stewart, an illegitimate son of King James V and commendator of Holyrood. Stewart granted lands in Strathavon to the Grants of Carron in 1564 and they seem to have been able to retain these lands after the Gordons were restored [NAS, GD44/6/9].

Huntly in 1566 to receive satisfaction. The new earl of Huntly granted him and his heir Duncan Grant a life-rent charter for their Strathavon lands on 30 September 1568.<sup>132</sup> This settlement may have been hastened because George Gordon, the new fifth earl of Huntly, was in need of local allies at that time to counter the local dominance of the earl of Moray.

When John Grant finally negotiated entry to his lands in Strathavon, he was not to know that he would only enjoy uninterrupted possession for seven years. In January 1575, one year before his death, the earl of Huntly granted the lordship and barony of Strathavon, together with the castle of Drummin, to one of his younger sons Alexander Gordon.<sup>133</sup> Upon receiving sasine of these lands, Alexander Gordon promptly issued a lawsuit against John Grant (4<sup>th</sup> of Freuchie) for the wanton destruction of trees in Strathavon and thus initiated legal proceedings that continued over the course of the next thirty-seven years.<sup>134</sup>

Alexander Gordon was evidently determined to make a point. Later legal evidence indicates that he initiated lawsuits before the Lords of Council against John Grant for the destruction of trees on an annual basis between 1575 and 1585. This sequence was only brought to a halt by the death of John Grant on 2 June 1585. The following year, John's grandson and heir, also called John Grant (5<sup>th</sup> of Freuchie), was infefted in his Strathavon lands on 27 March.<sup>135</sup> It cannot be a coincidence that the lawsuits for the destruction of woods in Strathavon ceased at the same time as Huntly and Grant committed to a bond of manrent 'to mantein, assist, fortifie and defend aganis all personis',<sup>136</sup> although it is hard to believe that the Grants of Freuchie could have been pursued through the courts for so long specifically to force them to commit to such a bond. It seems more likely that Grant insisted on the cessation of the lawsuits and summonses as a price for agreeing to the bond of manrent. Whatever the case, the truce between the Gordons and Grant lasted for less than a decade.

The events of the early 1590s that resulted in the death of the earl of Moray and the short-lived exile of the earl of Huntly are well known and do not need to be re-hashed here. Suffice it to say that after the murder of Moray, Grant broke his alliance with Huntly and the two fought on opposite sides at the battle of Glenlivet before Strathbogie Castle was destroyed and Huntly went into exile in May 1595. It has been suggested that the return of Huntly in 1596 prompted John Grant to form a bond of manrent with John Stewart, earl of Atholl, in order to try and protect his interests from the reassertion of Gordon power in the north.<sup>137</sup>

Three months before Huntly went into exile in 1595, Alexander Gordon of Strathavon decided to accuse John Grant once again of destroying trees, woods, and wild animals in three of the six *dabhaichean* of Strathavon (Fodderletter, Inverurie and Inverlochty) that Grant had held in life-rent since 1575, and had warned Grant to remove his sub-

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<sup>132</sup> Fraser, *Grant*, iii, no.337.

<sup>133</sup> NAS, GD248/69/3.

<sup>134</sup> NAS, GD248/78/2/49.

<sup>135</sup> Fraser, *Grant*, iii, no.337.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, no.151.

<sup>137</sup> Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage*, 197.

tenants and cottars from the same lands.<sup>138</sup> One plank of Grant's defence was that he had received these lands in heritable infeftment from the earl of Huntly in 1594 and that this entitled him to lawfully cut any trees that he wanted in the woods and forests that belonged to these three *dabhaichean*. Grant further argued that Alexander Gordon's 1575 sasine had been a base infeftment and that he had never actually taken possession of the lands in question.<sup>139</sup> While the documentation relating to Grant's heritable infeftment of these lands does not appear to have survived, it cannot be immediately dismissed as a fraudulent claim because at no point did Gordon attempt to refute Grant's allegations concerning a 1575 base infeftment with no possession. At this stage the only counter-argument Alexander Gordon's procurators could muster was that his heritable infeftment dated back to 1575, twenty years before Grant's alleged charter had been issued.<sup>140</sup>

The February 1595 court evidence also demonstrates that another person got dragged into this dispute. This unfortunate bystander was a close relative of Alexander Gordon's, Sir Thomas Gordon of Cluny, who held lands in Strathavon directly from the earl of Huntly, and Cluny had previously sub-infeudated some of those same lands to John Grant. Indeed, Thomas Gordon's evidence shows that 1595 was not the first occasion that Alexander Gordon had dragged him into the dispute and that he had also been forced to defend himself on a regular basis from 1575 onwards. In any event, 1595 seems to have been the first occasion that Alexander Gordon was successful in persuading the Lords of Council to cancel the letter of tack between Thomas Gordon and John Grant, and Sir Thomas was still writing to the Lords of Council in 1598 in an attempt to persuade them to change their decision.<sup>141</sup>

A hand-written note on the reverse of this last document, written by the messenger James Chalmer, indicates that a copy of Thomas Gordon's legal challenge to Alexander Gordon had been delivered to the latter on 21 February 1598, and that Alexander Gordon had been personally charged and summoned to appear before the Lords of Council to answer Thomas's plea.<sup>142</sup> Interestingly, throughout this period Sir Thomas Gordon refused to back down in the face of Alexander Gordon's litigation and he continued to support John Grant to the extent that he issued new tacks of other lands he possessed in Strathavon to Grant in 1596 and again in 1604.<sup>143</sup>

There is no doubt that John Grant survived these accusations since he kept possession of his six Strathavon *dabhaichean* without penalty, nor was he found guilty of destroying woods. From the surviving evidence it is not clear whether the court cases stopped between 1598 and 1602 or if the dispute just rumbled on without generating

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<sup>138</sup> It may also just be a coincidence that these three *dabhaichean* were the same three that had originally been possessed by the Grants of Freuchie in the lordship in 1491.

<sup>139</sup> [http://www.scotlawcom.gov.uk/downloads/dp128\\_lr\\_rectification.pdf](http://www.scotlawcom.gov.uk/downloads/dp128_lr_rectification.pdf). Before the Register of Sasines was established in 1617 it appears that a public infeftment, involving either a charter of resignation or conformation, had been preferred over a base infeftment, unless the base infeftment was followed by possession. John Grant was clearly arguing for the latter in Alexander Gordon's case. The law was changed by the Real Rights Act of 1693 so that the differences between public and base infeftments were removed and the first sasine registered would always prevail.

<sup>140</sup> NAS, GD248/68/2/9. Although this document is badly damaged, the core of the accusations against John Grant are preserved.

<sup>141</sup> NAS, GD248/78/2/17.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> NAS, GD44/6/7.



any new paperwork. Whatever the case, in 1602, Alexander Gordon obtained a decret of removal against John Grant, his tenants, and his cottars in Strathavon.<sup>144</sup> By this time, it looks as though the Lords of Council had become disenchanted with the whole Strathavon legal process and Alexander Gordon was ordered to take his charter chest to Edinburgh so that the contents might be examined by the Lords of Council to determine whether he or John Grant held the superior title to these Strathavon lands.<sup>145</sup> In addition, the 1602 decret of removal was shortly followed by a second action in which Alexander Gordon's lawyers had clearly found a new stick with which to beat John Grant.

Seemingly for the first time in any of these proceedings, Alexander Gordon's legal team brought up the matter of caution. Specifically, that under the laws of the realm all liferenters had to provide caution to the superior lord for any damage caused to buildings, orchards, woods, parks, meadows, dovecots, and wild beasts like deer and roe. This seems to have been based upon a 1491 act of King James IV that had been re-affirmed by King James V in 1535.<sup>146</sup> In 1603, according to the letter of the law, the Lords of Council found in favour of Alexander Gordon and ordered John Grant to provide caution.<sup>147</sup> Presumably, they had decided that Alexander Gordon held the superior title to these lands. That was the extent of Gordon's victory: the notice of removal against Grant and his tenants was rejected and Grant was again found not guilty of destroying the forests of Strathavon.

Fortunately, the list of witnesses called in 1602/03 to support John Grant's defence for the numbers of trees being used has survived and it makes interesting reading. To aid his cause he called up forty-one people from Glen Rinnes, the parish of Mortlach, Rothiemurchus, Badenoch, Cromdale, Kincardine, the Braes of Mar, Castletown of Braemar, and Strathavon itself.<sup>148</sup> This geographic spread can perhaps be interpreted as indicative of the precise locations in eastern Scotland where people built structures similar in size and construction technique to those found in the lordship of Strathavon.

In any event, Alexander Gordon had clearly been thwarted in his intent to evict Grant and his tenants from these six *dabhaichean* in Strathavon for a third time, even though he had legally determined that Grant should in future pay him surety. Gordon, however, was obviously determined to pursue Grant and eventually succeeded in his aim. It is unfortunate that the documentation connected with this fourth and final attempt to oust Grant of Freuchie from these six *dabhaichean* does not seem to have survived since the final reckoning is quite remarkable.

Having been previously cleared of all wood-related offences between 1575 and 1611 by the Lords of Council (with the exception of having to find surety), on 24 March 1612 John Grant admitted to all of the decreets Alexander Gordon had brought against him since 1602 and agreed to remove himself and all of his tenants and cottars from the six Strathavon *dabhaichean* as soon as possible. Grant resigned his six

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<sup>144</sup> NAS, GD248/78/3/6.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, K.M. Brown et al eds (St Andrews, 2007), 1491/4/4. Date accessed: 31 March 2008; *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, K.M. Brown et al eds (St Andrews, 2007), 1535/23. Date accessed: 31 March 2008.

<sup>147</sup> NAS, GD248/78/2/37.

<sup>148</sup> NAS, NAS GD248/78/2/49.

Strathavon *dabhaichean* and all other rights he possessed in the lordship to Gordon in 1613 but the process of withdrawal from the other lands in Strathavon that Grant held separately from those six *dabhaichean* was not fully completed until 1618.<sup>149</sup> There is no sign that Grant received anything from Gordon in return for removing himself and his tenants from Strathavon and surrendering his life-rent of the lands. Nevertheless, having clung on to these lands for so long in the face of continual legal hostility from Alexander Gordon this seems like a very odd decision unless some other records relating to Grant's change of mind have been lost.

### **The Grants of Freuchie: destroyers of woods?**

In environmental history terms, there is little doubt that the Grants of Freuchie played a prominent role over time in both the commercialisation of timber extraction and in replacement tree planting in Strathspey and elsewhere throughout most of their estates post-1500.<sup>150</sup> Even though there is no specific surviving information of this type in relation to their tenure in the lordship of Strathavon, a brief evaluation their tenure of other forests in Scotland during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries can help shed light on what may — or may not — have been occurring in the woods of Strathavon before 1612.

In fact, looking at the wider context, there is every reason to suggest that Alexander Gordon could have been making spurious claims against both John Grants (4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup>) of Freuchie between 1575 and 1612. For example, in 1584, and after nine years worth of accusations concerning the destruction of forest in Strathavon had been levelled at John Grant (4<sup>th</sup>) of Freuchie by Alexander Gordon, a report was produced for King James VI on Grant's management of the royal forest of Clunie on the north side of Loch Ness, which was also clearly a major forest resource at that time:

[...] Forsameikle as it is humeblic meint and schawin to ws be our Johne Grant of Frewchy That quhair he hes all and haill the landis of Urquhart and forrest of Cluny with the woddis thair of and pasture of the samen and all thair pertinentis Lyand in the lordschip of Urquhart and our sheriffdome of Innernes perteing to him in heritage as his infetment and seasing thair of perportis And howbeit he takis greit laibour and makis large expenses upounn the dyking planting haidging and keiping of the saidis woddis and growand treis thair of deir da Ra and uyir pasture of the said forrest According to the statuttis & actis of parliament maid thairupounn To the decoratiounn outset and policie of our realme. [...]<sup>151</sup>

Of course, the fact that Grant was likely involved in the production of this report about his own forest management abilities might diminish its overall effectiveness but the same document continues to state that un-named locals were in the habit of destroying Grant's improvements to the royal forest. If true, this would lend veracity to his actions concerning forest management. Furthermore, it must equally be

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<sup>149</sup> NAS, GD44/16/13/9; NAS, RD1/271.

<sup>150</sup> H.M. Steven & A. Carlisle, *The Native Pinewoods of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1959), 112-14; David Nairn, 'Notes on Highland Woods, Ancient and Modern', in *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 17, (1892), 170-221.

<sup>151</sup> NAS, GD248/13/6/16.

questioned whether Grant would risk lying about these developments to a king who actively participated in hunting in his royal forests.

In addition, as lords and barons of Glencarnie both John Grants (grandfather and grandson) were responsible for the major forest resources in the Dulnain valley and they also possessed the woods of Kincardine (now known as Glenmore Forest) at the same time. Nevertheless, perhaps John Grant (5<sup>th</sup>) of Freuchie's greatest coup occurred in Strathspey when he received all of the rights to the forest of Abernethy from the three landholders in the parish of Abernethy, the earl of Moray, the bishop of Moray, and the marquis of Huntly between 1606 and 1611.<sup>152</sup> Again, if Alexander Gordon had been justified in his complaints and both John Grants were indeed notorious destroyers of trees during their lifetimes, it should be questioned why these three individuals would together combine to give John Grant (the grandson) effective control of yet another major woodland resource?

In all, by 1612 John Grant (5<sup>th</sup>) of Freuchie either already possessed or had been recently granted possession of some of major woodland resources across Moray and this in itself, if taken at face value, would tend to contradict the accusation levelled at him by Alexander Gordon of Strathavon that he was a destroyer of woods. However, such an interpretation is conditional upon an evaluation of the actual surveys.

## Analysis of documents

### Dating the documents

While there is no obvious evidence with which to date these documents it is immediately obvious that there are significant differences between both the numbers of couples required for building purposes and the numbers of structures between the two surveys. Although it might be objected that we are not comparing exactly like-for-like between the two surveys, they do have enough in common to make such a comparison worthwhile.

The first point of comparison has to be the quarter-*dabhach* of Delvorar, the only unit that is detailed in both documents (see Figure 1). In document A, Delvorar is listed as containing a total of forty-three structures consisting of seven fire houses (including three cottar houses), two chalmers, seven coitts, nine barns, seven byres, five stables, one kiln, one kiln barn, and four houses for female servants.<sup>153</sup> In document B, Delvorar is listed as possessing twenty-nine structures consisting of two fire houses, three chalmers, five barns, five byres, two stables, three coits, one kiln, one kiln barn, three cottar houses, and four houses for female servants.<sup>154</sup>

**Figure 1.**

Delvorar	Document A	Number of couples	Document B	Number of couples
	Fire house	5	Fire houses (2)	9
	Fire house	8		

<sup>152</sup> NAS, GD44/28/11; GD248/87/2/1; GD248/39/2; *RMS*, vii, no.80.

<sup>153</sup> Hopefully the female servant houses also possessed fires even though this is not stated in either document.

<sup>154</sup> In document B neither the cottar or female servant houses are listed as possessing fires.

	with byre and stable			
	Chalmers (2)	8	Chalmers (3)	11
	Oat barns (3)	14	Oat barns (3)	13
	Bere barns (2)	9	Bere barns (2)	8
	Barns (4)	8		
	Cottar Houses (4)	8	Cottar Houses (3)	6
	Oxen byres (2)	6	Oxen byres (3)	9
	Cow byre	6	Cow byres (2)	9
	Byres (4)	8		
	Stables (5)	11	Stables (2)	6
	Kiln	4	Kiln	1
	Kiln barn	2	Kiln barn	4
	Sheep coit	3	Sheep coit	3
	Goat coit	3	Goat coit	3
	Coits (5)	12	Coit	2
	Woman houses (4)	16	Woman houses (4)	8
Total	43 structures	131 couples	29 structures	92 couples

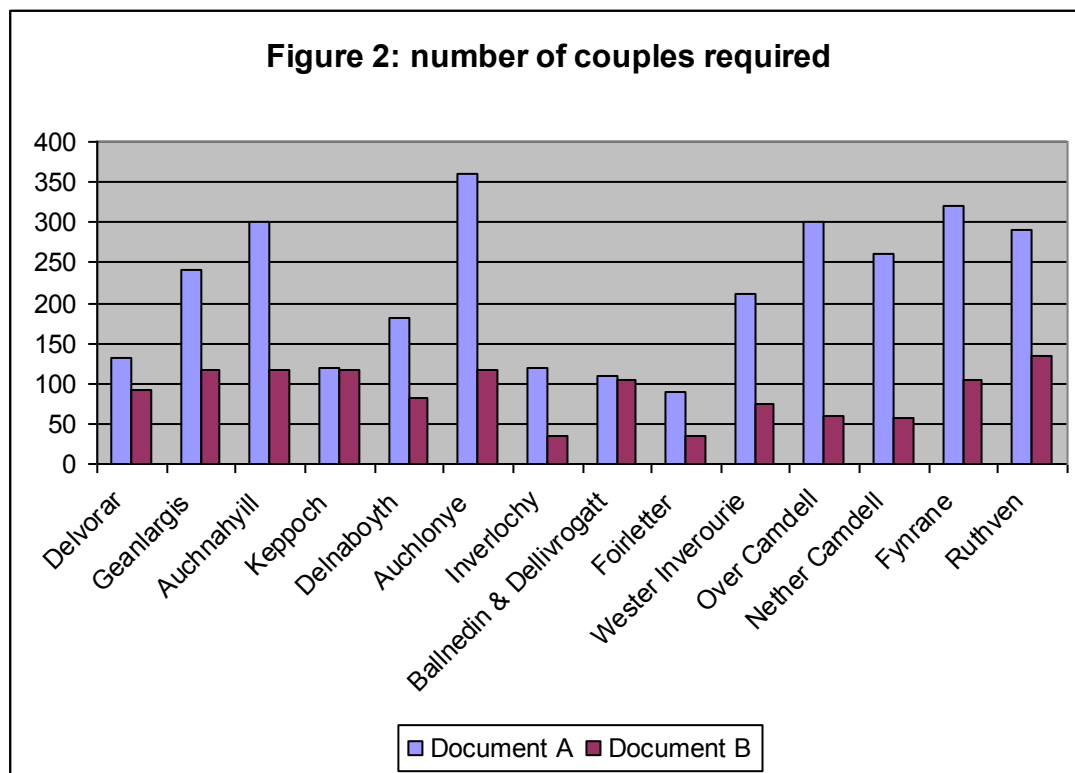
Such a straightforward calculation does not tell the whole story. There is a difference of thirty-nine couples required for all structures in Delvorar between document A and document B: this difference is not merely due to larger numbers of some types of structure listed in document A but also to the fact that some of those structures were longer. For example, while the number of female servant houses in Delvorar remains constant over the two surveys they are twice the length in document A. This must surely reflect a need to house a larger labour force at the time document A was compiled. If it did, this could also help to explain the almost double capacity of cereal barns and structures built to either house or shelter animals in document A in comparison to document B. However, it is also important to realise that this increase in the number and size of structures at Delvorar may not be linked to an agricultural and pastoral success story and it should be considered whether they resulted from changing climatic conditions.

The use of proxy environmental measures clearly indicate that around 1580 there was a pronounced downturn in average summer temperatures across the Northern Hemisphere as the climate further deteriorated away from the Medieval Warm Epoch towards the Little Ice Age. Although this data derives from Ural and Siberian tree-ring data and from the Greenland ice cap, there is supporting historical and palaeoenvironmental evidence to indicate that some Scots also experienced increasingly bad weather patterns after 1550, which would have shortened the growing season for both cereal crops and fodder, together with a reappearance of the plague in the 1580s.<sup>155</sup> During this period it is more than likely that some agricultural

<sup>155</sup> Cosmo Innes (editor), *The Black Book of Taymouth* (Edinburgh, 1855), 124-42; I.G. Simmons, *An Environmental History of Great Britain* (Edinburgh, 2001), 69-70; Richard Tipping, 'Palaeoecology and political history: evaluating driving forces in historic landscape change in southern Scotland', in Ian D. Whyte and Angus J.L. Winchester (eds), *Society, Landscape and Environment in Upland Britain* (Birmingham, 2004), 11-20; Ian Whyte, *Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth Century Scotland*

activities in Scotland, like the drying of winter fodder, would increasingly have taken place at a greater rate under shelter. All of which could account for the increased number and size of servant houses, barns, stables, byres, and coitts since the livestock too would have required increased access to shelter to alleviate the effects of high winds and rain. This scenario could also be used to explain the 400% increase in the size of the kiln that could represent a very real need to quickly process an increasing amount of wet raw material throughout and after the growing season.

Unfortunately, however, there are two areas of settlement in the survey, Keppoch and Ballineden, which only marginally increased the numbers of couples they each needed between the two documents (see Figure 2). On balance, this would tend to mitigate the possible effects of any climatic changes upon the changing sizes and numbers of structures between the two surveys since there is no reason in terms of height, soil, or aspect why most areas of settlement would be greatly affected while a minority were not. Accordingly, it seems likely that there was another factor behind these changes in the size and numbers of structures between documents A and B.



Unfortunately, document A does not provide the same level of detail for the other areas of settlement that it lists so it is impossible to make the same level of direct comparison. In fact, the only other commonality between the two documents lies in comparing the numbers of couples listed (see Figure 2). This demonstrates that on average 250% more couples were required for the structures listed in document A than for those listed in document B.<sup>156</sup>

(Edinburgh, 1979), 11, [hereafter: Whyte, *Agriculture and Society*]; S.G.E. Lythe, *The Economy of Scotland in its European setting, 1550-1625* (Edinburgh, 1960), Chapter 1.

<sup>156</sup> This percentage does not include shielings since there is no direct comparison for these between the two documents.

These figures are important for one simple reason: if document B was later in date than document A, it is very unlikely that Alexander Gordon would have initiated a lawsuit in relation to the destruction of the forest resource if the need to exploit that resource had been reduced by an average of 250%. Logically, this would suggest that in chronological terms document B is the earlier of the two sources and that during the time gap between the writing of the two documents, a number of the structures upon the Grant lands in the lordship of Strathavon had been replaced by larger buildings and that many more new structures had been erected. These, however, were not the only changes.

### **Architecture and building techniques**

Both documents seem to describe broadly similar buildings that essentially consist of a wooden framework, part of which supported turf walls. Although there is no mention of stone foundations in the documents, the surviving ruins upon some of these lands all currently possess such a feature. Archaeological investigation would be required to determine whether these stone foundations are an original feature or whether they overlie an earlier wooden structure.<sup>157</sup>

The documents always specify the numbers of couples and (usually) two tail forks per structure that underpinned the wooden frameworks. All the couples seem to be built in an identical manner and comprise foundation joists, legs, braces, cross beams, arms and (wooden) nails. Both documents also agree that seven great trees were required for roof timbers between each couple, including the tail forks. Based upon this calculation, a five couple house with two tail forks would require forty-two great trees for the major roof timbers. More importantly, this constant surely demonstrates that the relative distances between each couple and the tailforks within a given structure did not change between the two surveys.<sup>158</sup> Finally, both documents agree that many of the structures they describe were partitioned down the centre so that, for example, a five couple building with two tail forks would contain a total of twelve rooms, six on each side of the structure.

There are, however, some noticeable constructional differences within the two documents. For example, while document A states that each couple consisted of twelve trees, it does not indicate the equivalency of the tail forks to either couples or to trees. In contrast, in document B it is stated that each couple consisted of ten trees, eight great and two small, and that each tail fork, together with its gables and sides, counted as one couple.<sup>159</sup> Notwithstanding the lack of information concerning tail forks in document A, it looks as though the couples described in that document were of greater architectural complexity than those described in document B since they

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<sup>157</sup> Dr Piers Dixon has noted that similar stone footings in neighbouring Strathdon and Strathdee date to a pre-improvement period between 1650 and 1750, RCAHMS, *In The Shadow of Bennachie* (Slovenia, 2007), 201-04.

<sup>158</sup> The figure of 10ft between couples is often quoted but is a presumption. The distances could vary from between 6-19ft. My thanks to Dr Piers Dixon for this information.

<sup>159</sup> The document appears to contradict itself describing the amounts of trees required for gables. However, upon the two occasions when the composition of tail forks is described, the scribe was not comparing like-for-like. At the beginning of the document it is stated that only one tree was required for each tail fork alone, whereas at the end of the document it is stated that ten trees were required for each tail fork with its gables and sides.

required an extra two trees to assemble. If this was the case, it does not seem that this greater design complexity resulted in an increased load-bearing capacity since the numbers of roof timbers and the distance between those same couples look to have remained constant. Alternatively, it might be that there were fewer mature trees in Strathavon available to construct couples at the time document B was compiled though it would be impossible to prove this.

There are other design differences. According to document B, each room within any structure required forty cabers, together with twenty cassocks, to hold up the turf wall along one side of that room. In contrast, document A lists these numbers at eighty cassocks and 120 cabers per room, which is a massive increase in the amount of small timber required for each structure. These latter figures, despite the different ratio between cabers and cassocks, could indicate that the load bearing capacity of these internal walls had been greatly increased by the time of document A. This perhaps demonstrates that either a greater density of turf was being utilised or that the turf walls were being built higher than previously. Trying to decide why all these changes had occurred is quite another matter since there currently is no other known Scottish material to provide context.

First, it is impossible to reject the notion that these changes in building size, couple design, and walling could have been brought about by simple design changes to local building construction spread across a relatively short period of time. Although there is no evidence of this happening on the Grant estates during the middle half of the sixteenth century, it certainly occurred upon their estates during the later half of the eighteenth century when the factors dictated what methods and materials tenants should use to build new dwellings.<sup>160</sup>

Second, it has already been noted earlier that changing weather patterns could have been partly responsible for the differences in both length and numbers of structures between the two documents. There is, however, a second possible explanation for the differences between the two documents: the mass-movement of people. During the latter half of the sixteenth- and into the seventeenth-century, the Grants of Freuchie were clearly encouraging the settlement of displaced Macgregors upon their lands in Strathavon and elsewhere in Moray. The Privy Council cited the Grants of Freuchie twice, in 1563 and in 1613, in attempts to force them to expel Macgregors both from Strathavon and from other parts of the Grant estates and, on the latter occasion, James Grant of Freuchie was fined 40,000 merks. In addition, Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch was fined £5,000 Scots, Patrick Grant of Carron £1,000 Scots and Campbell of Cawdor 2,000 merks. The fines imposed upon smaller tenants, the vast majority of whom lived in Strathavon, ranged between 200 and 500 merks.<sup>161</sup> Gaffney has suggested that such men were useful to the Grants of Freuchie in pursuing local feuds and the extent of the alliance between the Grants and the Macgregors can perhaps be measured by the fact that a bond of manrent was agreed between John Grant of Freuchy and John dubh Macgregor at Abernethy on 20 June 1592.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> NAS, GD248/1020.

<sup>161</sup> J.H. Burton and others (editors), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1877-), 1<sup>st</sup> ser., x, 142-44, [hereafter: *RPC*].

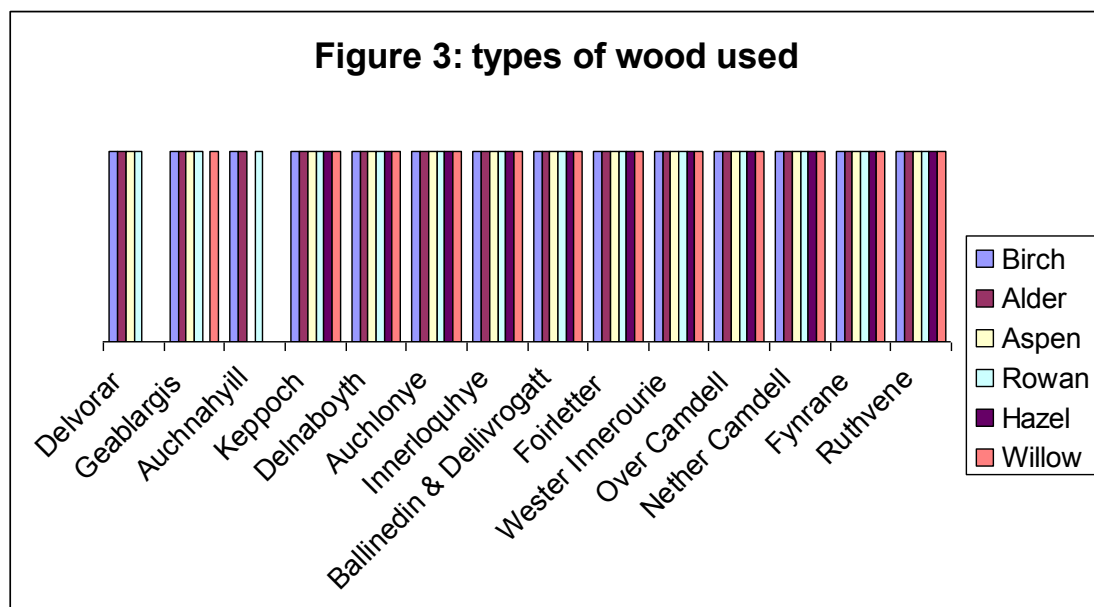
<sup>162</sup> Gaffney, *Strathavon*, 68-69; Wormald, *Bonds of Manrent*, 304.

Of course, without knowing exactly when, how often, and how many Macgregors moved onto the Grant lands in Strathavon post-1550 it is impossible to make any direct correlation between internal migration and the increase in the numbers of structures between document B and document A. Nevertheless, if a migration of MacGregors into Strathavon did occur sometime between the production of the two tree surveys, such a scenario has an added bonus in that internal migrants may well have brought along their own ideas and practises in relation to the construction of different structures and this could account for some of the differences in building techniques found between documents A and B.

Document B also states how often the component timbers of each structure were to be replaced. According to this, every structure (including the couples) was completely renewed every seven years. In contrast, all other wooden components in every structure were ideally required to be renewed every year, or at most every second year. Presumably, this annual or biennial renewal of the walls, windows, roof timbers, and joists must also have necessarily required that the turf walls be renewed at the same time since divots quickly rot down and become difficult to separate for re-use. It can only be presumed that the old timbers were utilised for fuel while the old turf could easily have been mixed with manure and spread onto areas of crop production to deepen soils. Furthermore, since it has been calculated that the largest of this type of structure required one acre of turf for walling, townships with between twenty and forty structures would have required almost constant access to large amounts of turf. There is later evidence from another part of the Grant estates in Strathspey that such reservoirs of turf for building were actively managed but no such proof has survived for Strathavon.

### Types of wood used

Document B alone specifies which types of tree were used for different purposes in each area of settlement and these can be seen in Figure 3.





From this it is evident that only three areas of settlement did not appear to possess the full complement of Birch, Alder, Aspen, Rowan, Hazel, and Willow. These three areas also happened to be the three highest in terms of altitude but since there is only around ten metres height difference between them and the next areas of settlement further down the valley, it is unlikely that altitude alone could account for the apparent lack of Hazel, Willow, and Aspen. Instead, it may be that human interference was to blame for their absence in particular areas. Alternatively, it may be that these trees were present in those areas but the inhabitants had deliberately chosen not to utilise them for building purposes around the time of the survey, perhaps due to immaturity of the wood.

Of these six types of tree the most commonly mentioned in Document B are Birch and Alder, which were utilised in every type of structure. This is logical since Alder coppices readily on a rotation of twenty to thirty years and Birch also generally responds well to the same kind of management. Aspen, Rowan, Hazel, and Willow also appear to have been used in most structures and this usage must reflect the fact that Willow, Hazel, and to a lesser extent Rowan, all coppice well and have a variety of uses ranging from fencing to basket work. Rowan is also notable for its toughness and was prized for both cart making and for agricultural implements. All ladders were completely made from Alder.<sup>163</sup>

What is perhaps surprising is that there is no mention of Pine in either of these documents. It is thought Pine had been widely used throughout the Highlands for building purposes so its omission from these documents is puzzling.<sup>164</sup> There are two main options. First, Pine was not present in Strathavon at that time. Second, that Pine was present but wholly reserved for a different use. Although the historical data cannot help inform which of these options is correct, a more recent survey of woodland in Strathavon also highlights an unusually low percentage of Pine. This was conducted for Scottish Natural Heritage in 1997 and found that while woodland occupied about 24% of land below 600 metres in Strathavon, only 53% of that total was comprised of native woodland. Less than 1% of the latter percentage was comprised of 'genuinely native' Pines (comparative figures for native Pines were Deeside 20% and Strathspey 27%).<sup>165</sup> Of course, in the absence of palaeoenvironmental data it would be wrong to make any kind of correlation between the information in the two historical surveys and the SNH report but, taken together, they indicate that undertaking pollen work on the area would be advantageous.

### **Numbers and types of structures**

It is to be pitied that neither of the documents contain the same level of information regarding types of structures. This means that any analysis of structures is heavily dependent on document B alone (see Figure 4 below).

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<sup>163</sup> John Nisbet, *The Forester: a practical treatise on British Forestry & arboriculture for landowners, Land Agents & Foresters* (2 vols. Edinburgh, 1905), i, 144-85, [hereafter: Nisbet, *The Forester*].

<sup>164</sup> T.C. Smout, Alan R. MacDonald & Fiona Watson, *A History of the Native Woodlands of Scotland, 1500-1920* (Edinburgh, 2005), 84-90.

<sup>165</sup> N. Mackenzie, *The Native Woodlands of Strathavon and Strathdon* (SNH Commissioned Report No.F97AA101, Edinburgh, 1997).

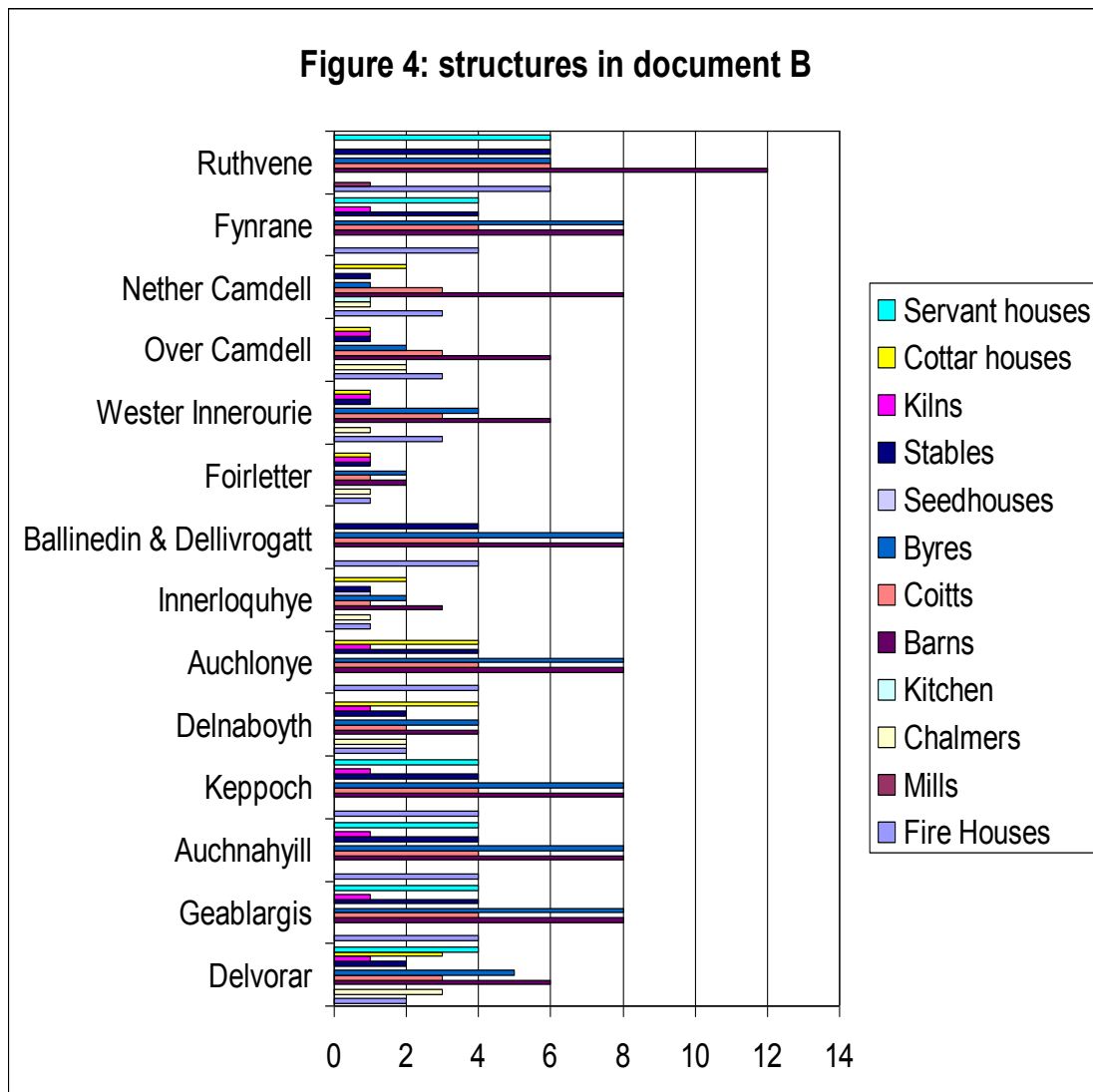
The first point to note is the regularity of numbers and types of structures in four areas of settlement, Fynrane, Keppoch, Auchnahyill and Geablargis.<sup>166</sup> While three of these were contiguous, forming part of the same *dabhach* of Delvorar, Fynrane was part of another *dabhach* in the lordship. While it may just be a coincidence that these four areas possessed the exact same number and types of structure, the probability of this occurring by chance must be lessened by the fact that all of the remaining ten areas of settlement contained completely different numbers and types of structures. Accordingly, this might indicate that the types and numbers of structures found upon Fynrane, Keppoch, Auchnahyill and Geablargis were part of a deliberate plan of exploitation, even if it is no longer clear what that might have been.

Slightly more curious is the fact that only one area of settlement, Delvorar, accommodated both cottars and servants. It is difficult to rationalise this: the quarter-*dabhach* of Delvorar was no larger in extent than any of the other three quarters of that *dabhach* and, faced with a substantive lack of other contemporary evidence, it is unlikely that the reason for it requiring the presence of both cottars and servants will ever be known. Virtually all of the remaining settlements allowed for either cottars or servants but not both. It is again very difficult to discern any pattern in this information. Perhaps one scenario might be that this choice of either cottars or servants could reflect a conscious restriction of the rights traditionally assigned to cottars by employing more servants.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Though having identical numbers and types of structures, they did not require the same amounts of trees for building and maintenance.

<sup>167</sup> A good discussion of cottars can be found in: Margaret H.B. Sanderson, *Scottish Rural Life in the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1982), 43-45; Margaret H.B. Sanderson, *A Kindly Place? Living in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (East Linton, 2002), 32-34.



Elsewhere in Scotland, Ian Whyte has highlighted the fact that during the seventeenth century farms in upland parishes in Mar tended to have large numbers of tenants and very few or no cottars and servants and he argued that in such cases the tenants must have done all the work.<sup>168</sup> However, the situation in Strathavon seems to have been more fluid and in fact only one area of occupation, Ballinedin and Dellivrogatt in the *dabhach* of Inverloch, required neither cottars nor servants at the time document B was produced.

There are three further oddities in document B that are worth discussing in this section. The first of these is the presence of a structure called a kitchen in Nether Camdell and it can only be presumed that this building was linked in some way to feeding large numbers of people. In this respect it is noticeable that it was located centrally in the parish of Kirkmichael. The second structure of note is the seedhouse, located in the *dabhach* of Inverloch in the north of Kirkmichael parish. Since it is unique in the survey it can only be presumed that it was a location for the common storage of grain seed. If this was the case, it is unfortunate that neither of the surveys looked at the other part of the Lordship of Strathavon, the parish of Inveravon, since

<sup>168</sup> Whyte, *Agriculture and Society*, 143.

this makes it impossible to tell whether the Inverlochy seedhouse was purely for the use of the inhabitants of Kirkmichael parish or for the use of the inhabitants of the entire lordship. The final oddity is the presence of a wooden chimney on the fire house at Inverlochy. While the construction of this is described in detail, it is not clear why this structure in Inverlochy merited such a technical achievement. As far as it can be ascertained from the surviving records, there was nothing special about either Inverlochy or the people who lived there that could explain why a chimney was thought to be worth investing twelve trees in. Accordingly, it may just have been a technical innovation undertaken by the tenant for his own purposes of display.<sup>169</sup>

It is also noticeable that only ten of the fourteen listed areas of settlement in document B possessed kilns. What this meant in terms of crop production for the four areas without a kiln is unknown and likely to remain so unless pollen work is undertaken in those areas. The scenario is further complicated, however, by the fact that one of the settlements without a kiln, Inverlochy, possessed a kiln barn. There are perhaps four main options. First, the inhabitants of Inverlochy contracted to get their grain dried by a third party. Second, the scribe accidentally missed out recording the kiln at Inverlochy, possibly because it formed an integral part of the kiln barn. Third, the Inverlochy kiln was temporarily out of commission. Finally, the inhabitants of Inverlochy grew no cereal crops and bought in grain for consumption and storage as they required it.

By the time document A was produced, however, Inverlochy was listed as possessing a kiln so it is possible that the third of the four suggestions listed above was the most accurate. This case is perhaps strengthened by the fact that by the time of document A both Delvorar and Fynrane had seemingly ‘lost’ their kilns while, like Inverlochy, Nether Camdale had also gained a kiln. More importantly, one of the four areas of settlement that did not possess a kiln in either of the two surveys was Ruthven. This is an important omission since Ruthven was also the site of the only mill listed. This would indicate that all material for milling had been pre-dried before it reached Ruthven.

Finally, both documents also mention shielings but not in any great detail. Document B, for example, lists them immediately after Ruthven so it is not clear whether the forty couples it notes were just for the shielings of Ruthven or for all the listed areas of settlement in that survey. Document A, on the other hand, provides slightly more detail and states that all of the areas of settlement it listed possessed sixty shielings, each structure being six couples in length. This leaves two choices: either Ruthven possessed six-seven large shielings or the numbers and size of this type of structure massively increased between the two surveys. Given that a single area of settlement in Scotland could easily possess six or seven shieling buildings in its own right,<sup>170</sup> there is a strong suspicion that the shielings listed in document B were for the sole use of the inhabitants of Ruthven.

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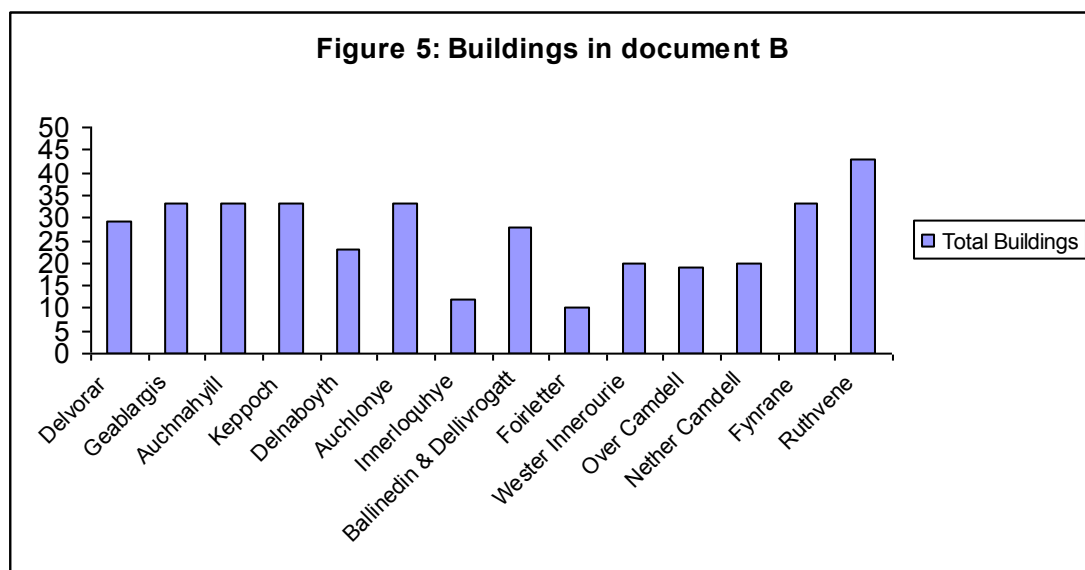
<sup>169</sup> By the time of the second survey the tenant was Robert Grant, brother to Freuchie. This could explain the chimney but for the fact that it is unknown whether he was also the sitting tenant at the time of the first survey.

<sup>170</sup> There are numerous examples of this in a number of unsurveyed shieling sites throughout the Cairngorms and Monadh Liath like the complexes around Loch Spey. These latter structures, for example, can be linked to historical documentation: NAS, CR8/194.

Unfortunately, neither document specifies if these shielings and their couples were also completely renewed every seven years with the smaller timber being renewed annually, or whether shieling structures required a completely different plan of maintenance and renewal. The only information provided is that 1000 trees were required for the shielings per annum. Nor do the documents specify whether the architecture of the shielings also included tail-forks. If they did, these six-couple shielings must have been approximately seventy feet in length. If not, the shielings would have been around fifty feet in length.<sup>171</sup>

### Amounts of wood used

Only one of the surveys, document B, specifies how often the wooden structures, furniture, and assorted implements had to be renewed. This can be broken down into three sections. First were the materials that had to be renewed annually and this included all household items, ploughing and husbandry items, ladders, fencing, and the interior partitions of barns, byres, and stables. Second were all the intermediate timbers and wattling between each couple and the tail forks which had to be ideally renewed every year and certainly biennially. Third were the couples and their associated timbers that were renewed every seven years when each structure was completely renewed. Figure 5 (below) lists the numbers of buildings in document B:



The material that had to be renewed annually included the internal partitions in byres and barns, hay mangers, ploughs, plough gear, harrows, barrows, corn forks, manure forks, saddles, spades, creels, doors, windows, tables, chests, stools, chairs, other household furnishings, ladders, and fences. The total amounts of wood required for these are calculated below in Figure 6. It must be presumed that some of these materials like the ploughs and barrows were made out a harder wood like Rowan. Birch and Alder will rot quickly if put into the ground for fencing and it must be supposed that dampness also affected household items like stools, chests, tables, and chairs.<sup>172</sup> Presumably, all of this type of material was recycled for fuel at the end of

<sup>171</sup> One such structure, the shieling of Fergimor, was located in January 2007. The stone footings of this structure measure sixty-six feet in length. It is not yet clear how typical this size is in the area.

<sup>172</sup> Nisbet, *The Forester*, i, 160-64.

every year. The final row of this table then adds the number of 1000 trees per annum for the shielings belonging to all the settlements.

Figure 6: wooden items renewed annually

Settlement	Household fittings	Ladders and fences	Barn fittings	Plough gear	Annual total of trees to renew all items
Delvorar	90	34	64	70	258
Geablargis	300	120	80	200	700
Auchnahyill	300	120	80	200	700
Keppoch	300	120	80	200	700
Delnaboyth	240	80	40	80	440
Auchlonye	240	80	80	80	480
Innerloquhye	120	80	8	80	288
Ballinedin & Dellivrogatt	300	120	80	200	700
Foirletter	120	80	8	80	288
Wester Innerourie	80	50	8	160	298
Over Camdell	120	60	0	80	260
Nether Camdell	120	60	0	80	260
Fynrane	120	80	20	80	300
Ruthvene	280	100	40	200	620
All shielings					1000
<b>Totals</b>	<b>2730</b>	<b>1184</b>	<b>588</b>	<b>1790</b>	<b>7292</b>

The second group includes all house timbers that had to be renewed either annually or at least biennially. For the purposes of this calculation it has been decided to calculate these figures on an annual basis since this will clarify the maximum annual demand on the wood reserves. These timbers were all formed from immature trees and used for items like floor joists, rafters, cabers, cassoaks, pans, and wattling. These calculations can be found below in the first column of Figure 7. The second column then adds the totals from Figure 6 and the final column multiplies these figures by seven to calculate the maximum theoretical amounts of trees required during the seven-year life-cycle of every structure.

Figure 7: wooden items renewed either annually or biennially

Settlement	Tree totals for all timbers excluding couples	Totals from Figure 6	Maximum total trees every seven years
Delvorar	7719	258	55839
Geablargis	9727	700	72989
Auchnahyill	9727	700	72989
Keppoch	9727	700	72989
Delnaboyth	6611	440	49357

Auchlonye	9727	480	71449
Innerloquhye	2994	288	22974
Ballinedin & Dellivrogatt	8744	700	66108
Foirletter	2959	288	22729
Wester Innerourie	5205	298	38521
Over Camdell	4130	260	30730
Nether Camdell	4578	260	33866
Fynrane	8843	300	64001
Ruthvene	11834	620	87178
<b>Totals</b>	<b>102525</b>	<b>7292</b>	<b>768719</b>

The final sub-division is for the couples and their associated timbers that were only renewed every seven years. Figure 8 (below) adds these figures to the seven-year totals of all annually renewable timbers to provide an overall seven-year total in the final column.

Figure 8: seven-year total of trees required

Settlement	Trees for renewal of couples every seven years	Total trees every seven years from Figure 7	Seven-year total of trees per area of settlement
Delvorar	976	55839	56815
Geablargis	1234	72989	74223
Auchnahyill	1234	72989	74223
Keppoch	1234	72989	74223
Delnaboyth	850	49357	50207
Auchlonye	1234	71449	72683
Innerloquhye	364	22974	23338
Ballinedin & Dellivrogatt	1096	66108	67204
Foirletter	379	22729	23108
Wester Innerourie	699	38521	39220
Over Camdell	627	30730	31357
Nether Camdell	680	33866	34546
Fynrane	1115	64001	65116
Ruthvene	1424	87178	88602
<b>Totals</b>	<b>13146</b>	<b>768719</b>	<b>781865</b>

This total figure of 781,865 trees per seven years is perhaps slightly misleading for two reasons. First, only around 10,500 of the 13,146 couple total were required to be mature timber. Second, the vast majority (768,719) of the final total was immature timber that had to be sourced either annually or at best biennially. It is also important to remember that timber would not have been the only demand made upon the woodlands of Strathavon at this time. Trees could also have been used to provide fodder for animals; fallen leaves could have been used as litter in the stalled-byres, and the barks of various trees also had many different uses. In addition, a good proportion of the upper part of Strathavon stretching to the top of Beinn Macduibh

was designated as a hunting forest and, regardless of whether this area actually possessed any trees, the forester would likely have maintained 'deer-wood' as cover for the animals somewhere in the glen. They would not, however, have been used on a daily basis for fuel since the surviving Strathavon documents make it clear that peat was gathered for such purposes.

At face value, 768,719 trees seems a shockingly large amount of immature timber to source per annum or biennially but this all depends on how the resource was managed. Most trees grow quickest in the first few years of their lives and if they are harvested at a young age they are easier to process. Throughout much of Europe at this time the most common system of wood management was coppicing, usually referred to as 'coppicing with standards'. In this, most trees were either cut back to ground level or to stumps on a regular cycle and the stumps then sprouted new multiple shoots that could be regularly harvested. The 'standards' were a few mature trees that were left to grow to provide seed banks and shelter for livestock.<sup>173</sup> Each of the tree types named in the two Strathavon surveys coppice relatively well so, just for the sake of argument, if coppicing was used to manage the Strathavon wood resource on a regular cycle, and if each coppiced tree produced four separate trunks, we could immediately reduce the figure of 768,719 trees per annum to 192,180 trees per annum. Unfortunately, however, there are no surviving records relating to the management of forest in Strathavon before the eighteenth century so such calculations have to remain speculative.

We can, however, use these figures in another way. Since the survey covered fully two-thirds of the settled area of the parish of Kirkmichael, it is surely legitimate to suggest that the total amount of trees (or single coppiced trunks) harvested in the parish would have been approximately 1,153,079 per annum. If the same method is used to calculate tree-usage in the other part of the lordship of Strathavon, the parish of Inveravon in which the Grants of Freuchie also held lands, this figure would rise to 2,946,757 trees per annum or biennially.

## **Conclusion**

What is perhaps most remarkable about these figures, despite the fact we have nothing substantial to compare them against, is that the evidence of tree usage provided by them was never queried by the Privy Council. Although John Grant (5<sup>th</sup>) of Freuchie was commanded by them to provide surety to Alexander Gordon under the terms of an earlier Act of Parliament, nobody in a position of power to judge the long-running complaints and court cases ever seems to have taken exception to the quantities of trees being processed across an annual or biennial period by the inhabitants of these Grant tenancies in the Lordship of Strathavon.

It is a shame that it has proven impossible to uncover Alexander Gordon's motivations in this case post-1575. While he has every appearance of having been an absentee lord, it is unclear whether he just wanted the Grant family to relinquish their tenancy and was using the alleged abuse of woodland to achieve those aims; whether he was concerned about the increasingly large amounts of wood being processed by

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<sup>173</sup> Paul Warde, 'Fear of Wood Shortage and the Reality of the Woodland in Europe, c.1450-1850', in *History Workshop Journal*, 62, 2006, 28-57.



the Grant family and their sub-tenants, or whether like many other Europeans he was genuinely worried about a perceived shortage of wood during the sixteenth century. On balance, the fact that he immediately initiated the lawsuit upon being granted these lands might suggest that this was a deliberate ploy in an attempt to break an earlier grant in life. It is equally unfortunate that the details of the final reckoning between Alexander Gordon and James Grant (5<sup>th</sup>) of Freuchie are missing since it is obvious that some kind of deal must have been struck between the two men. It is simply impossible to comprehend that the Grants who had successfully defended their rights in the face of thirty-seven years of virtually continuous legal hostility would suddenly admit to all of the accusations previously made against them and voluntarily surrender their lands in Strathavon.

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