

CLAN
CAMPBELL
LETTERS
1559-1583

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Clan Campbell Letters

DOMINVS COLINVS
CAMPBEL DE GLENVRQVIA

OBIIT ANO D^o 1583 SEPULTVS
IN FINLARG

Ætatis suæ 84



Portrait of Colin Campbell of Glenorchy from the *Black Book of Taymouth*

Campbell Letters
1559-1583

edited by
Jane E. A. Dawson



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JANE E. A. DAWSON

Edinburgh
1997

ABBREVIATIONS

AT	Argyll Transcripts, made by Niall Campbell, 10th Duke of Argyll.
BBT	<i>The Black Book of Taymouth</i> , ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1855).
Calderwood, <i>History</i>	David Calderwood, <i>History of the Kirk of Scotland</i> , ed. T. Thomson, 8 vols. (Wodrow Society, 1842-9).
<i>Clan Campbell</i>	<i>The Clan Campbell</i> , eds. D. Campbell & H. Paton, 8 vols. (Edinburgh, 1913-22).
CSP Scot.	<i>Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603</i> , eds. J. Bain <i>et al.</i> , 13 vols. (Edinburgh, 1898-1969).
<i>Fasti</i>	<i>Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ</i> , ed. H. Scott, 8 vols. (Edinburgh, 1915-50).
GD	Gifts and Deposits series, NAS.
HMC	<i>Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission</i> .
MacGregor, 'MacGregors'	M. MacGregor, 'A Political History of the MacGregors before 1571' (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 1989).
Knox, <i>History</i>	John Knox, <i>History of the Reformation in Scotland</i> , ed. W.C. Dickinson, 2 vols. (London, 1949).
NAS	National Archives of Scotland.

- RMS *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, eds. J. Thomson *et al.*, 11 vols. (Edinburgh, 1882-1914).
- RPC *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, eds. J. Burton *et al.*, 1st ser., 14 vols. (Edinburgh, 1877-98).
- RSS *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum, Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, eds. M. Livingstone *et al.*, 8 vols. (Edinburgh, 1908-82).
- Scots Peerage *The Scots Peerage*, ed. J.B. Paul, 8 vols. (Edinburgh, 1904-14).
- TA *Accounts of the (Lord High) Treasurer of Scotland*, eds. T. Dickson *et al.*, 13 vols. (Edinburgh 1877-1978).

CAMPBELL LETTERS, 1559-1583

Item	Date	Correspondents (full details in Appendix B)
1	10 June 1559	Argyll (5th) & Lord James Stewart to Menteith, Ruthven (3rd), Tullibardine (10th) & Grey Colin
2	26 Aug. 1559	Argyll & Lord James Stewart to Grey Colin
3	8 Oct. 1560	Grey Colin to Argyll
4	28 Jan. 1561	MacDougall of Dunollie (14th) to Grey Colin
5	11 May 1562	Argyll to Grey Colin
6	27 June 1562	Argyll to Grey Colin
7	29 June 1562	Argyll to Grey Colin
8	22 Nov. 1562	Atholl (4th) to Argyll
9	12 Feb. 1563	Larg to Glenlyon
10	c. May 1563	Neil Malcolm to Grey Colin
11	1 Oct. 1563	Argyll to Grey Colin
12	4 Oct. 1563	Grey Colin to Argyll
13	11 Oct. 1563	Argyll to Grey Colin
14	13 Oct. 1563	Skipnish to Grey Colin
15	13 Jan. 1564	MacGill to Grey Colin
16	13 Jan. 1564	Morton (4th) to Grey Colin
17	19 Feb. 1564	Argyll to Grey Colin
18	2 Mar. 1564	Glenlyon to Grey Colin
19	31 Mar. 1564	Atholl to Grey Colin
20	6 June 1564	MacDonald of Dunivaig to Grey Colin
21	c. 3 Aug. 1564	Grey Colin to Weem
22	11 Sept. 1564	Lady Dunivaig to Grey Colin
23	8 Oct. 1564	Argyll to Grey Colin
24	bef. 25 Nov. 1564	Gregor MacGregor to Katherine
25	c. 25 Nov. 1564	Gregor MacGregor to Grey Colin
26	2 Dec. 1564	Gregor MacGregor to Grey Colin
27	25 Jan. 1565	Ardkinglas to Grey Colin
28	29 Jan. 1565	Argyll to Katherine
29	29 Jan. 1565	Ardkinglas to Grey Colin

30	1 Feb. 1565	Argyll to Grey Colin
31	1 Feb. 1565	Argyll to Katherine
32	25 Feb. 1565	Auchinbreck to Grey Colin
33	5 Mar. 1565	Alistair MacGregor to Grey Colin
34	8 Mar. 1565	Maitland to Grey Colin
35	14 Mar. 1565	Auchinbreck to Grey Colin
36	16 Mar. 1565	Grey Colin to Argyll
37	19 Mar. 1565	Argyll to Katherine
38	21 Mar. 1565	Ruthven to Grey Colin
39	5 Apr. 1565	Argyll to Grey Colin
40	24 May 1565	John Wood to Katherine
41	5 July 1565	Argyll to Grey Colin
42	6 July 1565	Ardkinglas to Grey Colin
43	9 July 1565	Grey Colin to Argyll
44	10 Aug. 1565	Argyll to Katherine
45	24 Aug. 1565	Moray to Grey Colin
46	24 Aug. 1565	Duke & Moray to Grey Colin
47	28 Aug. 1565	Argyll to Grey Colin
48	30 Aug. 1565	Grey Colin to Argyll
49	1 Sept. 1565	Argyll to Grey Colin
50	12 Sept. 1565	Duke, Moray, Glencairn & Rothes to Grey Colin
51	15 Sept. 1565	Argyll to Grey Colin
52	c. 26 Sept. 1565	MacDonald of Keppoch to Grey Colin
53	30 Oct. 1565	Grandtully to Grey Colin
54	31 Oct. 1565	Grandtully to Grey Colin
55	31 Oct. 1565	Ruthven to Katherine
56	31 Oct. 1565	Ruthven to Grey Colin
57	1 Nov. 1565	Grandtully to Grey Colin
58	1 Nov. 1565	Grey Colin to Grandtully
59	c. 1 Nov. 1565	Atholl to Grandtully
60	c. 2 Nov. 1565	Grandtully to Katherine
61	3 Nov. 1565	Grandtully to Katherine
62	4 Nov. 1565	Grandtully to Katherine
63	5 Nov. 1565	Ruthven to Katherine
64	c. 6 Nov. 1565	Grey Colin to Queen Mary

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| 65 | c. 11-16 Nov. 1565 | Gossip to Grey Colin |
| 66 | 25 Nov. 1565 | Grandtully to Grey Colin |
| 67 | c. 26 Nov. 1565 | Grey Colin to Grandtully |
| 68 | c. 30 Nov. 1565 | Gossip to Grey Colin |
| 69 | c. 2-10 Dec. 1565 | Gossip to Grey Colin |
| 70 | c. 7-10 Dec. 1565 | Gossip to Grey Colin |
| 71 | 11 Dec. 1565 | Gossip to Grey Colin |
| 72 | 12-24 Dec. 1565 | Gossip to Grey Colin |
| 73 | 17 Dec. 1565 | Carswell to Grey Colin |
| 74 | 23 Dec. 1565 | Ruthven to Katherine |
| 75 | 25 Dec. 1565 | Gossip to Grey Colin |
| 76 | 26 Dec. 1565 | Morton to Katherine |
| 77 | 27 Dec. 1565 | Maitland to Katherine |
| 78 | c. Jan. 1566 | Cameron of Lochiel to Grey Colin |
| 79 | 13 Feb. 1566 | Grey Colin to Gossip |
| 80 | 13 Mar. 1566 | Atholl to Grey Colin |
| 81 | c. 13 Mar. 1566 | Grandtully to Grey Colin |
| 82 | 14 Mar. 1566 | Grandtully to Grey Colin |
| 83 | 14 Mar. 1566 | Grey Colin to Grandtully |
| 84 | 15 Mar. 1566 | Atholl to Grey Colin |
| 85 | 9 Apr. 1566 | Maitland to Katherine |
| 86 | 18 Apr. 1566 | Maitland to Katherine |
| 87 | 20 Aug. 1566 | Douglas of Lochleven to Grey Colin |
| 88 | 2-4 Feb. 1567 | Maitland to Katherine |
| 89 | 1 June 1567 | Grandtully to Grey Colin |
| 90 | 11 Nov. 1567 | Grey Colin to Argyll |
| 91 | 5 Mar. 1569 | Inverawe to Grey Colin |
| 92 | aft. 2 Aug. 1569 | Patrick MacGregor to Katherine |
| 93 | 5 May 1570 | Argyll to Grey Colin |
| 94 | 30 May 1570 | Argyll to Katherine |
| 95 | 30 May 1570 | Atholl to Grey Colin |
| 96 | 7 June 1570 | Grey Colin to Argyll |
| 97 | 8 June 1570 | Argyll to Grey Colin |
| 98 | 10 June 1570 | Grandtully to Grey Colin |
| 99 | 10 June 1570 | Maitland to Argyll |
| 100 | 10 June 1570 | Atholl to Grey Colin |
| 101 | 10 June 1570 | Atholl to Argyll |

102	13 June 1570	Tullibardine (11th) to Glenlyon
103	14 June 1570	Argyll to Maitland
104	17 June 1570	Maitland to Katherine
105	17 June 1570	Atholl to Grandtully
106	19 June 1570	Lawers to Grey Colin
107	21 June 1570	Grandtully to Grey Colin
108	27 June 1570	MacDougall of Dunollie (15th) to Grey Colin
109	27 June 1570	Stewart of Appin to Grey Colin
110	28 June 1570	Atholl to Grey Colin
111	2 July 1570	Countess Argyll to Atholl
112	8 July 1570	Atholl to Grey Colin
113	10 July 1570	Murray of Tibbermuir to Katherine
114	10 July 1570	MacDonald of Keppoch to Atholl
115	13 July 1570	Grandtully to Grey Colin
116	14 July 1570	Countess of Mar to Grey Colin
117	16 July 1570	Grandtully to Grey Colin
118	23 July 1570	Grey Colin to Argyll
119	24 July 1570	Argyll to Katherine
120	26 July 1570	Carswell to Katherine
121	27 July 1570	Duntrune to Grey Colin
122	27 July 1570	Duntrune to Black Duncan
123	28 July 1570	Grandtully to Grey Colin
124	31 July 1570	Atholl to Grey Colin
125	1 Aug. 1570	Grandtully to Grey Colin
126	2 Aug. 1570	Maitland to Katherine
127	2 Aug. 1570	MacEwan Cameron to Grey Colin
128	c. 3-7 Aug. 1570	Grey Colin to Argyll
129	7 Aug. 1570	Maitland to Katherine
130	10 Aug. 1570	MacEwan Cameron to Grey Colin
131	12 Aug. 1570	Maitland to Katherine
132	12 Aug. 1570	Maitland to Grandtully
133	12 Aug. 1570	Maitland to Grey Colin
134	13 Aug. 1570	Argyll to Grey Colin
135	14 Aug. 1570	Grey Colin to Argyll
136	14 Aug. 1570	Carswell to Katherine
137	14 Aug. 1570	Grandtully to Katherine
138	16 Aug. 1570	Grey Colin to Katherine

139	18 Aug. 1570	Grey Colin to Gregor McAne
140	18 Aug. 1570	Grey Colin to Argyll
141	18 Aug. 1570	Cawdor to Grey Colin
142	20 Aug. 1570	Grey Colin to Argyll
143	20 Aug. 1570	Gregor McAne to Grey Colin
144	21 Aug. 1570	Argyll to Grey Colin
145	23 Aug. 1570	Argyll to Grey Colin (1st letter)
146	23 Aug. 1570	Argyll to Grey Colin (2nd letter)
147	23 Aug. 1570	Roths to Black Duncan
148	25 Aug. 1570	Grey Colin to Argyll
149	27 Aug. 1570	Carswell to Grey Colin
150	6 Sept. 1570	Grey Colin to MacDougall of Dunollie
151	10-15 Sept. 1570	Grandtully to Katherine
152	15 Sept. 1570	Hay of Megginch to Katherine
153	17 Sept. 1570	Murray of Tibbermuir to Katherine
154	18 Sept. 1570	Carswell to Grey Colin
155	19 Sept. 1570	Ruthven to Katherine
156	19 Sept. 1570	Ruthven to Grey Colin
157	19 Sept. 1570	Morton to Grey Colin
158	20 Sept. 1570	Murray of Tibbermuir to Katherine
159	bef. 21 Sept. 1570	Buchanan to Grey Colin
160	21 Sept. 1570	Grey Colin to Argyll
161	21 Sept. 1570	Grey Colin to Buchanan
162	21 Sept. 1570	Ruthven to Katherine
163	22 Sept. 1570	Grey Colin to Katherine
164	24 Sept. 1570	Stewart of Appin to Grey Colin
165	25 Sept. 1570	Murray of Tibbermuir to Katherine
166	25 Sept. 1570	Stewart of Doune to Grey Colin
167	26 Sept. 1570	Ruthven to Katherine
168	1 Oct. 1570	Ruthven to Katherine
169	1 Oct. 1570	MacLachlan of Craiginterve to Katherine
170	3 Oct. 1570	Argyll & Carswell to Katherine
171	4 Oct. 1570	Auchinbreck to Grey Colin
172	4-7 Oct. 1570	MacLachlan of Craiginterve to Katherine
173	7 Oct. 1570	MacLachlan of Craiginterve to Grey Colin
174	7 Oct. 1570	Ruthven to Katherine
175	15 Oct. 1570	AC to Grandtully

176	15 Oct. 1570	Auchinbreck to Grey Colin
177	c. 15 Oct. 1570	Ewin MacGregor to Katherine
178	17 Oct. 1570	Katherine to Ewin MacGregor
179	17 Oct. 1570	Ruthven to Grey Colin
180	19 Oct. 1570	Grandtully to Katherine
181	22 Oct. 1570	MacCorcadill to Katherine
182	c. 26 Oct. 1570	Ewin MacGregor to Grey Colin
183	27 Oct. 1570	Grandtully to Katherine
184	28 Oct. 1570	Ruthven to Katherine
185	12 Nov. 1570	MacNaughton to Patrick McAne
186	c 5 Dec. 1570	Ewin MacGregor to Grey Colin
187	16 Dec. 1570	Neil Campbell to Grey Colin
188	7 Jan. 1571	Ruthven to Katherine
189	28 Apr. 1571	Countess of Mar to Grey Colin
190	14 June 1571	Countess of Mar to Grey Colin
191	c. 19 July 1571	Ewin MacGregor to Grey Colin
192	16 Sept. 1571	Black Duncan to Drummond(3rd)
193	16 Sept. 1571	Katherine to Lady Drummond
194	bef. 23 Apr. 1572	Grey Colin to Weem
195	26 July 1572	George Johnson to Grey Colin
196	5-8 Nov. 1572	Grey Colin to Argyll
197	28 Aug. 1570s	Dalwany to Grey Colin
198	25 Dec. 1580	Argyll (6th) to Grey Colin
199	29 Jan. 1581	Argyll to Grey Colin
200	8 Feb. 1581	Ruthven to Grey Colin
201	3 Feb. 1582	Grey Colin to Black Duncan
202	15 July 1583	Fenton to Katherine

INTRODUCTION

The letters printed in this volume have all been taken from the Breadalbane collection (GD112) in the National Archives of Scotland (NAS), formerly the Scottish Record Office. Until recently scholars had been unaware of their existence, and of the richness and fascination of the material they contained. The correspondence published here provides a unique insight into the political and mental world of the Scottish nobility during the second half of the sixteenth century. The collection centres upon Colin Campbell, sixth laird of Glenorchy, nicknamed Grey Colin, and his wife Katherine Ruthven. The main base of their landed power was Breadalbane, with their interests and importance spreading into the neighbouring regions of Argyll and Perthshire. Breadalbane was part of the Gaelic-speaking central Highlands, and the regional politics of this 'frontier' area possess a special interest because they reveal how Highland and Lowland society interacted. In addition, the letters provide a new perspective upon the national politics of the turbulent reign of Mary and the civil wars which followed her flight into England. They demonstrate the complex ways in which Scottish regional and national affairs were interconnected. Since Glenorchy was one of the major Campbell cadets, the letters also illuminate the internal structure and workings of a large Highland clan. The Campbells were the dominant group within west Highland Gaelic society in the sixteenth century and these letters reveal, in a way no other surviving source can, how that Gaelic world functioned. With its many layers of interest ranging from national to local affairs and covering both the Highlands and the Lowlands, this correspondence provides a sixteenth-century Scottish equivalent to the Paston Letters of fifteenth-century England.

The Breadalbane collection and its sixteenth-century letters

The Breadalbane collection comprises the papers of the Campbells of Glenorchy, later earls of Breadalbane, and is a massive collection of material, weighing around three tons. These papers were deposited in the Record Office at various times between 1926 and 1973 and expertly catalogued

by Dr Hazel Horn in 1988-93. Due to the size of the collection and the way in which the original handlist was arranged, it had been assumed that the collection's correspondence began in 1600. This meant that in the twentieth century around 400 sixteenth-century letters had been lost from sight. I was fortunate enough to come across them and, thanks to their careful rearrangement and cataloguing by Dr Horn, they are now accessible in GD112/39. Appendix A contains a full listing of all the Breadalbane letters from 1548 to 1583. Due to the precise dating made possible by editing these letters, this list differs substantially from the current NAS catalogue.

The Breadalbane collection contains an enormously rich and comprehensive set of medieval and early modern documents concerning the Campbells of Glenorchy themselves, their Campbell kin and many of their neighbours, friends and enemies. It complements and supplements the other huge collection of Campbell material in the Duke of Argyll's manuscripts at Inveraray Castle.¹ Although the Argyll MSS contain a larger collection of documentation relating to the landed estates of the chiefs of Clan Campbell and many of the Campbell branches, the correspondence of the earls of Argyll has not survived in any great quantity for the sixteenth century. The discovery in the Breadalbane collection of over a hundred of the fifth earl of Argyll's own letters has transformed the understanding of his role.²

In addition to illuminating the history of Clan Campbell, the Breadalbane collection provides an insight into the workings of a number of other Gaelic kindreds of the central Highlands. In this respect it is a unique source both in the quantity and quality of its material. Alongside the details found in the letters, there is a wealth of documentation concerning all forms of land transactions, legal papers and court records, household and other accounts, and bonds of manrent. No other series of Highland papers, except the Argyll MSS, can begin to match the range and depth of this evidence for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The acquisitive and eclectic gathering of documents by the lairds of Glenorchy, so uncharacteristic of the Gaelic world, has provided an unrivalled opportunity to examine many aspects of the life of the central Highlands during the early modern period.

¹ I am grateful to the Duke of Argyll for permission to consult the Argyll MSS at Inveraray Castle and the Argyll Transcripts made by Niall Campbell, tenth Duke of Argyll; xerox copies of volumes I-VI are in the Department of Scottish History, University of Glasgow.

² Cf. J. Dawson, *The First British Politician? The Career of the 5th Earl of Argyll, c.1538-1573* (forthcoming).

Principles of selection

It was decided to restrict this volume to a selection from the letters in the Breadalbane collection because of their outstanding significance as a source for Highland society and for regional and national politics during the second half of the sixteenth century. It has not been possible to publish all the sixteenth-century letters and this volume concentrates upon the period 1550-83 when Colin Campbell was laird of Glenorchy. The selection process was directed by the following guidelines. All the letters or drafts written by Grey Colin himself or his wife, Katherine, have been included. All the correspondence which Katherine received has also been selected because it provides important evidence, which is rarely available, for the significant role played by women in regional and national politics. A short, but very important, series of letters from an anonymous writer who signed himself 'Your awin Gossaip' has been included in its entirety. Items have been selected from a wide range of correspondents to illustrate the variety of material which has found its way into the Breadalbane papers. Where possible, full sequences have been printed so that replies and subsequent correspondence between two parties can be read as a whole. Appendix A, which lists all the Breadalbane letters, 1548-83, demonstrates that most of them were written in two years, 1565 and 1570. The selection reflects this uneven chronological distribution.

Many of the letters have been extensively damaged by water or as a result of the mounting process undertaken in 1908 by the Victoria and Albert Museum at the behest of the Countess of Breadalbane. Some of the damaged passages can be recovered from the notes and transcripts made by Cosmo Innes and John MacGregor in the nineteenth century, which now form the MacGregor collection (GD50) in the NAS. They consulted the letters when the archive was housed in Taymouth Castle and before the damage occurred. However, Mr MacGregor only made transcriptions, summaries or notes of those letters which most concerned the fate of his ancestors, the Clan Gregor. Much of the other material in the Breadalbane collection was not recorded at all.¹

It must be stressed that the 324 letters in the Breadalbane collection do not represent the complete run of Grey Colin's correspondence. No letter-book with copies of outgoing letters from the Glenorchy family

¹ There are two different series of transcriptions and summaries from the Breadalbane letters in the MacGregor collection: GD50/187, boxes of loose-leaf and unpaginated notes in chronological order, and GD50/116, a large notebook of transcripts in no particular order. Unless otherwise stated, all the cited manuscripts are deposited in the National Archives of Scotland.

has survived from this period. There are 28 drafts of Colin's letters but only two from Katherine. It is clear from the stream of references to letters received from Colin (e.g. **68**)¹ and Katherine (e.g. **113**) and other missing items (e.g. **51**) that much of the original correspondence has not survived. There are 214 letters written to Grey Colin, of which 107 have been printed, and 50 to Katherine, all of which are included. There is no apparent pattern to the survival of particular letters. Some items which were worthy of being kept because they were important and of long-term significance are not extant.² Yet certain brief and seemingly insignificant letters can be found within the collection, retained for no obvious reason.³ Two of the letters suggest that important items might have been deliberately destroyed after their receipt because they contained views or information which were too sensitive to keep. Having written to Grey Colin on secret matters, Neil Malcolm told him to burn or break the letter (**10**) and Dougal MacDougall similarly urged Colin to tear up his letter once it had been read (**108**). In both cases Colin ignored this advice and kept the letters.

Characteristics of the letters and correspondence

Grey Colin's recognition of the importance of systematically preserving correspondence was unusual in sixteenth-century Scotland. Although the ability to write was a normal attribute of Lowland noblemen, and probably many noblewomen, the habit of non-formal letter-writing was in its infancy. Sixteenth-century letters had a very different function from their counterparts in later ages. They existed in a society which primarily functioned within an oral framework where personal contact was assumed to be the best form of communication. When such contact was not possible a letter was only one alternative, and in many cases not the preferred option. The personal touch was maintained through the use of trusted messengers or kinsmen who relayed the words and emotions of the sender. Strong friendships and close relationships could easily be maintained without either party ever writing to the other. Sixteenth-century correspondence can reveal much about noble relationships, but it cannot provide a complete picture of a noble's friends or wider affinity. The 'gossip' letters were only written because of a specific problem and they

¹ Numbers in bold denote the item numbers of the letters printed in this volume.

² For example, the details of the convention at Inveraray in June 1570 which Atholl mentioned (**110**).

³ For example **102**; and the note from the fifth earl to Grey Colin, 19 Aug. 1566, GD112/39/6/15.

provide an illustration of the way in which a close personal friendship can be missed. Their easy and informal tone indicates a pre-existing friendship which was not normally maintained through correspondence but was probably kept alive by personal meetings and the exchange of oral messages.

Personal contact was not only vital for nurturing friendships but was also an essential attribute of good lordship. In early modern Scotland a noble lord needed to deal in person with the people of his lands and region on a regular basis. Much travelling was done by both superiors and inferiors to ensure direct meetings, with written communications used only when face-to-face contact could not be made. Distance was usually the determining factor in the decision to send a letter. This explains the scarcity of letters in the collection from within the Breadalbane area itself. Grey Colin and his immediate subordinates corresponded only in exceptional circumstances. For example, there would have been a steady stream of messengers carrying verbal orders and reports between Grey Colin and Gregor MacAne, his captain at the exposed post of Kilchurn Castle, but their only surviving letters deal with the rare event of a direct raid upon the castle (139, 143).

The prime purpose of sixteenth-century letters was not the exchange of personal information and greetings, though these were often briefly included. Written correspondence dealt instead with the formal subject of political relationships. As the Campbell letters demonstrate, this meant 'political matters' in their widest sense. Even when written by friends, other missives dealing solely with an item of business or functioning as a legal instrument were given the generic title 'writs'. In the Breadalbane collection they were filed as part of the documentation concerned with specific lands or types of business.¹

Highly secret matters were excluded from normal letter-writing. During the early modern period, such information was not entrusted to paper but conveyed by a special messenger. He would carry oral messages and instructions which he would reveal only to the intended recipient and then return with the replies (41). It was common to find the writer of a letter telling the recipient to give credence to the bearer (e.g. 32) to whom 'I have schawin my mynd' (196). This can be very frustrating for the historian who is brought tantalisingly close to vital information which was recorded in the minds of these faithful messengers. They were usually of high social status and often a close relative of the person sending the

¹ For example, John, fourth earl of Atholl, to Grey Colin, 19 Aug. 1571, which dealt with payments concerning the deanery of Dunkeld: GD112/59/51/12.

sensitive information. They acted more like ambassadors or negotiators. In the Highlands members of the Gaelic learned orders, such as Colin MacLachlan of Craiginterve (e.g. 171), were frequently employed in this role.¹

When conveying routine information special messengers were not required and letters were carried by a group of servants who, irrespective of their age, were called 'boys'.² They travelled in all weathers and conditions and at remarkable speed between their destinations. Dougal, one of Grey Colin's most reliable couriers, was sent at the start of February by the 'heland gait' which would take him from Carrick Castle in Cowal through the snowy Drumalban passes to Balloch Castle (30). Carrying letters could be a dangerous occupation especially during periods of fighting, such as the summer of 1570, when 'boys' were regarded as easy targets and killed (e.g. 134). Occasionally there were complaints about the standard of the service provided by a messenger, as when Patrick Murray of Tibbermuir became 'crabit' because the courier had broken the back of the hawk which Katherine had sent him. Fearing Murray's reaction to the bird's injury, the bearer left the letter and the hawk and beat a hasty retreat without waiting to fulfil his second duty of relaying orally all the news which Katherine had given him to tell Murray (113).³

Letters were often carried in batches to a group of recipients, especially in dangerous times. Grey Colin became disgruntled at acting as a post-office for bundles or 'masks' of letters moving between members of the queen's party in the summer of 1570 (128). But even though it brought burdens, the forwarding of correspondence gave Grey Colin the opportunity of knowing their contents. Copies or drafts of letters were sent to him (e.g. 101, 105) and it was also acceptable to open a letter addressed to someone else, as Patrick, Lord Ruthven, did with Argyll's

¹ The learned orders had two great advantages: they were highly educated and they had a similar status to heralds, being regarded as neutral in a dispute or feud.

² Even when the matter was not secret or sensitive the messenger would normally add details and amplify the contents of the letter. This can be demonstrated by Shane O'Neill's letter to Cormac O'Connor, who was then in Scotland. O'Neill's letter was written on 20 Mar. 1567 in Irish Gaelic which was subsequently translated in a literal form into English. Another translation was made into Scots which included extra information relayed directly by the messenger, which was still regarded as part of the 'letter'. 'Shane O'Neill's last letter', ed. R. Smith, *Journal of Celtic Studies*, ii (1958), 131-3.

³ For a general discussion of communications and the way in which the Campbells used them, see J. Dawson, 'The origins of the "Road to the Isles": trade, communications and Campbell power in early modern Scotland', in R. Mason & N. Macdougall (eds.), *People and Power in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1992), 88-91.

letter to Grey Colin (37). The number of letters sent between third parties, such as the countess of Argyll's letter to Atholl (111), which found their way into Grey Colin's collection underlines how much he exploited his role at the centre of a communications network.

Language and literacy

All the letters in the Breadalbane collection were written in Scots, even though nearly two-thirds of them passed between Gaelic speakers.¹ Some of these letters were penned by scribes who were members of the Gaelic learned orders, such as John MacCorcadill (186, 191) or John Carswell, the superintendent of Argyll (4). Had it been required, these men could as readily have written in Gaelic. Though it had its own literary script and thriving literary tradition, in the middle of the sixteenth century Gaelic seems to have been seldom employed for ordinary letter-writing between individuals.² The choice of Scots in the Breadalbane letters reflected the assumption that it was the appropriate language for this type of communication. Though it is impossible to be certain in which language the letters were dictated, they give the impression of having been spoken in Scots, without any polish being added in translation.

Despite being members of the social elite, a considerable proportion of the Highland correspondents were forced to employ scribes because they could not write themselves. They do not appear to have signed their own names, which were written in a Scots, not a Gaelic, style.³ The lack of this skill set them apart from their counterparts in the Lowlands where, by the sixteenth century, non-literacy had become uncommon among lairds. Within the Highlands there was a noticeable distinction between the Campbells and other clans in the ability to write or sign their names. Nearly all the Campbells, even relatively minor lairds in Argyll such as Archibald Campbell of Inverawe (91) and Donald Campbell of Larg (9), were probably able to pen their own letters.⁴ Despite being

¹ This counts letters between correspondents both of whom were based in the Highlands and are assumed to have spoken Gaelic, which gives the figures of c. 200 out of 324 letters.

² Cf. J. Bannerman, 'Literacy in the Highlands', in I.B. Cowan & D. Shaw (eds.), *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983); J. Bannerman & R. Black, 'A sixteenth-century Gaelic letter', *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, xiii (1978), 56-65.

³ This could simply have been an inability to write in Scots or a secretary hand: cf. Bannerman, 'Literacy', 232. However, their failure to sign their names in Gaelic script, which would have been readily understood by the recipients, suggests that they could not write.

⁴ Duncan Campbell of Duntrune provides an exception (121).

part of the Campbell network and of higher social status, Dougal MacDougall of Dunollie (108) was not able to write.¹ The MacGregors, the Camerons and MacDonald of Keppoch were also dependent upon clerks writing their letters.² There is nothing to indicate whether they also needed the reading services of the clerk or could read Scots themselves.

A further indication of the absence of a letter-writing culture within the Highlands was the scarcity of paper. Some of the non-Campbell letters from the Highlands were sent on small or irregular pieces of paper (e.g. 24, 109). By contrast, when the Lowlander, William Murray of Tullibardine, found himself in a similar predicament he felt he should apologise, 'I vois skant off paper at the makin heiroff' (102). It was typical of Grey Colin's general attitude that he gave a high priority to having writing materials always at hand. When away from his main base he asked his wife to send writing paper and wax for sealing his letters (138).

The mental world of the Scottish nobility

The greatest insight to be gained from the letters is the window they open into the ways in which the correspondents thought and expressed themselves. The mental world of Scotland's nobility, those habits of thought and unspoken assumptions which are usually so elusive, can be seen with remarkable clarity in these letters.

Their universe revolved around the twin concepts of kin and honour. Noblemen and noblewomen in Scotland, as throughout Europe, thought essentially in collective rather than individual terms. Their concept of kin spread out in concentric circles encompassing their family, house, surname, clan, relations by marriage, allies and extending to the most distant boundaries of their wider affinity. A noble's honour had an important individual element relating to that person's conduct and adherence to the complex and demanding code of noble behaviour and values. But it also had a collective dimension, as witnessed in the conduct of a bloodfeud where it was the honour of the kin as a group, rather than individuals, which had to be satisfied. Kin and honour provided the mutually dependent dual foci of the nobility's mental world.

¹ His letter contained a postscript from John Salmond, the notary who had written the letter, in which Salmond sent his commendations to his friends and to all of Grey Colin's servants. When he witnessed charters, Dougal MacDougall was unable to sign his name, e.g. 16 June 1565, AT VI, 67.

² Gregor MacGregor (24-6); Ewin (177, 182, 186, 191); John MacCorcadill was probably the scribe for 186, 191; Alastair (33); Patrick of Glenlednock (92); Gregor MacAne (143); Donald Cameron of Lochiel (78); Donald MacEwan Cameron (127, 130); Ranald MacDonald of Keppoch (52, 114).

One of the most interesting overall impressions from the correspondence is that, within the sphere of noble values and attitudes, there was no perceptible difference between the nobility of the Lowlands and that of the Highlands. At one level this was a function of the usage of Scots throughout the letters, with the thought-patterns as well as the language becoming the most appropriate forms of expression by Gaelic-speakers when they were operating within the political arena. There was, however, more to it than this. Within the confines of politics there were in practice few differences in outlook between the Highland and Lowland aristocracy.¹ Noble society throughout Scotland was dominated by a similar ethos and reflected shared assumptions.

Both Gaelic and Lowland Scots cultures laid great emphasis upon the importance of kin relationships. As the letters illustrate, a nobleman calculated his kinship to others in three ways. The hierarchy of importance and obligation found relationships derived from lineage and blood at its peak, with those acquired through marriage alliances and bonds at its base. At the apex of the pyramid of kin was the 'house', the extended dynastic family and lineage of a nobleman. 'The bluid of your Lordshipis hows' (99) was the defining characteristic of the lineage, though the term 'house' was frequently associated with its physical location, the territorial designation and castle or stronghold of the noble family. A nobleman's first duty was to defend the welfare of his own house.

Contemporary family histories, such as the Black Book of Taymouth, the family history of the Glenorchy Campbells written between 1598 and 1648, chronicled the deeds of their noble line according to their achievements in advancing their house. Grey Colin's clan chief, Argyll, recognised that the Glenorchy Campbells formed a distinct lineage, even though they were descended from the house of Argyll and formed part of Clan Campbell for which the earl had overall responsibility (37, 145). In addition to the actual bloodline, another type of kinship had to be taken into account within the Gaidhealtachd. A nobleman's foster family was as close as, if not closer than, his blood kin. Throughout Scotland the godparenting bond also remained strong during the early modern period and both fosterparents and godparents would regard the child as their own.²

¹ This is not to deny that there were significant differences between Gaelic and Lowland Scots culture nor that a growing divide was perceived to exist between them; see J. Dawson, 'The Gaidhealtachd and the emergence of the Scottish Highlands', in B. Bradshaw & P. Roberts (eds.), *British Identity and Consciousness* (Cambridge, 1998).

² Black Duncan was fostered by Duncan Campbell of Duntrune (69, 122). His godfathers were William, fourth Lord Ruthven (155, 167) and James Campbell, 2nd laird of Lawers, c. Mar. 1556: GD112/39/1/8. Isabella Stewart, the wife of William Stewart of Grandtully, was his godmother (201).

Beyond the extended family of their own house, noblemen and noblewomen were joined by blood ties to other lineages. The value placed upon these overlapping relationships was indicated by correspondents' use, wherever possible, of such terms as 'cousin' or 'eme' in the address, salutation or valediction of a letter.¹ A closer relationship was often claimed than was strictly true, and this can prove confusing to modern readers.² For example, William, fourth Lord Ruthven, always signed himself as 'brother' and called his aunt Katherine 'sister', probably because there was not a great disparity in their ages (e.g. 168). Similarly, in deference to an older female relative, the earl of Argyll gave Katherine the courtesy title of 'aunt', though she was only related distantly by marriage (44).³ Grey Colin, who prided himself on being Atholl's cousin, reminded the earl on a number of occasions that he was of Atholl's lineage. He used the blood tie to claim that a hostile action towards himself was really an attack upon Atholl's own house (53, 83). As a means of reinforcing his own point in a letter criticising the earl of Argyll, William Maitland of Lethington claimed to come from Argyll's house, though this blood connection has not been traced (99).

A family unit which had not yet fully established itself as a separate house could adopt the more general term 'kin' to demonstrate its blood ties and solidarity as a group, as Patrick MacGregor and the kin of Glenlednock did when writing to Katherine (92). More generally, the use of 'kin' denoted the wider groupings of a clan or surname who were, in theory at least, related by blood.⁴ Shortly before his death, John MacDougall of Dunollie asked Grey Colin to protect his house and surname (4). When promising to call together Clan Campbell to decide on action against the MacGregors, Argyll spoke of convening his whole surname (145). The boundaries of the clan could be regarded as even wider than the claims to blood kinship when they included those who 'depended' upon the chief. It was this extra group of 'partakers' who were of especial concern to Ewin MacGregor when a contract was being drawn up to settle the feud with Glenorchy. He insisted that they should

¹ 'Eme' or 'eem' was an uncle or close male relative.

² Appendix C is provided to assist in tracing these relationships.

³ Annabella Murray, countess of Mar, called herself Grey Colin's aunt though she was in fact his cousin (189-90).

⁴ See A. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (East Linton, 1996), ch. 1.

be included as a constituent part of Clan Gregor. In addition to mentioning all of his surname, the contract should specifically cover 'my assistours and parttakaris quhilk hes bene all als thankfull to me as my kin' (182).

In the minds of sixteenth-century Scots the ties of kinship led naturally into 'kindness'. 'Keeping kindness' was the generic term covering the long-standing reciprocal relationship binding superior and inferior. It comprised on the one side loyalty and service which was rewarded from the other side by good lordship in the form of lands and other material benefits. In a glowing tribute, John MacDougall told Grey Colin, 'ye ar the man that did me the mest kyndnes that a man mycht do till ane wther' and so asked him to 'keip your kyndnes to my broder and to my hows and all my soursname' (4). At least at the rhetorical level, the length and continuity of such kindly relationships were particularly prized. When reaffirming his loyalty, Gregor MacAne assured Grey Colin that he and his children would receive the service of Gregor and his heirs to the uttermost of their power (143). Grey Colin was himself fond of reminding Argyll of the devoted loyalty which he and his predecessors had given to previous earls of Argyll (96). He made a pointed contrast between the support likely to be forthcoming from the Campbells of Glenorchy and the assistance to be expected from the fifth earl's recent allies, such as the Buchanans: 'It is na caus to your Lordship to lychlie [scorn] your awin quhilk man be your best quhen it cummis to the upwith. For my forbearis servit your Lordshipis predecessouris quhen the Boquhennanis wer to seik and specialle quhen thair wes mayst ado' (36). A similar point about long-term loyalty was made to Grey Colin himself when Nicholas Campbell of Dalwany was reminding him of the good service given by the MacCarleys, 'for that swrnaym ar kyndlie servandis to ws Campbellis' (197). Such servants could expect to be rewarded with 'kindlie rooms' or landed tenancies. This indicated the extent to which the concept of kindness had infiltrated the whole process of landholding.

The language of 'kindness' was also employed in the creation of kin and quasi-kin ties through marriage alliances and bonds of manrent (e.g. 78, 106).¹ The marriage negotiations undertaken by the Glenorchy Campbells reveal in great detail noble attitudes towards such alliances (see below, pp. 28-34). From the perspective of honour and obligation, a woman was expected to transfer her loyalties to her husband's house and kin. Through marriage, the husband gained links with other lineages,

¹ The fundamental discussion of bonds is J. Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603* (Edinburgh, 1985).

though the obligations generated by such ties were regarded as less compelling than those owed to blood kin. Such alliances between houses were intended to be enduring. In practice, the multiple marriages of many of the Scottish nobility tended to reduce the duration or the strength of the ties with other kindreds created by marriage.

Even though the language employed spoke of everlasting friendship, the creation of artificial kinship through a bond of manrent was believed to have less permanence than a marriage alliance. Bonds created a stronger tie than marriage with greater expectations on both sides. They rested upon a reciprocal relationship between two kin groups, but, unless renewed, lasted only as long as that reciprocity continued to operate. The link was summarised by Donald Cameron of Lochiel when writing to Grey Colin of their band of good neighbourship, 'quhairthrow gif ye had ocht ado that I suld be reddy with all my mycht tow do yow guid service as I sall ewir do salang as ye vill accept the samin ye supportand me in lik manner' (78).

For a Scottish nobleman, fulfilling one's duties and obligations to all one's kin, of whatever type, was the way to maintain and enhance one's own honour. The noble's primary duty was to his house, and this required the protection and, where possible, enlargement of its landed base. In the early modern period land was never viewed simply as an economic resource, but was seen as the essential foundation of all noble power. On a conceptual level, control over territory was part of the self-image of a noble house. The relationship between a house and its land was particularly noticeable in respect of the heartland of a noble's inheritance which often gave the family its territorial designation, as in the Campbell earls of Argyll. In noble eyes it was a dishonour to lose any part of the territorial core which had been acquired by one's ancestors and inherited from them. This attitude can be seen in the fifth earl's furious response to Grey Colin's suggestion that Argyll sell to him the superiority of the lands of Glen Orchy. Even though these lands gave the territorial designation to Grey Colin's own house, the fifth earl would not release them because they were part of the Argyll patrimony. He angrily assured Grey Colin 'that howlang that I leif that I will nocht give you the said superieorieitie. For I think me worthy of the samin suppois it ware better nor it is for I think to keip that thyng that my foirbearis haid' (13). Similar feelings even motivated a temporary trustee, such as Maitland of Lethington, during his oversight of the earl of Menteith's land. He was conscious of the need to ensure that Menteith's holdings should not suffer diminution or damage during his administration (34).

Protecting the people of one's house, surname and clan was as important

for a nobleman as preserving his land. This duty was one aspect of the wider military role which underpinned the nobility's whole self-image. At the simplest level protecting one's kin meant avenging any wrong which they suffered. A threat to the life or goods of a kinsman had to be countered and punished. This was why the attempted murder of Duncan Campbell of Glenlyon and possibly Grey Colin himself by the MacGregors in June 1570 was taken so seriously. It was viewed as a direct insult to Argyll, their chief, which could not be ignored without a loss of honour. As William Maitland commented, 'the Lard of Glenlyoun is of your Lordshipis surname cumit of your Lordshipis hous and sik ane as na nobill man wald be content being his kynnisman to suffir to be a pray to lymnaris [cut-throats]' (99). After another MacGregor raid Grey Colin urged Argyll to take prompt action to preserve his honour by demonstrating to his enemies that he could and would revenge his friends in all their just actions (140).

The lines between friends and enemies or between kin and others were often difficult to draw. In many disputes a magnate had obligations to both sides, and the most honourable—as well as the most realistic—course was to work for a settlement. This was usually achieved through a system of private justice which employed arbitration or the 'sight' of friends, as it was frequently called. In 1581 Lord Ruthven was confident that the long-running feud between Grey Colin and James Menzies of Weem could be solved in this manner: 'Iff freindis anis met I dout nocht bot materis suld agre to beath your easimentis and contentmentis' (200). When George Buchanan of that ilk wrote directly to Grey Colin in the autumn of 1570 seeking a resolution of the grievances between them, he proposed a panel of arbitrators made up of four Campbells and four Buchanans, with the earl of Argyll acting as the 'oversman' or final arbiter (159). The rejection of such offers of arbitration and the pursuit of a dispute through the law courts was regarded as a hostile gesture not only by those summoned for the legal case but by their kin as well. It was normal practice for kinsmen to gather in force from far and wide to support the principals for the 'day of law'. In the Glenorchy-Weem dispute arranging a convenient day for the law suit in the winter of 1580-1 was an organisational headache for Grey Colin's busy kin (198-200).

Whilst a noble's honour was primarily based upon his own actions, particularly those in support of his kin, it also rested upon the more nebulous foundation of reputation. Popular rumours were taken seriously especially when 'the bruit was sa and is yit'. Argyll felt the need to defend himself to Katherine for passing on the news that Grey Colin was said to be indirectly implicated in the murder of a Drummond by explaining,

'we wald be leathe to heir ony thing that war dishonour to him bot we wald advertis him thairoff'. He grumpily concluded his letter that next time he heard bad rumours he would not bother to warn Grey Colin (37). Katherine herself used the spectre of public criticism of a dispute among close kin to persuade her sister Liliass to compromise in the Reidheugh-Murray feud: 'the comoun pipill will bruit ws giff thair cumis ony ewill among frindis' (193).

In a more positive way, reputation was maintained by the generous hospitality and conspicuous consumption of the nobility and their households. It was a matter of honour to entertain guests in a resplendent way. The fear that the depredations of the feud meant that he would be unable to uphold the Campbell reputation for hospitality prompted Grey Colin to beg Argyll not to stage the convention of the queen's party at Balloch: 'I ma nocht furneis sic ane cumpanie according to your Lordshipis honour and myin as I was wont to do' (142). The entertainment of his chief was a different matter and Grey Colin assured the earl that he and all those he brought with him out of Argyll would be very welcome and have the best provisions available in such difficult times.

A nobleman expected hospitality from his inferiors as of right; *cuid oidhche*, 'a night's meat', was a formal due owed within the *Gaidhealtachd* to one's chief (164). The failure to offer hospitality was a serious breach of the noble code in both Highland and Lowland society. This obligation remained operative even in the middle of a feud. When Kilchurn Castle was not opened up at the beginning of May 1570 to entertain him, Argyll was provoked to fury. He complained bitterly to Katherine that, whilst travelling with some Lowland nobles through Argyll, they had arrived at Kilchurn expecting refreshment. They had found instead the castle held against them like a fortress, as if they were a MacGregor raiding party! He summed up his shock in a postscript, 'We regard nocht samekill meit nor drink as the yettis haldin fast of our freindis hous aganis ws' (94). The earl was deeply insulted because this deed was perpetrated by his own kin and his humiliation had been witnessed by strangers. This flash of anger demonstrated how within the mental world of the nobility the concepts of kin and honour were intimately bound up together.

Grey Colin

Colin Campbell, sixth laird of Glenorchy, was born in 1499 and died on 11 April 1583. The portrait of him in the *Black Book of Taymouth* (see frontispiece) shows the white hair and long flowing beard which gained him the nickname of *Cailean Liath* or Grey Colin, and he is portrayed in

martial guise wearing plate armour and leaning upon a great double-handed sword. He was the third son of Sir Colin, third laird (1513-23), and Margaret, daughter of John Stewart, third earl of Atholl, who died on 26 July 1524 a year after her husband. During the lairdship of his grandfather, Sir Duncan, second laird (1480-1513), Grey Colin had been fostered with the Fearnan MacGregors.¹ He was not expected to succeed to the main Glenorchy inheritance; following the normal pattern for younger sons, Grey Colin had been given the lands of Crannich, on the north shore of Loch Tay, and was then expected to make his own way. He married Margaret, the daughter of Alexander Stewart, bishop of Moray (1532-7). Alexander was the son of Alexander Stewart, duke of Albany (d. 1485), and a grandson of James II, giving Margaret royal blood in her veins, though as a cleric's daughter she was born out of wedlock.² Margaret was the widow of Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie and had several daughters already.³ Grey Colin and Margaret had two daughters: Beatrix, who wed John Campbell, third laird of Lawers, in 1559, and Margaret, who married Allan MacDougall of Raray in 1570.⁴

By the 1540s Grey Colin was playing an active role in the Glenorchy lordship. His eldest brother, Duncan, fourth laird (1523-36), had died without a male heir and had been succeeded by his other brother, John, fifth laird (1536-50). John's health seemed to be failing in the late 1540s which placed more responsibility upon the shoulders of Grey Colin. In 1548 because John was prevented, probably by illness, Grey Colin brought the Breadalbane troops to the fourth earl of Argyll's muster at Dunstaffnage Castle and then settled all Glenorchy's affairs.⁵ John died eighteen months

¹ Bond between Sir Duncan and John MacNeill Vreik in Stronferna and his brother Gregor: GD112/1/38; *BBT*, 179; M. MacGregor, 'A Political History of the MacGregors before 1571' (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 1989), 78. It is hoped that Dr MacGregor's work will be published shortly.

² Such origins were not a major barrier in Scottish society in the later medieval period when the offspring of the higher clergy, often having received letters of legitimisation, married into the Scottish nobility without difficulty.

³ L.G. Graeme, *Or and Sable: A Book of the Graemes and Grahams* (Edinburgh, 1903), 1-9, mentions three daughters: Lady Ochtertyre, Lady Ardkinglas and Lady Lenny. Janet Graham was married to Robert Buchanan of Lenny and then to Dougal Campbell of Ardaillon (father of James, sixth laird of Ardkinglas); however in Ardkinglas, 'History', she is given as the daughter of Walter Graham of Boquhapple in Menteith. I am grateful to Mr John Noble for permission to consult and cite from the manuscript volume in his possession of the 'Materials for a History of ... the Campbells of Ardkinglas', written by Niall Campbell, tenth Duke of Argyll (unpaginated).

⁴ *BBT*, 20; Beatrix, GD112/25/22-3; Margaret, (95) GD112/2/116/4-11.

⁵ Letters from the fourth earl to John Campbell of Glenorchy, 18 Oct. 1548, GD112/39/1/1-2.

later leaving three daughters but no male heir.¹ After this improbable series of dynastic failures, the third son of Sir Colin and Margaret Stewart followed his two elder brothers as the laird of Glenorchy. On 5 July 1550 Grey Colin became sixth laird at the advanced age of 51.² His wife Margaret had died and within six months of succeeding he made an advantageous marriage to Katherine Ruthven, by whom he had eight surviving children (see below, pp. 24–5). During the next 30 years this sprightly veteran, with an aggressive and single-minded determination, transformed a stagnating lordship into one which dominated the entire Breadalbane region.

In the judgement of the *Black Book of Taymouth*, the lairdship of Grey Colin was crucial because it re-established the house of Glenorchy. The family history saluted his achievement under the following categories: first, that he produced a large family and was succeeded by an adult male heir; second, that he ‘conquesit’ (acquired) for his ‘hows’ a long list of lands; third, that he built or enlarged several castles; finally, that he was ‘ane great justiciar’.³ It was an assessment which would have accorded with Grey Colin’s own view of his goals. He wanted to establish and expand his dynasty, to enlarge his land and power-base and, by employing military and judicial means, to increase his security and control over his lordship.

Grey Colin died in 1583 and was buried at the Campbell chapel at Finlarig.⁴ He was succeeded by his eldest son, Black Duncan, the seventh laird (1583–1631), who inherited both his father’s ambitions and his drive, proving to be more ruthless in his methods and surpassing Grey Colin’s record for expansion in all categories.⁵

With two-thirds of the letters in this volume either sent or received by Grey Colin there is no shortage of evidence about how he operated in regional and national politics.⁶ The correspondence reveals a man with

¹ Christine who married James Colquhoun, tutor of Luss, on 28 Oct. 1558 (GD112/25/16–21); and Marion who married first Alexander Home of Argadie on 27 Nov. 1558 (RMS, iv, 1322), and then Donald Campbell of Drongie. An older illegitimate daughter, Catherine, had been married to Finlay MacNab of Bovane in 1548: GD112/25/12–5.

² BBT, 161.

³ BBT, 20–3.

⁴ BBT, 23. Grey Colin’s testament was registered with the Edinburgh commissary court on 3 Apr. 1584: CC8/13 fos. 133r–138r. Two years later Allan Baxter, one of Grey Colin’s servants, was still trying to get Black Duncan to pay for his father’s funeral expenses, 2 Apr. 1585: *Clan Campbell*, viii, 94–5.

⁵ BBT, 23–72.

⁶ 136 out of 202 letters. For a full list of the items, see Appendix B.

two sides. First, there was the calculating and ruthless noble fighting to expand his house. Alongside this was the concerned family man and the 'good lord' who inspired respect and loyalty in his followers. The harsher side of Grey Colin is more evident in the letters. When he felt he had been betrayed he could be vindictive, as when he asserted that Gregor MacGregor 'sall nevir haif the gud that I may hald fir hym or nane of his surname' (12). Perhaps the need for a personal revenge and vindication of his own honour prompted Grey Colin's unusually violent conduct in 1570. As the *Black Book of Taymouth* laconically recorded, the seventy-year old 'beheiddit the laird off McGregour himself at Kandmoir in presens of the Erle of Atholl, the Justice Clerk, and sundrie uther nobillmen'.¹

Grey Colin's single-minded approach produced an unwillingness to appreciate other points of view. He was convinced of his own rectitude and this could lead him to adopt a high moral tone, as in his declaration, 'I tak God to witness that I luif nayne that oppresses the pair' (90). When writing to Buchanan, Grey Colin expressed the self-satisfied aspiration that every nobleman and neighbour should punish thieves and trespassers as he did (161). Similarly, when addressing his chief, Grey Colin frequently rehearsed the refrain that, though his lands had been damaged by the depredations of the MacGregors, it was Argyll's, and not Glenorchy's, reputation which would suffer: 'the dishonour lysis on your Lordshipis conscience albeit that I get the skayth' (135).

At times Grey Colin could be a hard, grasping and bad-tempered man. His tenants, who had fled into mid-Argyll in the winter of 1563-4 after they had been burnt out of their lands in Glen Orchy by MacGregor raiding, believed the rumour that Grey Colin would still expect to receive full rents from them (17). His subordinates and his son-in-law were afraid of incurring his displeasure (106). Even as powerful a chief as Donald Cameron of Lochiel was worried that he had offended Grey Colin and offered to make amends (78). Certainly, when Grey Colin was 'ewill content', he did not hesitate to berate his subordinates. Glenorchy subjected Dougal MacDougall of Dunollie and his other dependents in Lorn to a stream of angry invective for what Grey Colin viewed as their inexcusable lack of support (150).

An understandable preoccupation with his own problems made Grey Colin concentrate nearly all of his attention upon the regional level of politics at the expense of national concerns. During the feud with the MacGregors he could lapse into self-pity, asserting that he was the 'sairst handlit baroun in Scotland this day' (142; and see 140). He was less quick

¹ BBT, 23, 136.

to appreciate the plight of others, displaying little obvious concern for the fate of his friends when they were driven into exile after the Chase-about Raid (see below, pp. 49–52). Despite loud protestations about his past contributions to Campbell military enterprises, Grey Colin was singularly adept at avoiding sending troops to assist Argyll in his various campaigns, especially during the civil wars.

Partly as a result of the nature of the correspondence, there is only a glimpse of the second side of Grey Colin as a caring husband, father, friend and laird. The surviving fragments of his letters to Katherine (138, 163) contain the occasional personal touch amidst matters of business (see below, pp. 25–7). Perhaps more unexpected is the genuine concern and generosity which Grey Colin displayed in his letter to Gregor MacAne after his MacGregor kinsmen's raid upon Kilchurn Castle in August 1570 (139). There were no recriminations for his Captain; instead Grey Colin told Gregor to cheer up and to stop worrying about the stolen goods and burnt land because he himself would cover the losses. He also instructed Gregor to ensure that all the poor people who had suffered in the raid should be protected inside the castle and that they should be given food, at Grey Colin's expense. It is not surprising that Gregor's reply was full of gratitude and expressions of undying loyalty and service (143). In a less dramatic setting, Atholl clearly valued Grey Colin's friendship and his company. In the spring of 1566 he suggested that, if Grey Colin's sickness were not too serious, 'gyf ye mycht cum down and drink wyth me or my departing I wald be glaid thairof and ye salbe hartlie welcum' (84).

The Gossip letters

Grey Colin also enjoyed a close friendship with his 'gossip' who is not named in the letters, but can be identified as John Campbell of Carrick. There are eight 'gossip' letters of which one (79) is almost certainly Grey Colin's reply to his friend, which Glenorchy himself chose to sign 'gossip'. The others seem to have come from the same person, the 'gossip', a term taken from the English word 'godsib', originally connected with a godparenting relationship but becoming more loosely used for any close friend.¹ In a Scots, and specifically a Campbell, context the term was linked to the reciprocal obligations within a bond of manrent, as in the bond between John Campbell of Cawdor and Alexander MacLeod of

¹ James Melville of Halhill had remarked that the word gossip for godparent was an English usage with the Scots employing 'commer' instead: Sir James Melville of Halhill, *Memoirs of his Own Life*, ed. T. Thomson (Bannatyne Club, 1827), 159.

Dunvegan in 1533 when they promised to 'fulfill the band of Gossaprie quhen ony of us beis chargit be uder party in steid and lawte as Gossapis suld do'.¹ Although it is possible that Glenorchy was godfather to the letter-writer or to his children, or that the letter-writer was godfather to Grey Colin's children, the term was probably used simply as an indication of affection and camaraderie.²

The identity of the gossip can be established with reasonable certainty from internal evidence. As their letters indicate, the relationship between the two men was close and warm and on one occasion Black Duncan was staying with the gossip (69). He was sufficiently friendly with Katherine to call her 'Kayt' (71) and sent his commendations to her on several occasions (e.g. 75). The gossip was definitely a Campbell, was kin to the earl of Argyll and frequently in attendance upon him (70). Two of the letters give places of writing, Carrick Castle and Toward, probably the Castle. This supports the identification of the gossip as John Campbell, captain of Carrick.³ John was married to Mariota, daughter of Ian Lamont of Inverryne, and it would be natural for the couple to be spending Christmas Day, the date of the letter, with the Lamonts at their castle on Toward Point in Cowal (75). In 1555 a significant link was made between Carrick and Glenorchy when Carrick witnessed the contract which appointed Katherine the guardian of her children.⁴ Thus Carrick was regarded as sufficiently close to the family to serve, in the event of Colin's death, as a protector and friend for Katherine and the children.

John Campbell of Carrick had an important role within Clan Campbell as one of the lairds who ensured that affairs in Argyll ran smoothly for the earl.⁵ Carrick Castle acted as the main staging post for the Campbells

¹ *Book of the Thanes of Cawdor*, ed. C. Innes (Spalding Club, 1859), 159. The Glenorchy Campbell habit of expanding the application of bonds of fostering into a generalised version of a bond of manrent probably increased the link between the language of bonding and godparenthood. For example, Donald MacYnnocater granted a 'bairn's part' to Grey Colin and Katherine: 12 Oct. 1560, GD112/24/1/2, fos. 18-19; BBT, 203-4; Wormald, *Lords and Men*, 101.

² George Johnson had used the term in this way when he closed his letter as from Grey Colin's servant and gossip (195).

³ The Campbells of Carrick were descended from an illegitimate son of John, second laird of Ardkinglas.

⁴ Contract between Lord Lorne (the future fifth earl), Grey Colin and Katherine, 8 Apr. 1555, *Clan Campbell*, vi, 1-2. The other witnesses were Archibald, fourth earl of Argyll, Patrick, third Lord Ruthven, Donald Campbell, abbot of Coupar Angus, and Alexander Menzies of Rannoch.

⁵ For a full discussion of the workings of the earl's household and kin see my forthcoming study, *The Social, Economic and Legal Foundations of Campbell Power in Sixteenth-century Scotland*.

between Argyll and the Lowlands and it housed many of the earl's charters and other documents.¹ As its custodian, Carrick was automatically at the heart of Campbell affairs and in an excellent position to supply information to his friend Glenorchy. Although placed at the centre of events, Carrick was upset that he was not more closely involved in Clan Campbell decision-making. In one letter he noted bitterly that he was not one of Argyll's closest advisers or a member of his inner council—though this did not prevent him knowing what had happened in their meetings and passing the information to Colin (69).

One of Carrick's letters was more formal than usual and written primarily on the fifth earl's behalf (70). The other letters supplied Glenorchy with the latest news concerning Argyll's actions during the critical weeks at the end of 1565 when negotiations for a settlement after the Chase-about Raid were under way (see below, p. 51). Some of that news, and the advice which accompanied it, may not have been to the earl's liking and revealed disagreement within Campbell ranks. The importance of the political situation seems to have been the reason why these letters were written and retained. Due to their close friendship Carrick and Grey Colin probably did not write letters at other times, preferring to send verbal messages or meet in person.² The preservation of this particular interchange between two 'gossips' serves as a reminder that even close friendships would not automatically feature in the surviving correspondence and gives a rare insight into the amicable aspect of Grey Colin's nature.

Grey Colin's attitude towards written correspondence

The survival of Grey Colin's correspondence was not accidental. It formed part of a general concern with preserving records reflected throughout the massive Breadalbane collection. For Grey Colin the written word was a powerful tool. He initiated the process of consolidating and codifying the records held by the Glenorchy Campbells. As well as retaining the original deeds, he had his bonds of manrent entered into a book.³ He also encouraged Gavin Hamilton to begin the classification

¹ *Argyll: an Inventory of the Monuments*, 7 vols. (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, 1971–92), vii, 226–37.

² This might be the meaning of the enigmatic sentence at the start of Carrick's final letter: 'I will nocht wryit on to you bot efter my acqustomit maner quhilk is mor to subscriue' (75).

³ 'The buke of bandis of manrent service calpis and barnis part off gudis pertenying to Colyne Campbell of Genurquhay', GD112/24/1/2.

of the land charters in a cartulary.¹ Both processes were continued by Black Duncan and by his successors down to the twentieth century. Considerable time and effort were required to organise the documents, but the process was regarded as a valuable investment. Grey Colin and Black Duncan realised the huge potential of records as a lever to be employed against friend and enemy alike.

The care taken to preserve written evidence was an extreme manifestation of a general attitude within Clan Campbell. The Campbells were notorious for using documentation to their own advantage within a Gaelic society which still retained a predominantly oral and unwritten culture. As the MacDonald poet, Iain Lom, bitterly commented in the middle of the seventeenth century, 'The sharp stroke of short pens protects Argyll'.² In the sixteenth century at least, the Glenorchy branch of the Campbells outshone their fellow clansmen in this respect. Their use of charters in legal and quasi-legal ways became one of the methods employed to expand their land holdings. Influence and control were further increased by obtaining written bonds of manrent and a range of other contracts from their dependents. Notaries in Campbell employ, such as William Ramsay, Andrew Quhyte, John MacCorcadill and Gavin Hamilton, were always on hand to provide the due legal forms whenever necessary.³

The Glenorchy Campbells also had the habit of acquiring documents originally granted to other people, especially land charters.⁴ All this material was carefully stored in the confident assumption that one day it could be used to Campbell advantage. This attitude probably explains the existence within the Breadalbane collection of nineteen letters between third parties.⁵ They include letters which might legitimately

¹ GD112/5/2-3.

² Cited in W. Gillies, 'Some aspects of Campbell history', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 1 (1976-8), 256-95 at p. 267.

³ All of these notaries featured in Colin's book of bonds (GD112/24/1/2) as well as in other Breadalbane documents. Gavin Hamilton's protocol book can be found in the Breadalbane collection, GD112/5/8. Some of the more dubious methods used by Black Duncan such as forging charters were revealed by Gavin Hamilton when he broke with his former master: see Dr Horn's valuable 'Introduction' in the NAS Catalogue to the Breadalbane collection.

⁴ Many of the early charters listed under specific lands (GD112/2) were not granted to the family but refer to the period long before the Glenorchy Campbells acquired those lands.

⁵ In this context 'third party' means letters not sent or received by Grey Colin, Katherine or Black Duncan. Twelve such letters are printed (8-9, 99, 101-3, 105, 111, 114, 132, 175, 185).

have been sent to Grey Colin and been copied by him, though it is significant that he retained the originals and not the copies (e.g. 8, 111, 114). They also included letters from other members of Clan Campbell, particularly the earl of Argyll, to a third party (e.g. 9). What is surprising is the acquisition of letters between people with only slight links to Colin (e.g. 102, 185). Glenorchy's amazing success in gathering information indicates that, like a modern spymaster, he viewed information as an essential commodity and a powerful weapon.

Katherine Ruthven

Some of the most interesting correspondence in the Breadalbane muniments sheds light upon the remarkable personality and wide-ranging activities of Katherine Ruthven, the second wife of Grey Colin. Fifty of the letters written to her survive, all of which are included in the selection, but only two of her own drafts are extant.¹ A clear pattern emerges in the letters to Katherine. They fall into the same concentrated chronological periods as the whole collection. The year 1570 furnished thirty-one letters and there was a clutch of thirteen letters in 1565, eight of which were written between the last day of October and the end of the year. Both years witnessed crises for the Glenorchy Campbells and the letters to Katherine demonstrate how important she was in dealing with them (see below, pp. 49–55). The extant letters form only the tip of the iceberg of her correspondence.

Katherine's surviving correspondence reveals a woman who was extremely active in all of the affairs in which her husband was involved. Historians have tended to assume a subordinate and relatively passive role for Scottish noblewomen within early modern society. The evidence concerning Katherine's activities supports a much more positive assessment of the part they played in the sixteenth century. In particular, the political importance of a wife to her husband has been underestimated. Lady Glenorchy demonstrates just how vital a wife could be in securing her husband's political goals. As the daughter of a peer, it was her friendships with other members of the aristocracy and her own familiarity with the royal court which supplied Grey Colin with essential political links which he would otherwise have lacked. By working so well together as a team

¹ Six more letters from Katherine to Annas Keith, countess of Moray and Argyll, between 17 Nov. 1578 and 22 June 1583, survive in the Moray Papers: National Register of Archives (Scotland), 217. I am grateful to Linda Dunbar for bringing them to my attention and to the Earl of Moray for permission to consult his manuscripts.

Katherine and Grey Colin were able to achieve their political objectives. This rested upon a partnership between husband and wife which was more equal than usual given contemporary social theory. It was built upon a harmonious and long-lasting marriage which appears to have derived from a genuine personal affection between the couple.

As Katherine's experience demonstrates, there were considerable opportunities for noblewomen to exercise their organisational and political talents. Being the wife of an important laird, Katherine was expected to run and supply a large noble household. It moved between a number of residences which ranged from the castles of Argyll and Breadalbane to the town house in Perth.¹ Her normal responsibility for all the domestic arrangements included every aspect of the generous hospitality which noble households were expected to provide. It was Katherine, and not her husband, who was held responsible by Argyll for what he regarded as a lapse in hospitality (94, and see above, p. 14). One interesting dimension of Katherine's overall responsibility for the household and hospitality was her ability to supply hawks for her friends in the Lowlands (e.g. 113). Such a service was in considerable demand as Highland hawks were particularly prized (102).

Scottish noblemen moved frequently between their own castles and other residences, to and from court, and on extended visits to their friends. Although wives often accompanied their husbands on such peacetime journeys they would remain at home during the periods of fighting which were an intermittent feature of mid sixteenth-century Scottish life. During the absences of the male head of the house, which could be protracted, the wife would take charge of the whole household. For Katherine this meant an extension of her domestic responsibilities to cover any type of business which needed attention. Among many other tasks, this included dealing with all the incoming and outgoing correspondence. To do this efficiently required a knowledge of, and role within, regional, and national, politics. The letters reveal that Katherine was an extremely able political operator in her own right.

Katherine was the second daughter of William, second Lord Ruthven, and Janet Haliburton, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Patrick Haliburton of Dirleton. She was one of a family of twelve, with five brothers and six sisters. Her extensive family network stretched throughout Perthshire and into Angus and Fife. Katherine was raised in the oddly-designed

¹ Some idea of what this involved in terms of supplies and furnishings can be gained from the household accounts of the end of the century: GD112/23/20-2; printed extracts in *BBT*, 265-351.

twin tower-houses of Ruthven Castle (now Huntingtower) just outside Perth. The Ruthvens were a substantial Perthshire family who took an important part in national politics and who had wrested the provostship of Perth from their rivals, the Gray family. From the 1540s the family had developed strong Anglophile and Protestant associations which Katherine seems to have imbibed. Along with her brothers and sisters, Katherine benefited from a good education which equipped her with reading and writing skills and encouraged her sharp and perceptive mind.¹

Probably 20 or even 30 years younger than the widowed Grey Colin, Katherine married him on 28 January 1551, shortly after he had succeeded as laird of Glenorchy.² The marriage lasted over 30 years and produced eight surviving children: four sons and four daughters. Katherine's fecundity re-established the lineage of the house of Glenorchy. As a mature adult in his early thirties, Black Duncan, Katherine and Grey Colin's eldest son, succeeded his father in 1583, thus avoiding all the problems of a minority or an inexperienced heir.³ By providing such firm dynastic foundations, especially the safeguard of four sons, Katherine had fulfilled the central function of her marriage, thereby enhancing the honour of both the houses of Ruthven and Glenorchy. Although the dates of the births of her children are not known, nor whether she had any other children who died in infancy, Katherine must have spent much of the first 20 years of her marriage either pregnant or recovering from childbirth. This is precisely the same period as that covered by the letters, which makes the time and energy Katherine devoted to her political and other activities all the more impressive.⁴ She survived her husband by about a year, dying sometime between 31 October 1583 and 20 June 1584.⁵ To her marriage Katherine brought a tocher, or dowry, of £1,000 Scots and, of more enduring importance, an alliance with the family of a Scottish

¹ Katherine's educational attainments and her commitment to Protestantism are indicated by the only one of her books to be recorded, a 1560 edition of Sleidan's *Chronicles: BBT*, p. v.

² Regrant of lands to both Grey Colin and Katherine, 15 June 1551: *ATV*, 6; *RMS*, iv, 616. The beautifully embroidered set of bed valances made to celebrate the marriage have survived: Burrell Collection, Glasgow, 29/181-3.

³ Black Duncan was probably born around 1551-2.

⁴ I am grateful for this and other points to Patricia Johnston, who is currently researching the life of Katherine Ruthven.

⁵ Katherine was alive to make a contract with John MacCorcadill regarding the teinds of Killin on 31 Oct. 1583: *GD112/51/98/8*. By 20 June 1584, those teinds were being leased to Black Duncan: *GD112/51/98/9*. A later lawsuit, which stated that Katherine died in Sept. 1580, must be incorrect: 25 Jan. 1588, Register of Acts and Decrees, *CS7/114 fo. 64*.

lord, the social superiors of the Glenorchy Campbells.¹ The match also brought Grey Colin a new network of contacts in the Lowlands, and access to court. His links to one of the leading Protestant aristocratic families strengthened his own religious stance and in the 1550s created an important alignment of Protestant nobles joined by marriage who acted together in the Reformation crisis (see below, pp. 40–1, 47–8).²

Katherine and Grey Colin appear to have worked well together as a team. They were different personalities which added to their effectiveness. Compared to Grey Colin's dour and difficult character, Katherine was warm and friendly and inspired great affection among her correspondents. However, there are hints that they deliberately cultivated the combination of a gentle and tough approach and skilfully used it to their advantage. The social conventions of the husband as the master and dominant partner were preserved, but in practice this was a remarkably equal partnership. When it suited her, Katherine was quite prepared to use the excuse of the obedient wife consulting her husband before taking action (178). She was equally prepared to act on her own initiative and judgement. At the end of October 1565, for example, she wrote directly to her friends without troubling to check with her absent husband when she heard that Grey Colin had been summoned to Edinburgh. She then travelled to court herself to rally support (see below, p. 50).

Fragments of two draft letters written by Grey Colin to Katherine give some insight into their partnership. They were sent from Ilnan (Killin) where Grey Colin was based in the summer of 1570 and directed to Balloch Castle where Katherine remained in relative safety with her children. In the midst of the business matters and the practical requests for supplies of malt, wine, candles, paper, wax and the signet stamp to be sent urgently, there were some personal touches. On 16 August, because there was no immediate danger from the MacGregors, Grey Colin asked Katherine to travel up to see him at the west end of Loch Tay. The visit would be short and on this occasion Katherine should leave their daughter, little Margaret, at home (138). By 22 September Grey Colin was optimistic

¹ Receipt for part of tocher, 5/7 Mar. 1556, *Clan Campbell*, vi, 3.

² Grey Colin had been one of the Campbells who had supported John Knox during his visit in 1555–6 and had tried hard to persuade the preacher to remain in Scotland. He was also one of the Protestant lairds to attend the Reformation Parliament, Knox, *History*, i, 123; *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, 12 vols., eds. T. Thomson & C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1814–75), ii, 526; J. Dawson, 'Clan, kin and Kirk: the Campbells and the Scottish Reformation', in S. Amos et al. (eds.), *The Education of a Christian Society: Humanism and the Reformation in Britain and the Netherlands* (Aldershot, 1999), 225–8; 234–6.

enough that the feud would soon be over to tell Katherine to 'tret your self and your barnis', ending the letter with a direct 'God bless yoe' and signing from 'youris husband' (163).

The other letters in the collection reinforce and expand this impression of Grey Colin and Katherine acting in partnership. When he was away from their main residence at Balloch Castle, she handled all the correspondence, acting on her own judgement in some matters and sending on other letters and news to her husband (e.g. 58, 167). Even when they were together, Katherine managed a great deal of the incoming and outgoing correspondence herself (e.g. 40). It is clear that all the matters raised in the letters were shared and discussed by the husband and wife team. Knowing this, their correspondents were sometimes able to save themselves the trouble of writing more than once (155). As Argyll explained to Grey Colin, 'becaus we haiff derekit ane vther lettir to your bedfallow it is nocht necessar that we truble yow with langer letter becaus ye will be participant off the contentis of the vther letter'.¹

The volume of Katherine's correspondence must have been considerable, though most has not survived. Nearly all of the existing letters to Katherine mention a letter recently received from her and also assume that she will send a reply or forward news or copies of other correspondence in the near future (e.g. 28, 59, 113, 155, 162, 167, 170). In a number of instances a writer sent separate letters penned on the same day to Grey Colin and to Katherine, dealing with similar business but from slightly different angles. Comparing these parallel letters reveals that the tone when writing to Katherine was warmer than to Grey Colin.² The addresses on the dorse of the letters provide a further indication of the warmth which Katherine inspired. The earl of Argyll wrote to his 'luffing ant' (37) and Patrick Murray to his special aunt (113), while John Carswell called Katherine his special friend (136), and James Douglas, fourth earl of Morton, regarded her as his very good and special friend (76). Even an erstwhile enemy, Ewin MacGregor, addressed Katherine as 'ane honorabill woman and ane weilbelovit maistres' (177).

The ease and familiarity which Katherine brought to her relationships was illustrated in the humorous nickname which John, earl of Atholl, coined for her. In three of his letters to Grey Colin he sent his commendations to 'my ewil tennent Keit' (80, 100, 110). Katherine held

¹ 2 Oct. 1570, GD112/39/11/1.

² For example, Patrick, third Lord Ruthven, to Katherine and Grey Colin, 31 Oct. 1565 (55, 56); William Maitland of Lethington to Katherine and Grey Colin, 2 Aug. 1570 (126; GD112/39/9/3); William, fourth Lord Ruthven, to Katherine and Grey Colin, 19 Sept. 1570 (155, 156).

various lands from Atholl in her own right and the nickname probably originated in that connection. In a period when the use of Christian names was highly unusual, the earl of Argyll and John Campbell of Carrick also felt on sufficiently close terms to refer simply to 'Kayt' in some of their letters.¹ It was noticeable how many of Grey Colin's correspondents made a special point of sending their greetings to Katherine, usually calling her simply 'your bedfallow' (e.g. 35).

Her correspondence with William Maitland of Lethington

The most intriguing section of Katherine's correspondence is the letters written by William Maitland of Lethington. He was secretary to Mary, queen of Scots, and probably the ablest politician and statesman of this period.² The profound trust between Katherine and Maitland was demonstrated in his role as negotiator for the Atholl marriage (see below, pp. 32-34), but it was clearly present long before 1570. The eight surviving letters which Maitland wrote to Katherine indicate a deep friendship and affection between them; unfortunately there are no surviving letters the other way (77, 85, 86, 88, 104, 126, 129, 131). They display a degree of informality and closeness which was unusual in the sixteenth century, particularly between a man and woman each married to someone else.³ This might have been the result of a friendship which had existed since childhood, but the lack of biographical details for Katherine's early life makes this impossible to document.

What is clear is that the two friends enjoyed each other's company and Maitland made a point of visiting Katherine at Balloch Castle. He was upset when he had to break his promise of a 'renduevee' because of the need to ride secretly to speak to the earl of Atholl (85). He assured Katherine, 'the first voyage I take out off this place I trust salbe towardis yow' (86). Maitland promised a year later that he was coming to visit Katherine and this time he would remain long enough for her to weary of his company: 'I sall nocht fail to vesie yow and tare quhill ye be tyrit'

¹ Gossip (Carrick) (71); fifth earl, 16 Dec. 1570 and 20 May 1571, GD112/39/11/21 & 13/3.

² Though there have been a number of biographies of Maitland, the only study to use these letters is M. Loughlin, 'The career of Maitland of Lethington, c. 1526-73' (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 1991). It is hoped that Dr Loughlin's work will shortly be published.

³ In an age of arranged alliances, Maitland's marriage in 1567 to Mary Fleming after a long wooing was singled out as a love-match: G. Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men: Power and Politics in Mary Stewart's Scotland* (London, 1983), 58-9.

(88). In the summer of 1570 Maitland explained to Katherine that he had willingly taken on the role of matchmaker for the Atholl marriage because he believed it to be in the best interests of two noble houses to which he was deeply attached. He would be in a difficult position if a dispute should arise between Atholl and Glenorchy, because he was 'so far behaldin to yow bayth' (126).

Although Maitland both declared himself to be, and acted as, a good friend to Grey Colin, his letters to the laird have none of this warmth. It was Katherine to whom he chose to address his wide-ranging promises of support and commitment to herself and to her house. He confessed to her, 'I beleive ye knaw quhat puissance ye haiff owyr me and giff ony thing be negleckit on my part that ye wald haiff me doand it fallit rather in your defalt that puttis me nocht to charge nor it nather that salbe willing to obey as ye will command' (104). Earlier, when Katherine had upbraided him for not employing her on his behalf, Maitland had declared, 'ye may be assurit that thair is nane sib nor freindis in Scotland that I will cherge mair hamelie nor yow' (88), and signed his letters 'youris alwayes to be commandit' (86). Too much should not be read into these protestations. Maitland and Katherine were more likely to have been good friends than secret lovers.

Glenorchy marriage negotiations

One positive way which Maitland found to demonstrate his friendship was to act as a matchmaker for Katherine's eldest son, Black Duncan. Securing suitable marriage alliances was one of the most important components in a noble family's strategy and frequently made the difference between the long-term success or failure of the house. Marriages were designed first and foremost to promote the interests of the lineage. When considering a prospective partner, although the personal feelings of the intended bride and groom were not disregarded, the couple were expected to give priority to the needs of their respective houses. The internalisation of such concepts made noblemen and noblewomen assume that, especially in their first marriage, their main duty was to serve their family.

Since it was essentially an alliance between two lineages, marriage negotiations were conducted between the senior members of the houses, rather than the couple themselves. The marriage of two members of the nobility entailed far more than the religious ceremony making the couple man and wife. It also involved an assortment of legal agreements concerning the transfer of money and land between the two houses. The bride's family would provide her with a tocher, normally in cash and

paid in instalments. In exchange, the groom's family would settle land, the wife's terce, or third, upon the bride. Other provisions concerning future offspring were often included as part of the contract. In many instances the need for an alliance was more pressing than the need for the actual marriage. Negotiations for a match could take place when the couple were far too young to marry, sometimes only shortly after they had been born, and an ante-nuptial contract would be agreed. In subsequent years such contracts were frequently abandoned when circumstances had altered and alliances with other houses seemed more attractive.

The importance of marriage alliances for noble lineages has led to the assumption that the predominant role in the negotiations was played by the male head of the house. These letters demonstrate that Katherine in particular, and probably Scottish noblewomen in general, were more active in the negotiations than has hitherto been realised. Katherine appears not only to have taken the initiative over the marriage of her eldest son, the Glenorchy heir, but also to have been the prime mover for most of the negotiations. There is some evidence that Grey Colin was mostly concerned with the financial and legal details and Katherine with her children's welfare and relationships. However, advice was given directly to Lady Glenorchy about the size of the tocher, and a joint commission to treat, signed by both Katherine and Grey Colin, was required by the matchmakers before the formal negotiations could begin.

The letters provide rare and fascinating details of the actual conduct of the negotiations for two of the marriages of the Glenorchy children. One marriage was an all-Campbell match between Anne, fourth daughter of Katherine and Grey Colin, and John, the son of James Campbell, sixth laird of Ardkinglas. As they were both young children when the contract was negotiated in 1570-1, the marriage was not solemnised until 29 March 1586. The other concerned an alliance with the earl of Atholl through the betrothal of Black Duncan and Atholl's third daughter, Jean Stewart, which took place in Dunkeld in November 1573. Two other marriages of Katherine and Grey Colin's children were negotiated before 1583, although there is no trace of them in the correspondence. On 24 May 1574 their daughter Margaret was betrothed to James Cunningham, grandson of the fourth earl of Glencairn; they were married in Perth on 5 September 1574.¹ Archibald, their fourth son, was betrothed to Margaret, daughter of Andrew Toscheoch of Monzie, in August 1581.² After the

¹ RMS, iv, 2254; GD112/25/36-9. The marriage date is given in Scot's transcript of the Perth Marriage Registers, printed in *Northern Notes and Queries*, iv (1890), 40.

² 22, 24 Aug. 1581, GD112/25/40.

death of his parents, it was left to Black Duncan to negotiate marriages for the remainder of his younger brothers and sisters.

In the Atholl and Ardkinglas marriages trusted intermediaries were employed between the two main parties and it is their correspondence which has survived. It is not clear precisely why 1570 was chosen as the moment to propose an alliance between the Campbells of Ardkinglas and Glenorchy. The intended bride and groom were both young children, so the marriage could not be solemnised for a decade or so at the earliest.¹ The idea might have come from Ardkinglas who would have been anxious to secure a future wife for his only child and heir apparent. He naturally looked to the senior Glenorchy branch of his own wife's family, the Campbells of Lawers. This shift in the choice of a marriage partner for his heir from the cadet to the main branch of the house of Glenorchy reflected James's own enhanced status. He had been promoted from the minor lairdship of Drongie to become head of the important Campbell house of Ardkinglas, succeeding his uncle in 1563. Although still relatively uncommon among the major Campbell cadet families, such endogamous marriages were becoming more frequent among Campbell kin.² Whoever initiated the negotiations, an inter-Campbell alliance was of significance to the whole of the clan and to its chief, Argyll. The match would need his approval and it was natural for him to act as the matchmaker. He was assisted by John Carswell, the leading Protestant cleric in the Highlands and a member of the Gaelic learned orders who traditionally performed the role of negotiators.³ Carswell had strong links with Grey Colin and was also on amicable terms with Katherine (136). Through his own marriage to Margaret Campbell, the sister of Ardkinglas, Carswell was

¹ John was the son of James Campbell of Ardkinglas and Elizabeth Campbell, daughter of James second laird of Lawers. They had been married in Perth on 20 Oct. 1564. In the Ardkinglas *History*, Elizabeth's death is given as 1568. John could only have been c. 5 years old at the time of the negotiations. Anne could have been a little older, but not much.

² In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries endogamous marriages were common among the lesser Campbell families whilst the major cadets were marrying into other kindreds. This pattern appears to have changed towards the end of the sixteenth century: J. Dawson, 'The ties that bind: Campbell marriage strategies in the early modern period' (unpublished paper given to the Conference of Scottish Medievalists, Pitlochry, 1990). I am grateful to Alastair Campbell of Airds for sharing his knowledge of Campbell marriage strategies with me.

³ A few years earlier two Irish bards, MacNamara and O'Gneave or Agnew, were sent to the earl of Argyll by Turlough Luineach O'Neill to negotiate the marriage between Turlough and Lady Agnes Campbell, widow of James MacDonald of Dunivaig, 29 Nov. 1567: *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1509-73*, ed. H. Hamilton (London, 1860), 352 (36(i)).

the uncle of the proposed groom.

Although they had received separate letters on the subject from Grey Colin and Katherine, probably outlining different aspects of the marriage conditions, Argyll and John Carswell replied to Katherine alone (170). The terms had already been discussed and approved by the earl's council (169, 170). Ardkinglas himself had been content with the proposals which made Argyll's and Carswell's task simple. A final agreement between the two Campbell families having been reached, the ante-nuptial contract was signed several months later on 23 July 1571.¹

The negotiations over the Atholl marriage had a trickier passage. More was at stake for Grey Colin and Katherine because this was the marriage of the house's heir. The Glenorchys pursued a common noble strategy of seeking to marry their eldest son to a woman of higher social status. Grey Colin had accomplished this task through his own marriage to Katherine. From their point of view there was a strong case for concluding a marriage alliance for Black Duncan with a daughter of the house of Atholl. Grey Colin's own mother was the daughter of the third earl, making the fourth earl his cousin. As well as renewing these blood ties, a marriage would bring a closer alliance with the most powerful magnate in the Perthshire region. It would confirm the eastward-looking orientation of the Glenorchy Campbells and assist in plans for further expansion in that direction.

The marriage had parallel, though less compelling, advantages for Atholl because it would maintain blood links and renew a political alliance with his friends and relatives the Glenorchy Campbells. He had five daughters for whom to find suitable husbands and provide tochers. In common with the usual practice among the early modern Scottish nobility, Atholl was free to use the marriages of his daughters to expand and strengthen his national and regional powerbase. As an ancient and powerful peer, he was in the fortunate position of being able to choose the best option rather than having to seek out candidates. Apart from Jean who wed Black Duncan, Atholl's other daughters all married members of the Scottish peerage.²

¹ 23 July 1571: GD112/25/31-33, 37. Other contracts, 28 Apr. 1571: GD112/25/29-30; GD112/1/197a; *Clan Campbell*, vi, 23-4. Marriage contract confirmed in 1583: GD112/25/41, 45-51. Marriage solemnised on 29 Mar. 1586: GD112/23/2/10-11; *Clan Campbell*, vi, 47.

² Elizabeth first married Hugh Fraser, sixth Lord Lovat, then Robert Stewart, earl of Lennox and March, then Captain James Stewart, later created earl of Arran; Margaret married George Fraser, seventh lord Saltoun; Grizel married David Lindsay, eleventh earl of Crawford; and Mary was contracted to Francis Hay, ninth earl of Errol: *Scots Peerage*, i, 444-5.

Katherine and Grey Colin were more supplicants than equals when they approached Atholl. The idea originated with Lady Glenorchy who first suggested the possibility to William Maitland of Lethington. During the winter of 1566-7 she had asked that skilled diplomat to 'feill my Lorde of Athollis mynde in the besines ye knaw'. Maitland duly broached the subject with Atholl, to whom he was related since the two men had married the sisters, Mary and Margaret Fleming (see Appendix C, no. 5). He reported that the earl was as favourable to the idea as Katherine was herself and believed that it could succeed (88). However, things moved slowly because a group of Atholl's friends and advisers opposed the alliance. They objected to the creation of such a strong link between the Atholl Stewarts and the Glenorchy Campbells. They might also have stressed the social disadvantage of the earl's daughter marrying the son of a laird, even as prominent and important a laird as Glenorchy.

It is not clear whether the objectors were successful in delaying matters or whether other factors intervened. The subject does not re-emerge in the correspondence until the start of August 1570, when relations between Grey Colin and Atholl were at their lowest point after the slaughter of some of Atholl's men by Grey Colin's troops. This 'mischance', as Maitland discreetly phrased it, provided an opportunity for those opposed to the marriage to argue against it. Maitland lamented that if the marriage had already been settled then such incidents could have been smoothed over and the friendship easily preserved instead of being put in jeopardy. He therefore urged that the alliance be concluded as rapidly as possible (129).

Maitland also reported his and his wife's impressions of the prospective bride.¹ Mary Fleming, Maitland's wife, had been able to discuss the matter with her own sister, Margaret, the second wife of the earl of Atholl. The countess was fond of her step-daughter whom she treated as if she 'wer her awin barne dochter'. This made her anxious to secure a good marriage for the girl. The care taken over these inquiries into the personal behaviour and habits of the prospective bride indicates the importance attached to the suitability and mutual compatibility of the couple. This aspect of a marriage appears to have been regarded as the province of the senior female members of the two houses, in this case, Katherine and the countess of Atholl. At this stage attention was fixed upon Margaret Stewart, Atholl's second daughter by his first wife, Elizabeth Gordon. In the event it was Margaret's younger sister Jean who actually married Black Duncan. Such

¹ The water damage to Maitland's letter has obscured some key words concerning the investigations (129).

changes were not unusual in noble marriage alliances, especially between ante-nuptial and final contracts. Whatever the reason for the substitution of Jean for Margaret, the exact choice of daughters was of less significance for Grey Colin and Katherine than the fact of the alliance itself.

Although Maitland was the chief negotiator, Atholl's right-hand man, William Stewart of Grandtully, played an important role as well. Through his own marriage to Isabella Stewart, Atholl's sister, he was also one of the earl's brothers-in-law. Grandtully's task was to travel between the two principal parties sorting out the details of the marriage settlement. He advised the Glenorchys that they should ask for a tocher of 4,000 merks. This was assessed in relation to the current noble marriage market, being slightly less than the 4,500 merks which William Murray, eleventh laird of Tullibardine, had obtained at his son's marriage.¹ In return the Glenorchys should offer a dower portion or conjunct fee, 'accordyng to the custome of Scotland as is usit among nobil men'. As for all the other details, Grandtully assured Katherine that they were best left to that wily and experienced negotiator, Maitland (137).

By the middle of August 1570 the matchmakers were anxious to conclude the negotiations. As Grandtully pointed out, if the marriage of her eldest son were delayed, it would create possible dangers for Katherine and her children. Maitland wanted to move swiftly to the formal negotiations over the marriage contract, a process which resembled the diplomatic procedures of an international marriage between two ruling dynasties. To proceed he required a written commission signed, interestingly, by both Colin and Katherine, along with an explicit written statement and an oral elaboration of acceptable terms (131, 132). Maitland was convinced that Katherine must persuade her husband to make this essential final step and his faith in her 'travell' and 'discretoun' seems to have been justified (131). Katherine wrote to Grey Colin who was then in Ilanran (Killin), and he agreed to 'byde ferme and stebill' to their purpose over the alliance. With no more references to the marriage negotiations in the correspondence the last stages of the process remain a mystery. However, they were successfully completed and the marriage contract was signed in Dunkeld on 18 November 1573.²

It is unusual to be able to follow the progress of a marriage negotiation

¹ This was probably the marriage between John Murray, Tullibardine's eldest son and heir, and Katherine, daughter of David, second Lord Drummond, and Lilius Ruthven, who was Katherine's niece and possibly her god-daughter. That marriage was solemnised before 20 Dec. 1576, but had been negotiated by the summer of 1570: *RMS*, iv, 2607.

² 18-20 Nov. 1573, GD112/25/34-5; *RMS*, iv, 2200; 2253; GD112/2/77/7-8; 5 Mar. 1574, GD112/1/851; 888.

in sixteenth-century Scotland and to witness the crucial contribution of a noblewoman. All but one of the letters which mention the Atholl alliance were written to Katherine (133). She was not merely the instigator or a behind-the-scenes manipulator. When the time came to proceed with formal negotiations Maitland required his commission to be signed by Katherine as well as Colin so that he could present their case to the countess and earl of Atholl. The favourable attitude of the countess towards the marriage of her step-daughter was also regarded as significant. This suggests that all noblewomen, and not just the more assertive ones like Katherine, were central figures in the establishment of marriage alliances. In a parallel situation, it was Annabella Murray, countess of Mar, rather than her husband, who organised the guardianship of her daughter, Mary (189). Even when marriages broke down, the views of noblewomen were of consequence. In the difficult and protracted negotiations surrounding her divorce, Jean Stewart, countess of Argyll, left her kinsman, Atholl, in little doubt concerning her own attitude (111).¹ Such pointers indicate that Scottish noblewomen were probably a major force in the development and implementation of noble family strategies and that their contribution has been seriously underestimated.

Grey Colin's networks

One of the keys to the spectacular success of Clan Campbell was their ability to work equally effectively within both the Highlands and the Lowlands. They moved between these different social and political worlds with ease, exploiting their role as bridges between and power brokers within the two societies. They also showed great, and frequently ruthless, skill in employing the resources and techniques of one world against the other. The Glenorchy Campbells were masters of these arts and had expanded rapidly and successfully from the Campbell heartland of Argyll eastwards into Breadalbane. The first laird of Glenorchy was Sir Colin Campbell, the younger son of Duncan Campbell of Lochawe, first Lord Campbell, and Margaret Stewart, daughter of the duke of Albany.² He received the lands of Glenorchy in 1432 and built Kilchurn Castle at the top of Loch Awe. His marriage to Janet Stewart, eldest of the three

¹ Cf. J. Dawson, 'The Protestant earl and godly Gael: the fifth earl of Argyll (c. 1538-1573) and the Scottish Reformation', in D. Wood (ed.), *Life and Thought in the Northern Church, c. 1100-c. 1700* (Woodbridge, 1999), 337-63 at pp. 358-62.

² *BBT*, 9-14; *Scots Peerage*, ii, 175-8.

daughters and co-heiresses of John, Lord Lorne, gave him a third of the lands of Lorn. In 1473 he was granted by the crown the barony of Lawers on Loch Tay which indicated the direction of future expansion by the Glenorchy Campbells.

Their dramatic spread eastwards was assisted by the close co-operation of the MacGregors who were based in Glen Strae adjacent to Glen Orchy.¹ Together these neighbours moved across the massive Drumalban range into Glen Lyon and up Glen Dochart to Loch Tay and its surrounds, eventually expanding through the whole of Breadalbane (see Map 1). By Grey Colin's time, the Glenorchys had moved their main base to the easternmost point of their lands at Balloch Castle at the east end of Loch Tay. In their expansion they had employed the military power of Clan Gregor, alongside the more peaceful means of marriage alliances, bonds and land transactions. An essential ingredient of their success was the creation and maintenance of a wide range of contacts. This included both a vertical line of contacts down through the social levels and a horizontal breadth encompassing social equals and superiors across a broad geographical and political spectrum. The listing of the correspondents of the letters (Appendix B) provides an impression of the number and variety of Grey Colin's contacts.

The geographical patterns of Grey Colin's contacts give a key to understanding his success. Although based in Breadalbane and making that his primary concern, Grey Colin by no means restricted himself to that region. His network stretched right across Scotland in a broad corridor from the Argyll coast in the west to Perth in the east and also, crucially, into the royal court itself. Despite the expansion of the Glenorchy Campbells into Breadalbane, their interest in their ancestral lands of Glen Orchy and in Lorn affairs never flagged. Grey Colin was determined to preserve his influence in the Argyll heartland, relying upon the MacDougalls of Dunollie as his main agents (4, 108, 150) and to a lesser extent upon the Stewarts of Appin (109, 164). As well as political and military power in the area, Grey Colin wanted to keep ecclesiastical patronage within his grasp.² His close relationship with John Carswell, superintendent of Argyll and bishop of the Isles, was important here (154). Grey Colin also employed the Lorn learned orders and clergy as his servants and agents, especially the medical family of the MacLachlans

¹ MacGregor, 'MacGregors', chs. 2-3.

² On 25 Mar. 1553 the fourth earl of Argyll and Grey Colin made an agreement dividing the ecclesiastical patronage of Lorn between them: GD112/1/837; AT V, 212.

of Craiginterve (169, 172, 173).¹ In one case the parson of Lochawe, Neil Malcolm, appears to have been spying on his behalf (10).

His Lorn base made Grey Colin interested in events in the Isles, particularly the Inner Hebrides. He was on good terms with the MacLeans of Duart and received news of happenings on the west coast and islands (e.g. 68).² The region north of Lorn, especially Lochaber, was an important arena for Grey Colin's contacts and political manoeuvrings. There were tensions in his relations with the Stewarts of Appin and the Camerons of Lochiel, though he employed the leader of a cadet branch, Donald McEwan Cameron, as one of his military captains (127, 130). When he was at feud with his former military partners, the MacGregors, Grey Colin was forced to cast his net wider for military assistance and was ready to hire the services of the MacDonalds of Keppoch and of Glencoe (52).

Grey Colin was trying to consolidate his hold over Breadalbane and his relations with his immediate neighbours were tense and sometimes hostile. The long-running rivalry with Menzies of Weem added an abrasive edge to both of Grey Colin's letters to James Menzies (21, 194). Their latent hostility spilled over into a bitter dispute which found its way to the privy council in 1580 (198-200). However, although there are many references to Breadalbane problems in the letters, there are few letters from its inhabitants, partly because personal contact between the parties was so regular.

The Glenorchy Campbells' push eastwards had brought them to the borders of the traditional zone of influence of the earls of Atholl. Through his mother Grey Colin was Atholl's cousin, and the two men became personal friends. Their correspondence indicates how closely they worked together.³ Blood and marriage ties brought Grey Colin into contact with other Perthshire lairds, such as the Murrays both of Tullibardine and of Tibbermuir (Appendix C, no. 6). These links were reinforced by his marriage to Katherine which brought an alliance with the extensive Ruthven family whose influence was based upon Perth and its environs (Appendix C, no. 7). With its combination of Highland and Lowland territories, acceptance into the regional politics of Perthshire gave Grey Colin strong Lowland connections. Friendships cemented during the

¹ J. Bannerman, 'The MacLachlans of Kilbride and their manuscripts', *Scottish Studies*, xxi (1977), 1-34.

² Letter from Hector Mor MacLean of Duart to Grey Colin, c. 1555-6, GD112/39/1/4.

³ This should include most of William Stewart of Grandtully's letters because he was normally acting as the earl's secretary (e.g. 89).

Reformation crisis proved important in widening his links with figures of national importance. Lord James Stewart, earl of Moray, James Douglas, fourth earl of Morton, and even James Hamilton, duke of Châtelherault, were warm correspondents (1, 2, 16, 45-6, 50, 76, 157). The personal friendship between Katherine and William Maitland of Lethington, the queen's secretary, is striking (see above, p. 28). At a lower social level, many court officials such as John MacGill of Nether Rankeillour, clerk register (15), John Fenton, comptroller clerk (202), and John Wood, Moray's secretary (40), were all willing to provide information or assistance to Katherine or Grey Colin.

The written link with the royal court was particularly vital for Grey Colin. Unusually for an ambitious laird, Glenorchy was a reluctant traveller to Edinburgh. He relied instead upon the visits to court of his wife, for example in 1565 (see below, p. 52), or his older sons, Black Duncan and Colin of Ardbeich (e.g. 199, 201). He was also dependent upon the news and help he received from his clan chief and from his relations, particularly Atholl and the third and fourth Lords Ruthven, as well as other friends. Without such assistance at the centre, Grey Colin's local influence would have been severely diminished. By means of his numerous powerful contacts, Grey Colin was usually able to keep the court on his side during the feud with the MacGregors which permitted him to utilise royal authority against them (see below, pp. 57-60).

The structure of politics

The Breadalbane letters lay bare a vertical section through the three layers of the kingdom's politics, national, regional and local revealing how the political mechanisms functioned between the interlocking levels. The variety of correspondents in the Breadalbane collection, ranging from magnates to lesser lairds and servitors, illuminate the different perspectives to be found within each of these layers.

Sixteenth-century Scotland comprised an aggregate of small enclosed communities rather than a single unified state. Although the kingdom possessed central political, administrative, financial and judicial institutions, their authority was limited and did not stretch evenly across the realm. The church was the only institution with a fully comprehensive national organisation. The crown relied primarily upon its own personal authority and utilised the Scottish magnates to implement its policies. Until the changes brought by the reforms of James VI's personal reign, political power remained decentralised, being retained at local, as well as regional, levels. Poor communications and substantial natural barriers, such as

mountain ranges, firths and river valleys, helped keep Scotland's different regions separate and preserved their distinct identities. This ensured that the regional and local levels of politics were not dominated by the national sphere. Within Scotland, political power was more evenly balanced between the three spheres than in many other sixteenth-century European states.

These three layers together constituted the structure of Scottish politics and linked the locality to the centre through a series of personal networks. All parties gained from such connections. Magnates secured an affinity which would support them in their civil and military affairs. Lairds and servitors consolidated their own regional and local power and gained access to the rewards and advancement to be obtained from the centre. To be able to operate successfully at the national level magnates relied upon a secure local and regional powerbase. Great aristocrats drew their military and most of their political strength from their regional networks rather than their central or court offices. They needed to be able to work with and through the local lairds. This meant that they had to keep abreast of local issues. In turn the lairds needed the assistance of the magnates to gain access to the royal court and to central institutions, such as the council or law courts. Only within this national arena could the fruits of patronage be secured and certain categories of business transacted. The lairds themselves were primarily concerned with the politics of their own regions. Within that sphere they pursued their own struggles for superiority as well as acting as the agents for the government and the magnates. The smaller lairds and other noble servitors operated as the eyes and ears of the magnates and major lairds, and the executors of their decisions at the local level. In return for their service, they received smaller, but still coveted, benefits of the patronage system. The vertical clientage network was linked by a chain of mutual interest which was firmly underpinned by the ties of kin, alliance and service. The combination of obligations and benefits ensured that the three levels remained firmly interlocked.

It was a system within which loyalty, and the rewards which sustained it, had to flow both downwards and upwards. This was essential to maintain the relationships between lords and their affinities; the service of followers was only given in return for good lordship and the benefits which that conferred. The same two-way movement was apparent over political issues. The letters demonstrate how major crises in national politics affected the life of the regions and localities. Such events as the war of the Congregation in 1559-60, the Chase-about Raid of 1565 and the civil wars, particularly in 1570, had a direct effect upon the region of Perthshire and the central Highlands (see below, pp. 49-57). In a similar way local or

regional feuds and disputes could develop into national issues. The letters provide ample testimony of how the MacGregor feud did so. In a less dramatic manner another feud, that between Reidheugh and Murray in 1571, demonstrates how local disputes quickly drew in national figures (see below, pp. 57-62).

A region's politics were not only connected vertically to the centre above and the localities below but intersected with neighbouring areas. It is impossible to draw simple geographical boundaries between political regions. The regions of Perthshire and Argyll constituted zones of influence rather than separate territories, jurisdictions or administrative units, though all of these influenced the smooth running of the region. Although shires were important within Scottish politics, they were not sufficiently dominant to produce self-contained county communities, of the kind so familiar in early modern English history. The letters in this collection cover an extensive geographical area (see Maps 1 & 2) with their focus upon two zones of regional politics: Perthshire and the central Highlands, and Argyll with the western Highlands. Colin Campbell of Glenorchy played a prominent role in both areas.

Perthshire

The northern part of Perthshire was dominated by the earl of Atholl. He controlled Atholl, whose ancient geographical and political identity would survive into the eighteenth century and beyond.¹ In the 1560s and 1570s John Stewart, fourth earl of Atholl, was the most important magnate in Perthshire and played a major role in national politics. Patrick, third Lord Ruthven, and his son William, fourth Lord Ruthven, were able to combine a prominent position at court with extensive influence within the shire based upon their control over the burgh of Perth. The Murrays of Tullibardine, father and son both called William, were also prominent at court. The eleventh laird exploited his office of comptroller to enhance his authority in the locality. Although rarely at court himself, Grey Colin's vast territorial holding within Breadalbane made him a significant player in regional politics. William Stewart of Grandtully's considerable importance within the shire was derived from his role as the earl of Atholl's 'man of business'.

During this period the southern districts of Strathearn and Menteith in Perthshire were under the influence of John Graham, fourth earl of Menteith, David, second Lord Drummond, and James Stewart of Doune,

¹ L. Leneman, *Living in Atholl, 1685-1785* (Edinburgh, 1986).

all based in the west of the county. They were situated close to the Strathyre area and the southern fringes of the central Highlands. This sometimes involved them in Highland issues, such as the MacGregor feud. But their location near Stirling also drew them to the south and south-east, to Stirlingshire, Clackmannan, Kinross and Fife. At the opposite end of Perthshire the Stormont and Gowrie districts looked eastwards and formed part of the political zone of Forfar and Angus, which probably accounts for the absence of correspondence from the nobility of these areas.¹

There were many middle and lower-ranking lairds who 'looked to' the higher nobles of Perthshire. They had a more localised outlook concentrating their attention upon their own districts rather than the whole shire. The lairds of Lawers and Glenlyon were cadet branches of the Glenorchy Campbells, though this blood tie did not always guarantee harmonious co-operation between the families. Patrick Murray of Tibbermuir, a cadet of the Murray of Tullibardine family whose mother was a Ruthven, and Peter Hay of Megginch had gravitated into the Ruthven affinity. This made them willing to serve Katherine and perform a variety of tasks for her in Edinburgh. The lairds who occupied this lower level within the region were not as well represented in the letters. They were more likely to report in person.

The different social levels within the Perthshire region were bound together through links of lineage, blood and marriage. The select genealogies (Appendix C) demonstrate how many of the correspondents were connected by blood and marriage. The example of the Atholl-Glenorchy match illustrates how this operated at the higher levels of regional politics.

A regional marriage network could underpin a particular political alignment. The Protestant grouping in Perthshire, which revolved around the marriages of the seven Ruthven sisters, was important in the Reformation crisis of 1559. As well as Katherine's marriage to Grey Colin and her elder sister Liliast's marriage to David, second Lord Drummond, two other sisters wed known Lords of the Congregation: Barbara married Patrick, fourth Lord Grey, and Christian married William Lundy of that ilk. James Johnstone of Elphinstone came from a family with a long Protestant tradition and he married another sister, Margaret. Jean was married twice, first to John Crichton of Strathord who probably supported the Congregation, then to Lawrence Mercer of Meikelour,

¹ The exception is a letter to Grey Colin from George Hay, seventh earl of Errol, 25 Sept. 1565: GD112/39/4/26.

who was frequently associated with Grey Colin. The remaining sister, Cecilia, wed David Wemyss of that ilk, whose father opposed the Congregation, but whose own position was less hostile. These Ruthven women drew together a substantial Protestant group which spread throughout Perthshire and into Angus. This ideological grouping was unusual in the mid sixteenth century. Most marriages were alliances made to strengthen the position of the respective noble houses within national and regional politics. This frequently placed blood and marriage kin on different sides over contentious issues, a situation which Katherine strove to avoid in 1571 during the Murray-Reidheugh feud (193; and see below, pp. 61-62).

Argyll

Whereas Perthshire was a border shire in which Highland and Lowland societies met, Argyll lay entirely within the Highlands. Highland politics had a different flavour derived from its Gaelic society and tenuous links with the centre. The Lowland government displayed minimal and intermittent interest in Highland events and national issues were rarely important to Highlanders. By delegating royal authority to the earls of Argyll and Clan Campbell in the south Highlands and to the Gordons and Mackenzies in the northern part, the Stewart monarchs had encouraged a semi-autonomous area detached from the rhythms of Lowland politics. Although united by a common language, culture and social structure, rivalries between the different clans fragmented and localised Highland politics. The region did not possess a single political system, but overlapping zones of which Argyll and the western Highlands was the most important. During the period covered by the letters, it was dominated by Archibald Campbell, fifth earl of Argyll. Alongside the earl's mainland predominance in Argyll, the major power within the Western Isles was the descendant of the lords of the Isles, James MacDonald of Dunivaig and the Glens. During this period much of his attention was focused upon the MacDonald territories across the North Channel in Antrim. Unlike subsequent generations, MacDonald was on amicable terms with the Campbells. This was undoubtedly encouraged by his remarkable and forthright wife Agnes, the daughter of the third earl of Argyll (22). MacDonald was favourably disposed towards other members of Clan Campbell, especially Grey Colin (20). Hector Mòr MacLean of Duart, who had a long-running feud with MacDonald over the Rhinns of Islay, was also involved in the affairs of mainland Argyll. His base in Mull, alongside the mainland of Lorn, made him Grey Colin's neighbour.

Argyll was the heartland of Campbell power and was run largely by the clan's cadet families. Although both Grey Colin himself and John Campbell of Cawdor retained lands and interests in Lorn, their main bases were elsewhere. Colin Campbell, fifth laird of Ardkinglas, followed by James, the sixth laird, with the assistance of Dougal Campbell of Auchinbreck, were the earl's main men of business (27, 29, 32, 35, 42, 171, 176).¹ At a lower social level, Duncan Campbell of Duntrune, John Campbell of Carrick ('Gossip'), John Campbell of Skipnish and John Campbell of Lochnell were all involved in running affairs (14, 65, 68-72, 75, 79, 108, 121-2). Smaller lairds, such as Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and Donald Campbell of Larg, were also part of the political machine. In particular, they were expected to contribute money and troops when requested (9, 91). As Carrick's letters demonstrate, although the regional politics of Argyll were almost exclusively a Campbell affair that did not prevent differences of opinion (see above pp. 19-20).

As well as his Campbell kindred, the earl of Argyll relied upon members of the Gaelic learned orders to assist in the smooth running of the region. At their head was John Carswell, superintendent of Argyll and bishop of the Isles. The negotiating skills of the physician, Colin MacLachlan of Craighinterve, were as much in demand as his medical ones when he travelled throughout the central Highlands in his role as respected and impartial mediator (e.g. 172). John MacCorcadill, the notary and Protestant exhorter at Killin, was similarly involved (181). The parson of Lochawe, Neil Malcolm, however, seems to have had a more partisan and pro-Campbell role (10). Another cleric, John Campbell, prior of Ardchattan, was employed by the earl as a man of business in Lorn (91).

Within Lorn and the northern part of Argyll, the long association of the MacDougalls of Dunollie with the earls of Argyll and the Glenorchy Campbells meant that John and his brother Dougal MacDougall, the fourteenth and fifteenth lairds, were regarded as part of the Campbell network. Until the outbreak of the feud, the MacGregors of Glenstrae had occupied a similar position of trust, which added a bitter edge to the feud. Another client of the fifth earl, Alexander MacNaughton of Dunderarve, was caught between the kin tie to his three MacGregor half-brothers and his obligations to his lord (185 and Appendix C, no. 3).

The turmoil of the MacGregor feud sucked clans from both the north and the south of the region into Argyll politics. On the northern borders,

¹ A full description of the regional politics of Argyll and the western Highlands will be found in Jane E.A. Dawson, *The Social, Economic and Legal Foundations of Campbell Power in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (forthcoming).

and as a neighbour of Grey Colin, John Stewart of Appin was already heavily involved in the region's affairs. In Lochaber, Donald Cameron of Lochiel was usually more detached but his kinsman Donald MacEwan Cameron provided mercenary troops for the Campbell side, as did Ranald MacDonald of Keppoch and John MacDonald of Glencoe.¹ In contrast to the military involvement of the northern clans, those within the Lennox to the south of Argyll took the more passive role of supplying and receiving stolen goods from some of the MacGregor groups who had settled in that area. Once restored in 1564 after his long exile in England, Matthew Stewart, fourth earl of Lennox, had sought to reassert control over his traditional heritage. The earl of Argyll, who had extended his own influence into the Lennox by making a bond with George Buchanan of that ilk, did not want the MacGregor feud to disrupt that relationship.² This created friction between the earl and Grey Colin who was intent upon ending the resetting of the MacGregors undertaken by Buchanan's tenants. In different ways during 1570 the earls of Lennox and Argyll and Buchanan's close neighbour, John Cunningham of Drumquhassill, put pressure upon Buchanan to withdraw support from the MacGregors (156, 159, 163). The other clan aiding the MacGregors was the MacFarlanes. Lacking the powerful friends who protected Buchanan, Andrew MacFarlane of Arrochar and his kinsmen were outlawed (162).³

Highland warfare and raiding

The MacGregor feud, which runs like a leitmotiv through the letters, underlines the militarised nature of Highland society and politics. The scale and extent of the fighting were unusual and provide a measure of the difference between the Highlands and the Lowlands. One reason why the MacGregor feud attracted so much attention at court was the location of the violence on the borders between the Highlands and the Lowlands. The MacGregors raided across the main trade routes between the regions, causing a wave of concern among Lowlanders. Violent disruption and raids were by no means confined to the Highlands. A gradual process of demilitarisation was underway in the Lowlands during the sixteenth century which encouraged Lowlanders to dismiss Highland violence as a sign of barbarism, making no attempt to distinguish between its different forms. Attitudes were more important than realities, with the

¹ There is no correspondence from Glencoe but he signed a bond with Grey Colin to serve against the MacGregors, 6 May 1563: GD112/1/131; *BBT*, 208.

² See Argyll to Grey Colin, 11 Mar. 1565, GD112/39/3/24.

³ Copy of the letters putting them to the horn, GD112/1/193.

perceived gulf between the levels of violence much greater than the actual one. This does not diminish the fact that they occupied different points along the spectrum of violence. Especially in the unsettled times of the 'age of forays', various factors made raiding and warfare endemic within Highland society.¹ The organizational structure of clan society created groups of men whose main function was fighting. This trend had been intensified within the Hebridean islands by the development of a lucrative trade in mercenaries for an expanding Irish market.² As can be seen in the letters, a combination of fundamental social and economic pressures with a strong military ethos and available manpower made violence an accepted part of everyday life. Within the Highlands most of that violence was small-scale and occurred when raiding. There were a variety of types of foray. As a cattle raid's main object was to seize cattle or horses and then escape undetected, it did not normally lead to much bloodshed. As well as the positive capture of resources for consumption elsewhere, a raid might also be used negatively to destroy the enemy's food supplies. Crops were burnt and settlements laid waste to drive the inhabitants from their lands. Some raids deliberately attacked people. They normally targeted specific individuals or groups of kin, as in a bloodfeud. Only rarely would a terror campaign be pursued with random killings or the massacre of a whole community. Most raids were primarily concerned with economic rather than with human targets. At its different stages the MacGregor feud included all of these types of warfare, though most of the raids were directed at seizing or destroying goods. It caused economic dislocation over a large swathe of the central and southern Highlands.³

The letters reveal much of the day-to-day organisation required to mobilise troops in mid-sixteenth-century Scotland. Grey Colin did not have sufficient military resources to prosecute the feud by himself. He had to appeal for help from his chief, his fellow clansmen and other allies within Argyll. Despite his complaints about lukewarm support, they sent him substantial numbers of troops. The military effort was co-ordinated

¹ 'Linn nan Creach', the traditional name for the period which followed the suppression of the lordship of the Isles in 1493; R.A. Dodgshon, 'West Highland chiefdoms: a study in redistributive exchange', in R. Mitchison & P. Roebuck (eds.), *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland, 1500-1939* (Edinburgh, 1988); R.A. Dodgshon, "'Pretense of blude" and "place of thair duelling": the nature of Scottish clans, 1500-1745', in R.A. Houston & I.D. Whyte (eds.), *Scottish Society, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1989); R.A. Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords: Social and Economic Change in the Western Highlands, 1493-1820* (Edinburgh, 1998), ch. 2.

² G.A. Hayes-McCoy, *Scots Mercenary Forces in Ireland, 1565-1603* (Dublin, 1937).

³ There are many memos in the Breadalbane collection which list the goods stolen or property destroyed by the MacGregors, e.g. 30 June 1565, GD112/2/117/3/46; 12 June 1569, GD112/1/178, 178a.

by the earl of Argyll and his council, but they did not take over the running of the feud itself. Grey Colin was constantly consulted, usually by letter, and in person when that was possible. Several times the council worked out different options and gave Grey Colin his choice between them.¹

The numbers of men offered to him varied widely depending on the progress of the feud and other military commitments, the tasks the men would undertake and the length of time they might stay. In July 1565, when Argyll was about to become embroiled in the Chase-about Raid, he told Grey Colin he would send 1,000 or more men (41). Much smaller groups were also discussed, as when Grey Colin complained in October 1563 that 40 men were not enough (11). Sometimes the small numbers referred to the 'gentlemen', clan warriors who would be accompanied by their own followers, such as Stewart of Appin's promise to send Glenorchy 18 men under their named captains who would be ready 'with als abill men of sa mony as beis in the cuntry' (109).

The methods of raising troops reflected the structures of local kin-groups. Men would be gathered by the gentlemen of their kin and clan and serve under their own captain, who was usually a chief's son, younger brother or other close relation, or the leader of a cadet branch of the kindred. As Argyll explained to Katherine, gentlemen 'cann nocht lippin to [i.e. trust] wnknawin men so well as to thair awyin men' (28).

Within Argyll the Campbells and their allies had agreed an efficient method of raising troops, based on a land assessment or tax system. One man was to be provided for every merkland held by a laird and was liable to serve for 8-10 or 20 days. This was a combination of the obligations to a clan chief of hosting together with those of feudal tenure (e.g. 93, 121). The troops were organised under the three districts of Lorn, Mid-Argyll and Cowal. In 1565 120 men² were sent from each of the districts on a monthly rotation (39). Most of these soldiers fought on foot, but the earl of Argyll did have some light cavalry which Grey Colin wanted to have ready to call upon in August 1565 (48). The troops carried different armour and weapons depending upon their function and social status. Padded habergeons or even plate armour were worn and great swords carried by the gentlemen and captains, whilst ordinary soldiers would be equipped with targes and swords, Lochaber axes or bows and arrows.³ There were small firearms in use and artillery was available, but difficult

¹ E.g. 27; and Argyll to Grey Colin, 24 Jan. 1565, GD112/39/6/25.

² Troops were most frequently numbered in scores.

³ The habergeons could either be the 'aketons' or quilted coats seen on West Highland monumental sculpture or the mailshirts worn by foot soldiers. For Highland arms and armour see K. Steer & J. Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands* (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, 1977), 23-9.

to transport.¹ In June 1570 Grey Colin was upset to discover that the MacGregors were better equipped than Argyll's men, having 'culveringis haberschonis and uthir armour' (96).²

Throughout the campaign the problem for Grey Colin and his Campbell reinforcements was to protect Glenorchy's extensive lands against raiding. A string of garrisons was suggested, which would require a large number of troops raised by the 'stent' or tax system.³ Another method was to block off the westward passes into Argyll and drive the MacGregors east where they would be prevented from taking the ferries across the Tay and the Tummel and forced into the arms of Atholl's men (e.g. 19). The real difficulty was that the MacGregors could make a raid and then disappear into their hiding places. As Grey Colin did not tire of reminding the fifth earl, some of these refuges were in Argyll itself and the MacGregors were being assisted by his own followers, such as Alexander MacNaughton of Dunderarve (e.g. 140). The MacGregors were able to sustain their own military efforts because of the supplies they received from these protectors and because they were able to sell their stolen goods to other clans. By 1570 Grey Colin regarded the prevention of this trade as a vital part of his campaign against Clan Gregor. For that he needed political as much as military weapons (see below, pp. 55-59).

Grey Colin also sought to counter raids with raids. To do this he hired the leaders of other clans, such as Ranald MacDonald of Keppoch or Donald MacEwan Cameron, to harry the MacGregors (30, 52, 127). As Grey Colin and Atholl discovered in 1570, this could produce more problems than it solved. With so many inter-clan rivalries, gathering together a single force composed of a number of different clans had its dangers and even a joint muster might not be feasible (114). Using raiding was also a double-edged weapon. The Cameron sept hired to fight the MacGregors were sufficiently indiscriminate in their raiding to incur the wrath of the earl of Atholl whose tenants had suffered at their hands (127, 130).

¹ There are lists of the 'graith' or armour and weapons kept in the Glenorchys' castles c. 1600 and muster rolls of 1638: *BBT*, 335-41, 391-404. For a discussion of the fifth earl's military power see J. Dawson, 'The fifth earl of Argyle, Gaelic lordship and political power in sixteenth-century Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, lxxvii (1988), 1-27, at pp. 3-7.

² 'Culvering' as a hand-gun is meant here rather than 'culverin' as a large cannon.

³ Argyll to Grey Colin, 8 Aug. 1570, GD112/39/9/9.

There was the added danger that troops might attack their own allies, as happened in the 'mischance' of July 1570. In what appears to have been a case of mistaken identity, a group of Grey Colin's men, thinking they had found MacGregors, attacked and killed some of Atholl's troops whilst they were asleep. The Atholl men were only just prevented from invading Glenorchy's lands in retaliation. The whole incident strained relations between Grey Colin and the earl almost to breaking point (123-6, 129). The 'mischance' underlined the hazards of fighting alongside other clansmen, even when they were friends and allies.

Grey Colin was in the unusual position of requiring such assistance because his territorial expansion had outstripped his own military resources. To supply his military needs he turned to his fellow Highlanders rather than his Lowland kin. Although Lowland nobles were capable of raising their own troops and did so in times of rebellion, such as 1559 and 1565 (see below, pp. 47-50, and 50), there is no hint that Grey Colin sought soldiers from the Lowlands. As Katherine's own family were heavily involved in the international mercenary trade and her brother, William, and nephew, Archibald, were fighting in the Northern War of 1563-70 as captains in the Swedish army, this was a significant omission.⁹⁶ For his feud against the MacGregors, Grey Colin needed Highland troops who could fight in the same way as Clan Gregor. He was fortunate that the unity and cohesion of Clan Campbell could supply the manpower he needed.

The Reformation crisis

Only two letters have survived from 1559-60, the period when the Protestant party seized control within Scotland, but they demonstrate the way in which national policies were implemented using national, regional, and especially family, networks. On 10 June 1559 an urgent note was sent by the fifth earl of Argyll and Lord James Stewart, commendator of St Andrews, to four friends and kinsmen requesting the immediate despatch of troops to aid them (1). The recipients were part of the Protestant network in Perthshire (see above, pp. 23-4, 40-1). One addressee was Katherine's husband, Grey Colin, and another her older brother, Patrick, third Lord Ruthven, who was provost of Perth. Since the iconoclasm in Perth in May 1559 which sparked the crisis, he had played a leading role among the Lords of the Congregation. A third addressee, Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, was married to Katherine

⁹⁶ J. Dow, *Ruthven's Army in Sweden and Esthonia* (Historiskt Arkiv, Stockholm, 1965).

Campbell, Grey Colin's aunt (Appendix C, no. 6). Campbell links were also to be found between Argyll and John Graham, fourth earl of Menteith, whose sister was Argyll's step-mother (Appendix C, no. 2). The group's commitment to Protestantism had recently been publicly proclaimed in a bond to uphold religion signed on 1 June 1559 by all its members, except Grey Colin.¹ The appeal for troops from these Perthshire nobles was successful. They arrived in time to overawe the archbishop of St Andrews' French soldiers and to ensure that St Andrews was secured for the Lords of the Congregation.²

Military arrangements were also at the centre of the second letter from Argyll and Lord James to Grey Colin the following month (2). The fifth earl was back in Argyll gathering support for the Congregation, and ensuring the co-operation of the Hebridean chiefs. He was anxious to remove any outstanding problems in his region which might call him back there whilst he was fighting for the Protestant cause. Ruthven, who was probably carrying the letter to Grey Colin, also brought important news, which was not divulged in the letter. It probably concerned the arrival in Scotland, after his spectacular escape from France, of Argyll's cousin, James Hamilton, earl of Arran. Arran's return was a major turning-point for the Lords of the Congregation. As an ardent Protestant himself, Arran was able to persuade his father, the duke of Châtellherault and heir-apparent to the Scottish throne, to declare publicly for the Congregation. The purpose of the letter was to keep Grey Colin, as one of the most important Campbell cadets, informed of the latest developments. He was also trusted to organise his own military contribution to the army of the Congregation which he was told would muster at Perth on 10 or 12 September. Sustaining the rebellion from its inception in May 1559 to the end of that year depended upon good communications and the proper utilisation of limited resources. Even though English military aid was needed to gain victory, the forces raised by the Lords of the Congregation themselves were important. Though tantalisingly incomplete, these two letters give an indication of how regional and family networks mobilised these forces.³

¹ Knox, *History*, i, 180. Grey Colin was either absent or his support was assumed to follow that of Argyll, his clan chief.

² J. Dawson, 'The face of ane perfytt reformed kirk': St Andrews and the early Scottish Reformation', in J. Kirk (ed.), *Humanism and Reform: the Church in Europe, England and Scotland, 1400-1643* (Studies in Church History, Subsidia 8, 1991).

³ Cf. Dawson, 'The Protestant earl', 343-4.

The Chase-about Raid

The Reformation crisis had brought an unusual unity of purpose and co-operation to the regional politics of Perthshire and Argyll. By contrast, the nobility of these regions were split in their reactions to the marriage of Queen Mary and Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley. The division ran right through the networks of kin, clan, marriage and alliance. Grey Colin was caught in the middle, with close family connections on both sides. On the one hand, Argyll and most of the Campbells, along with many of Grey Colin's old friends, such as Lord James, earl of Moray, the duke of Châtellherault and the earls of Glencairn and Rothes, were urging him to support their rebellion against Mary and Darnley (45-6, 50, 73). To this end they persuaded him to agree to a settlement of the feud with the MacGregors. This freed Grey Colin and the other Campbells from the burden of defending their lands and enabled Argyll to use the MacGregors as a fighting force in the rebellion itself (e.g. 42, 44).

On the other hand, Grey Colin's own brother-in-law, Ruthven, and his cousin Atholl together with Stewart of Grandtully, were telling him not to side openly with the rebels. Instead he should compromise with the new king and queen (54, 74). At the same time outright hostility was being shown towards Grey Colin by his cousin, Sir William Murray, eleventh laird of Tullibardine, and his brother-in-law David, second Lord Drummond. They were incensed at Campbell raids which had taken place in Strathearn in September which they blamed upon Grey Colin (53-4). Tullibardine was a strong supporter of Darnley and wanted to use the opportunity of the rebellion to profit from the disgrace of the Campbells and possibly to engineer Grey Colin's complete downfall.¹ Having a territorial base close to the Lowlands, Grey Colin was more vulnerable than the earl of Argyll, who was impregnable within his own Highland territories.² Exploiting his increased favour at court, Tullibardine obtained a legal summons against Grey Colin. It was even suggested that if Colin were outlawed, Tullibardine was planning to attack Balloch Castle with troops and artillery (56).

In the summer of 1565 Grey Colin used his preoccupation with the MacGregor feud to avoid making an open declaration. As a Campbell, he was automatically under suspicion at court because Argyll, his chief, was in rebellion. Having successfully avoided the farce of the Chase-about Raid itself, when Queen Mary drove most of the rebel lords into

¹ Tullibardine was one of those knighted when Darnley was created earl of Ross in May 1565 and he was made comptroller the following Aug. On 28 Sept. he received the gift of the fruits of the diocese of Brechin which had been taken away from Argyll: RSS, v, I, 2333.

² Dawson, 'The fifth earl of Argyll', 1-3.

exile in England, Grey Colin wished to remain uncommitted and not offend either Argyll, or the queen's supporter, Atholl. Such a stance was increasingly difficult to maintain in the autumn and winter because a defiant Argyll, who had not gone into exile, was making destructive raids into Atholl and Strathearn. The Strathearn nobles who suffered from these raids blamed Grey Colin for being privy to them or, at the least, not preventing them.

At this point Grey Colin was vulnerable to legal or military challenge because his royal commission against the MacGregors had been discharged on 26 August.¹ The greatest threat to Grey Colin was no longer from the MacGregors themselves, but from his regional rivals. Even though Queen Mary had tried to buy Clan Gregor's support against Glenorchy, the MacGregors had opted instead to settle their differences with the Campbells (51). It was a group of Perthshire and Angus nobles who regarded Grey Colin's disgrace as an opportunity to reduce his power. Although they had occasionally suffered from MacGregor raiding in the past, they were more concerned about the Campbell raids in the autumn of 1565. The Strathearn nobles also had a longer-term grievance. They had objected to the manner in which Grey Colin had exploited the legal immunity contained in the royal commission of fire and sword to extend his power into those parts of Perthshire which they sought to control (36). If these Lowland nobles could mobilise the judicial and military power of the central government and press charges against him, Grey Colin stood to lose far more than he had during the long years of the MacGregor feud.

At the beginning of November Grey Colin's hand was forced by two developments: the unexpected legal summons obtained by Tullibardine, and the privy council's order forbidding trade with the region of Argyll (60, 62-3).² Grey Colin felt he must make his peace with the queen. At a meeting with Argyll in Strathfillan he persuaded his chief to permit him to seek an independent settlement with the crown.³ Grey Colin's next task was to convince Queen Mary of his loyalty. He wrote a letter apologising for not travelling in person to answer the summons, giving the excuses of illness and the dangers of the aftermath of the MacGregor feud (64). He explained that his wife, Katherine, would travel to Edinburgh in his place. This was a shrewd move because Lady Glenorchy successfully mobilised her friends at court to lobby the queen and council on his behalf. It also bought time for him to concentrate upon securing his

¹ *RPC*, i, 361.

² Memo of Tullibardine's letters, GD112/1/161/B; *RPC*, i, 388-9.

³ Bond from fifth earl, GD112/1/161.

position within Perthshire. Using the mediation of Atholl, Ruthven and Grandtully, Grey Colin sought private agreements with the nobles who were pursuing him, thus removing the threat of formal legal processes. Since these disputes were really part of the struggle for power and influence at the centre, local settlements would hold only as long as Grey Colin kept royal favour. If he were outlawed, then predators such as Tullibardine would seize their chance and dispossess him.

In December 1565 Grey Colin's position was still precarious. He had been kept informed by Carrick, his friend and 'gossip', of all the developments regarding the fifth earl. Even though he had obtained Argyll's permission, Grey Colin had delayed settling privately with the crown in order to avoid a public breach with his clan chief. Despite protracted negotiations, the earl had failed to achieve a reconciliation for himself and his clan with Mary and Darnley. By the new year Grey Colin could delay no longer. He travelled to Edinburgh himself at the end of January to secure royal approval and demonstrate to his enemies that he was not in disgrace. In a long letter to Carrick he described his uncomfortable, but successful, interviews at court. He commented that he had fought an uphill battle to restore his credit: 'I had bot letle credence bot it that I maid with hard wyre [i.e. great effort]' (79). Grey Colin had been cleared by the privy council and the queen but made to promise that none of his tenants would send supplies into Argyll.¹

Grey Colin emerged relatively unscathed from the Chase-about Raid having almost succeeded in his balancing act of non-commitment. He had not been put to the horn and had avoided the military and judicial attacks which were threatened in the autumn of 1565. He was certainly under a cloud in February 1566 and doubts remained about his loyalty, but that was true of many fellow nobles in the tense atmosphere which then prevailed at court.² On 9 March 1566 national politics were once again turned upside down by the murder of David Riccio. In a national context this had the effect of negating nearly all of the long-term effects of the Chase-about Raid.

For Grey Colin himself the most important consequence of the Chase-about Raid was probably his agreement with the MacGregors. Though it did not last, it gave him and his tenants a respite from the constant raiding which they had endured for the previous three years. The turmoil

¹ 30 Jan. 1566, *RPC*, i, 424.

² For example, Morton was forced to hand over Tantallon castle: *RPC*, i, 417. Even Tullibardine was ordered into ward on 6 Feb., though he did not enter: J. Goodare, 'Queen Mary's Catholic interlude', in M. Lynch (ed.), *Mary Stewart: Queen in Three Kingdoms* (Oxford, 1988), 166.

of 1565 had brought other changes. At the regional level Grey Colin had moved closer to Atholl, without destroying his relationship with his clan chief, Argyll. Within Perthshire politics the rifts between Grey Colin and the Strathearn nobles and his other enemies seem to have been healed. The fact that some of his own kin had been prepared to profit if he fell, or even engineer his downfall, did not prevent Grey Colin from restoring amicable relations with them once his vulnerability was past. When similar situations arose, Grey Colin was himself quick to exploit the weakness of his neighbours and erstwhile allies. Upheavals such as the Chase-about Raid lay bare the ruthless and cut-throat dimension of Scottish regional politics. Much of the credit for damage limitation in the winter of 1565-6 must go to Katherine because it was her speedy reaction to the legal summons, her contacts and her charming presence at the royal court, followed by the constant pressure upon her kin and friends, which secured their active support when it mattered (55, 76, 77).

The civil wars: 1570

The civil wars of 1567-73 fragmented Scottish national politics. They produced a bewildering and rapidly-changing series of alliances among the nobility which can be loosely grouped under the names of the king's party and the queen's party.¹ Although certain nobles were firmly based in one or the other camp, there was considerable movement between the two groupings, and many nobles tried to avoid close involvement with either side. The relative tranquillity brought about during the regency of Lord James Stewart, earl of Moray, was shattered by his murder in January 1570. In July, after Matthew Stewart, fourth earl of Lennox, had finally been recognised as the next regent, he launched a fierce military campaign against the queen's party. During 1570 bouts of fighting, interspersed by temporary truces, broke out in the Borders, the west, the north-east and even within Edinburgh.²

The situation was complicated by English military and diplomatic intervention. The civil wars gave Elizabeth I the opportunity to interfere virtually at will in Scottish affairs whilst avoiding major expense and incurring minimal risk. English forces under the earl of Sussex were sent

¹ There has been no proper study of the civil wars, though Donaldson's *Queen's Men* provides an analysis of the supporters of both sides. A survey of events can be found in I.B. Cowan, 'The Marian Civil War, 1567-1573', in N. Macdougall (ed.), *Scotland and War, AD 79-1918* (Edinburgh, 1991).

² For the rather odd combination of negotiation and fighting alongside each other in July 1570, see 116.

to support Lennox and the king's party. At the same time Sussex entered into negotiations with the queen's party. Having Mary in custody in England gave Elizabeth a trump card in her dealings with both sides in Scotland. This produced a confusing series of negotiations between the two Scottish parties themselves, and also between each group and Elizabeth and Mary. To complicate matters still further the international situation was becoming increasingly unstable. France was torn by religious strife; the Netherlands occupied by a Spanish army, and the wider 'British problem' gave Scotland greater significance in European diplomacy than it was normally accorded.¹

Moray's assassination had added a bitter edge to Scottish politics and increased the polarisation between the two parties. A spate of vicious propaganda introduced an ideological dimension into the struggle. An unusual degree of cruelty was also displayed in the fighting, particularly the execution in August of the soldiers of the queen's party who had held the steeple of Brechin Cathedral (137).² Yet the letters for 1570 provide little evidence of irreconcilable divisions among Scotsmen. The ideological element made a brief appearance when Murray of Tibbermuir wrote to Katherine. He accused her of 'schakyn handis with Egypt' and entering into a 'leig and covenant with the Babilonians'. However, such Old Testament denunciations did not prevent Murray from simultaneously offering his service to Katherine (113). At the level of regional politics at least, business continued to be transacted and communications remained open between members of the different groupings.

As he had during the Chase-about Raid, Grey Colin tried to remain free of commitments to either party. Once again he could plead that he was entangled in the feud with the MacGregors and could not take an active part in the fighting. In September 1570 Regent Lennox made an effort to increase the limited support for the king's party by putting pressure upon uncommitted members of the nobility. Within Perthshire Sir James Stewart of Doune, commendator of Inchcolm, and Grey Colin were among those targeted. Having been persuaded to 'come in' and acknowledge the authority of the young king and his grandfather the regent, Stewart found that the terms of his settlement were more onerous than he had been led to expect (165). On 25 September he wrote to Grey Colin warning him to be careful about agreeing to specific provisions (166). Grey Colin's dilemma was that, at this juncture he needed the

¹ J. Dawson, 'William Cecil and the British dimension of early Elizabethan foreign policy', *History*, lxxiv (1989), 196-216.

² Maitland to John Leslie, bishop of Ross, 15 Aug. 1570, CSP Scot., iii, 311, and more generally Donaldson, *Queen's Men*, 120.

regent's support. He had to prevent the MacGregors selling their stolen goods within the Lennox to the Buchanans and MacFarlanes. Only the national and regional authority wielded by the earl of Lennox himself could help Grey Colin block one of the most important of the MacGregor supply lines.

Once again it appears as if Katherine took the initiative when dealing with matters at court. She used her servitors Patrick Murray of Tibbermuir and Peter Hay of Megginch to make initial soundings concerning the regent's attitude towards Grey Colin (152-3). The political weight of her nephew, William, fourth Lord Ruthven, and her friend, James, fourth earl of Morton, were then employed to make the final arrangements for a settlement. As both men assured Katherine and Grey Colin on 19 September, the regent was willing to agree with Glenorchy. Lennox promised to act against those supplying the MacGregors, but only if Grey Colin recognised King James and gave the regent his political support (155-7). Legal letters were then obtained against the MacFarlanes, using a list of the people in league with the MacGregors drawn up with the help of John Cunningham of Drumquhassill, a local laird.¹ At the same time pressure was put upon George Buchanan of that ilk to write directly to Grey Colin offering to remedy his grievances (159, 161).

Everything seemed in place and yet, to the frustration of Ruthven and his other supporters, Grey Colin did not travel to Edinburgh to make his peace with Lennox in person (168, 179). He made the excuse that he was unable to leave his lands because he was in the middle of finalising the settlement of his feud with the MacGregors. There was the suspicion, however, that having obtained what he wanted concerning the MacFarlanes and the Buchanans, Glenorchy was trying to wriggle out of declaring for the king's party. Grey Colin knew that Argyll would be furious if he aligned himself publicly with the regent and the young king. When he referred to the extra difficulty caused in the MacGregor feud by having the 'authority' against them, Argyll, as one of the main leaders of the queen's party, sent him a sharp rejoinder that the only authority he recognised was that of the queen.² It is possible that Grey Colin deliberately exaggerated his anger with Argyll over MacGregor raiding at the end of September in order to provide a smokescreen for his own negotiations with Lennox (160). If Argyll were placed in the wrong, this would make it easier for Grey Colin, should he decide to acknowledge King James, to break with the earl.

¹ Copy in GD112/1/193.

² 19 Oct. 1570, GD112/39/11/11.

In the autumn of 1570 Grey Colin was more worried about upsetting the neutral Atholl than about offending his clan chief. The Glenorchys were in the middle of delicate negotiations for a marriage alliance with the Atholl Stewarts (see above, pp. 32-6). The 'mischance' at the end of July 1570, when Glenorchy's troops had accidentally slaughtered Atholl's, had severely strained relations between the two men. Although this proved only a temporary problem, a further tension was created by the negotiations to settle the MacGregor feud. Both men needed to reach their own agreement with the MacGregors and this was taking Atholl considerably longer than Grey Colin. The earl had not aligned himself fully with either the queen's or the king's parties which probably encouraged Grey Colin to copy his stance and avoid meeting Regent Lennox. It is not clear if Grey Colin was playing a double game in 1570, but if he was then he certainly succeeded.

For Glenorchy himself the most significant outcome of the tangled politics of 1570 was the final settlement with the MacGregors. He had managed to remain uncommitted in the national struggle, at the same time as exploiting the regent's authority for his own ends. Grey Colin's tortuous behaviour was a consequence of his basic assumption that regional disputes took precedence over national ones.

The MacGregor feud

The struggle between the MacGregors of Glenstrae and the Campbells of Glenorchy was essentially a fight for control over the manpower, lands and other resources of Breadalbane and Lorn. It was particularly intense because the two clan groups had previously been close allies. Together they had successfully expanded from their neighbouring glens in Lorn into Breadalbane and had settled side by side upon these new lands.¹ Marriage alliances had cemented the links between the MacGregors, the Campbells and other Argyll kindreds, such as the MacNaughtons (see Appendix C, no. 3). The feud cut across these ties leaving many with hard decisions over their conflicting loyalties.

By the early 1560s, when Gregor MacGregor was old enough to lead his clan in person, the struggle between Clan Gregor and the Campbells of Glenorchy was bound to intensify.² As early as October 1560, Grey

¹ As Grey Colin complained on 9 July 1565, 'the Clangregor allegis that makle of the rowmis that I have suld be thairis' (43). For a general discussion of the joint expansion, see MacGregor, 'MacGregors', ch. 3.

² E.g. the tough conditions of the bond by Grey Colin to infest Gregor MacGregor with the lands of Glenstrae, 24 Nov. 1562: GD 112/1/122; MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 309-10, 316.

Colin was complaining to Argyll about raiding by the MacGregors, who 'wes woynet to be bot servantis vnder your Lordship and me' (3).¹ The full feud probably did not begin until 1562 when the MacGregors forcibly occupied lands at Ardeonaig on Loch Tay held by the MacTarlichs, dependants of the fifth earl. This was followed in December by a series of brutal murders of Campbells and their allies (6, 7, 12).² The raiding and fighting were intense in the first six months of 1563. They diminished when Gregor led his kinsmen to northern Ireland to fight as redshanks for Sorley Boy MacDonald (20, 22-6). The MacGregors' return from Ireland restarted the feud. It was only under the external pressure of the Chase-about Raid that a negotiated settlement was achieved. This brought a reversion to the old military partnership between the Campbells and the MacGregors. The earl of Argyll immediately employed MacGregor troops to help fight for the rebel cause.³

The feud then flared up once again, drawing in even more participants, including the earl of Atholl. Curiously, no letters survive from the flurry of activity in 1569 which culminated in the capture on 1 August of Gregor himself. Although the commission to try the MacGregor chief was obtained within a week, the trial was delayed for eight months.⁴ On 7 April 1570 near Balloch Castle, Gregor was tried and sentenced to

¹ Overall responsibility for the activities of the MacGregors was always a point of contention between Argyll and Grey Colin. In 1554, the fourth earl of Argyll had sold to Grey Colin the superiority of the MacGregor territory of Glen Strae along with the ward and marriage of the young Gregor MacGregor of Glenstrae, 26 Apr. 1554: GD112/2/81/5-6; GD112/75/19-20; RMS, iv, 944. As was standard Campbell practice, the earl transferred the MacGregor bonds of manrent to Grey Colin at the same time, mentioned in 7. The question of whether the MacGregors were the 'servants' of Grey Colin or of Argyll or of both of them remained a sensitive issue right through until the final settlement.

² The escheat of Gregor MacGregor was granted to Grey Colin, 14 Jan. 1563, RSS, v, I, 1194.

³ As Argyll cynically explained to Grey Colin, these military activities would serve to wear out the MacGregors (41).

⁴ The commission which appointed as justiciars Lawrence Mercer of Meikleour (Katherine's brother-in-law); Alexander Abercromby of Murthlie; Alexander Blair of Balthyok; Peter Hay of Megginch (Katherine's servitor), was dated 6 Aug. 1569, GD112/1/847. For an extended discussion of the reasons for the delay, see MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 371-6. On 29 Mar. 1570, in his capacity as justice-general, Argyll signed letters permitting Grey Colin to execute Gregor: GD112/1/182. On the same day Grey Colin made a bond declaring that, if he executed Gregor, he would give the ward and non-entry of Glenstrae to Gregor's wife, Marion, and their baby son Alastair: GD112/1/182a.

death. In a scene made notorious by the bitter lullaby in Gaelic composed by Gregor's wife, Marion Campbell, who was present, Grey Colin personally executed Gregor.¹ This provoked a new and even more savage round of violence led by Gregor's brother, Ewin, acting as tutor for his young nephew, Alastair. However, by the autumn of 1570 both sides were willing to make an agreement through the mediation of members of the Gaelic learned orders, such as Colin MacLachlan and John MacCorcadill. A settlement was finally agreed between Ewin MacGregor and Grey Colin in the winter of 1570 and six months later between the MacGregors and the earl of Atholl (186, 191).²

When the feud started Grey Colin had lacked sufficient manpower to face the MacGregors on his own, needing the military support of his chief and fellow clansmen. Fighting the MacGregors was always Grey Colin's main priority, but Argyll had many other more pressing concerns. His involvement in national politics created calls upon his military resources, as happened in 1565 and 1570. Even if he had wished to do so, he could never employ his whole strength solely against Clan Gregor. This led to a regular stream of recrimination from Grey Colin that Argyll and the rest of Clan Campbell were not as committed to defeating the MacGregors as he was (e.g. 43, 140).

In addition to troops, Grey Colin required Argyll's influence at court to secure the backing of the crown and the judicial system for his side of the feud. Argyll obtained for Grey Colin most of the judicial weapons deployed in the campaign against the MacGregors, such as their forfeiture after they had been outlawed and the royal commissions of fire and sword.³ As justice-general for Scotland, Argyll was personally able to delegate authority to Grey Colin.⁴ Access to these legal powers, and the immunity from prosecution which they provided, gave Grey Colin the freedom to run a military campaign in the region with little fear of having to face court cases for reparation.⁵ Only when Argyll was in rebellion in 1565 was the co-operation of central authority withdrawn and this made Grey

¹ *BBT*, 23. For a discussion of the lullaby, see MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 376-7.

² The settlement with Grey Colin was completed between Oct. and Dec. 1570: GD112/1/191, 193a. The Atholl-MacGregor agreement was finalised, 24 July-2 Aug. 1571: GD112/1/195-7; GD112/2/117/1/34.

³ MacGregor escheat, 14 Jan. 1563, *RSS*, vi, 1194. Commission, 22 Sept. 1563, *RPC*, i, 248-50.

⁴ E.g. commission to be justice-depute for 3 months within the bounds of Glenorchy, 15 May 1563, GD112/1/133.

⁵ Grey Colin's over-free use of his commission brought criticism and its restriction (36); GD112/1/132a; *RPC*, i, 256-8.

Colin vulnerable to Lowland predators such as Tullibardine (see above, pp. 49-51).

The MacGregor feud provides the backdrop to many of the letters in this volume.¹ It was Grey Colin's main preoccupation for the decade or so from 1560 and may well have encouraged him to collect together some of his correspondence. The picture of the feud which emerges, though partial, gives an insight into how the society of the western and central Highlands operated. It also demonstrates the ripple effect produced by such a fierce regional struggle. The feud had its main impact within Breadalbane and Argyll, but it spread rapidly to include Lochaber, Atholl, Strathearn, Menteith and the Lennox. This meant that nearly all the nobility in the Perthshire and Argyll regions became involved to a greater or lesser extent. During the 1560s the feud provided a perennial nagging problem for the two most powerful magnates of those regions, Atholl and Argyll, but it was by no means their most pressing concern. The whole of Clan Campbell was sucked into the conflict on a permanent basis. The same was true of the other nobles in Argyll and its surrounding areas and also those within the Highland areas of Perthshire. By comparison, the raids which formed part of the feud were an occasional, though sometimes intense, nuisance for those in Lowland districts of Perthshire.

The court also became involved from an early stage. Interest was sustained in the MacGregor feud at the national level because it affected the borderlands between the Highlands and Lowlands and was disrupting many main routes. A major regional conflict had become an element within national politics. In 1565 and 1570 the feud also offered an opportunity, for first Queen Mary and then Regent Lennox, to fish in troubled waters for their own advantage, though neither gained by their efforts. The MacGregor feud was itself subject to the vicissitudes of national crises. The Chase-about Raid brought a temporary settlement in September 1565 and the final settlement of 1570-1 was achieved against the background of the civil wars (see above, pp. 48-55).

Yet despite achieving national notoriety, the actual progress of the MacGregor feud was only marginally influenced by central government. The national crises of 1565 and 1570 affected some of the main players, especially Argyll, Atholl and Grey Colin, which in turn had important repercussions for their attitudes towards the feud. However, the settlements

¹ The fundamental discussion of feuds is K.M. Brown, *Bloodfeud in Scotland, 1573-1625* (Edinburgh, 1986). For a detailed and perceptive discussion of the Clan Gregor's feud with the Glenorchy Campbells, see MacGregor, 'MacGregors', especially ch. 6.

which they concluded were not the result of direct intervention by the crown nor did they reflect the exercise of central authority. Agreement was reached because it suited Argyll, Atholl and Grey Colin to seek it. The MacGregors in their turn were willing to settle upon the terms which were offered rather than accept the crown's dubious blandishments. The feud was essentially a Highland affair and all the main decisions were taken within the Highland political arena which remained throughout this period at one remove from national politics.

The Reidheugh-Murray feud, 1571

A Lowland feud was fought in a different political arena and it produced a different set of national consequences. The ease with which a family dispute could escalate was illustrated by the quarrel between William Reidheugh and Alexander Murray which became an open feud in 1571 and threatened to involve many Perthshire noble families. In common with many other feuds, at its heart this was an inheritance dispute. Peter, the eldest son of Henry Reidheugh of Cultybraggan, had three daughters.¹ The eldest, Isobel, married Alexander Murray of Drumfin, who was the second son of Katherine Campbell and Sir William Murray, tenth laird of Tullibardine (see Appendix C, no. 6). In his marriage contract of 24 January 1565, Alexander agreed to help fund the tochers of Isobel's two younger sisters, Margaret and Elizabeth, and in return probably received their portions of their father's inheritance.² The previous year Isobel and Alexander had been confirmed heirs to the lands of Wester Aberlednock after the deaths of Henry Reidheugh and his son, Peter.³ However, William Reidheugh, Henry's second son, had acquired lands in Wester Aberlednock from his father in 1557.⁴ William had married Sybil Drummond, daughter of Lilius Ruthven and David, second Lord Drummond.

When William Reidheugh failed to pay his dues to the comptroller, Sir William Murray, eleventh laird of Tullibardine, and to the chamberlain of Strathearn, Andrew Murray of Dowall, he was outlawed on 6 June

¹ Cultybraggan lies just south of Crieff.

² See the action brought against Alexander, 23 July 1581: *RSS*, viii, 405.

³ 20 May 1565, *RMS*, iv, 1621. The privy council had first attempted to sort out the question of succession on 29 Oct. and 3 Nov. 1561, when it had sent the case to the lords of session: *RPC*, i, 171, 178-9.

⁴ 3 May 1557, confirmed 21 Mar. 1558, *RMS*, iv, 1262 and 10 May 1567, *RSS*, v, II, 3510.

1571. The escheat of his goods was given to Alexander Murray of Drumfin.¹ It was clearly understood that this legal move, initiated by the Murray family in an attempt to dispossess Reidheugh of the lands of Aberlednock in favour of Alexander and his wife Isobel, would lead to trouble. A week after the escheat Regent Lennox wrote to Grey Colin requesting that he help enforce the order.² On 14 June Annabella Murray, countess of Mar, wrote to Glenorchy asking him to help her brother Alexander recover his wife's inheritance. She requested him 'to stand ane gud friend and father till him as ye do till ws all' (190).

Within a few months the feud had escalated. Alexander and Isobel were supported by the Murray kindred, led by the laird of Tullibardine, his sister, Annabella, and her husband, John Erskine, earl of Mar. They were joined by their Campbell cousin Grey Colin, and by the earl of Argyll. On the other side, William Reidheugh received the support of his wife's family, led by Sybil's mother, Lilius, Lady Drummond, and her son Patrick, third Lord Drummond. However, Katherine, another of Lilius's daughters, had been contracted in 1570 to marry John Murray, Tullibardine's son.³ In September both Katherine Ruthven and her son Black Duncan were urging conciliation. Katherine wrote to her sister Lilius pressing her to accept the mediation which Grey Colin had proposed (193). Duncan wrote to his cousin Patrick, Lord Drummond, with a similar plea. If mediation did take place it did not end the dispute, which rumbled on into the 1580s.⁴ As this quarrel demonstrates, the kin ties of blood and marriage could act both to create a regional crisis from a family dispute and also to contain it and bring the hope of reconciliation.

The combinations of local, regional and national issues, so vividly portrayed in the letters, produced the complex, many-layered structure of politics in sixteenth-century Scotland. The correspondence which has survived in the Breadalbane collection and the selection printed in this volume offer a new insight not only into the political world but also into the mentality of the Scottish noblemen and women who peopled it.

⁵ RSS, vi, 1172.

¹³⁰ 12 June 1571, GD112/39/13/5.

¹³¹ See above, pp. 33, and Appendix C, no. 6.

¹³² The privy council did not intervene in the feud, which ended up in the courts. Reference was made to the legal process between the two parties in 13 Mar. 1582: RSS, viii, 720. A decret arbitral was accepted on 23 Feb. 1583: *Clan Campbell*, viii, 88.

Conventions

In the headings to the transcripts of the letters the numbers in bold are the item numbers used to identify individual letters throughout the volume. The rest of the information contained in the headings follows modern usage wherever possible, providing the standardised form of place-names and the usual modern form of personal names and titles. For Gaelic names the conventions used in R. W. & J. Munro (eds.), *Acts of the Lords of the Isles, 1336-1493* (Scottish History Society, 1986), have been followed. In the body of the letters, as elsewhere, 'Mc' and 'Vc' have been treated as abbreviations and expanded to 'Mac' and 'Vic'. In dating the year is taken to begin on 1 January, though the dates within letters have been retained as written. Undated letters have been assigned dates wherever possible, with explanations placed in the footnotes.

The original spelling of the manuscript letters has been retained and the characters 'thorn' and 'yogh' have been transcribed as 'th' and 'y' respectively. To aid reading, capital letters and minimal punctuation have been inserted and all abbreviations and contractions have been silently expanded. Eccentric spellings and errors in the original have been indicated by [sic]. The entire text of each letter has been printed so damaged portions of the manuscript have been shown by an ellipsis (...). Sections within slashes (\.../) have been inserted into the main body of the text from their original position in the margins of the manuscripts. Readings taken from the MacGregor manuscripts (GD50) have been placed within wavy brackets ({}).

A biographical index of correspondents with a listing of their letters can be found in Appendix B. In the footnotes to the letters, with the exception of the frequently mentioned Grey Colin, Katherine and the fifth earl of Argyll, the names of all those correspondents have been asterisked. Other names which appear in the text are identified where possible within the footnotes. The meanings of words provided in the footnotes have been drawn from the *Concise Scots Dictionary* or the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*.

CLAN CAMPBELL LETTERS

1559-1583

- 1 Archibald Campbell, 5th earl of Argyll and Lord James Stewart, commendator of St Andrews, to John Graham, 4th earl of Menteith, Patrick, 3rd Lord Ruthven, Sir William Murray, 10th laird of Tullibardine and Colin Campbell of Glenorchy¹

GD112/39/1/5

10 June 1559, St Andrews

To my Lordis Menteith, Ruythwen, Lardis of Tylibairn and Glenurquhay²

My Lordis efter maist hartly commendatioun this is to certifye you that my Lorde of Sanctandrews³ is cummyng heir this Setterday⁴ to supper and intendis as we ar informit to bring in ane power of Franche men sa to mak impediment to sic thingis as we wald sett fordwart to the glory of God. For the quhilk and uther causis we maist effectuslie requeist you to cum to ws with all possible diligens wele accumpaignit sua that we may be hable togidder ...⁵ of the adversayris to perfourm sic thingis as ye sall k ... guid to be doyn at our meittings. To the quhilk tym we refer all uther thingis prayand the Almychtie God preserve your Lords. At Sanctandrews this Setteday the tenth of Junii. Be yowris at powar.

[PS] Prayand you to be varay circumspect in your fordwart cummyng and walk warlye.

- 2 Argyll and Lord James Stewart to Glenorchy GD112/39/1/6

26 August 1559, Inveraray Castle

To our traist cousing Colin Campbell of Glenorquhay

Rycht honorabill Sir and traist cousing we commend ws maist hartlie

¹ A bond to defend religion had been made at Perth between Argyll, Lord James*, Ruthven*, Menteith*, and Tullibardine*: 1 June 1559, Knox, *History*, i, 180: Introduction, 49.

² The addresses of all the letters are on the dorse. Few complete signet seals survive, although traces remain on most of the letters.

³ John Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews.

⁴ 10 June.

⁵ Tear in manuscript.

to yow. Quhome pleis wit conforme as ye know we ar in thir partis for dress¹ of our cuntre and hes commonit with our freindis off quhame we haif found sic dress as we haif requyrit. And is to pas schortlie to Lorn to meit the principallis of the Illis and wtheris gret men in thai partis for lyk dres.² And leist the samyn left at this tym suld call ws bak again we thocht expedient to putt end to all thingis or we cam furth of this partis that in neid ye suld nocht want ws. And for this caus hes appontit the noble men of the congregacione the x or xii of this nixt monethe of September for conventione in Sanct Johnistowne³ quhilk day as God willing we sall nocht fail, sa lyk wyis we desyris you maist ernstlie to kep the samyn. And to do with ...⁴ dellegence in thai partis to rec...ess⁵ freindis and stope enemeis according as we sall do God willing for that to be necessar. The nowellis quhilk my Lord Ruthen⁶ will communicat with yow as we haif desyrit him will persuaid yow thai ar maist suir for we haif thaim of the maist secret freyndis we have in thai partis. Referring the rest to your wysdome and almychtie God preserve you. At Inveraray the xxvi of August 1559 be youris assuryt in God.

3 Glenorchy to Argyll (draft)

GD112/39/2/1

8 October 1560, Ilanran (Killin)

The copy of the answer send to my Lord of Argyll

My Lord efter maist hartlie commendationis off service {I resavit your Lordshipis wretting}⁷ and quhair your Lordship causit spek {Ewin Macgregor, Patrick Our} and Duncane Abbroch⁸ for fynale concord to be haid {in thais woltheris⁸ that are} now alost in our cuntreis and yours for laik of concord. {As to that I am scory [sic]} saiffand the plesure of God conseddering the auchtorate {is nocht your Lordshipis contra part}

¹ To set in order.

² This meeting with James MacDonald of Dunivaig* and others seems to have brought them onto the side of the Lords of the Congregation: Archbishop Hamilton to Mary of Guise, 29 Sept. 1559, *Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine*, ed. A. Cameron (Scottish History Society, 1927), 426-7.

³ Perth.

⁴ Tear in manuscript.

⁵ Blot in manuscript.

⁶ The news which Patrick, 3rd Lord Ruthven*, was bringing might well have concerned the imminent arrival of James Hamilton, 3rd earl of Arran, son of the duke of Châtelherault*, who had been smuggled out of France by the English, and reached Scotland on 8 or 10 Sept. 1559: Knox, *History*, i, 229.

⁷ Words in {} brackets added from GD50/116/132-3.

⁸ Three MacGregors: Ewir* and Patrick, the brothers of Gregor MacGregor of Glenstrae* and Duncan, fostered in Lochaber: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 378, n. 333.

⁹ Conflicts.

nor myn that the Clangregor suld put our countrayis to {that poynt considering} thai ar so smale ane nomer. Bot gif it be to burne {and hary puyr} folkis¹ and that sic uppresioune wald nocht haif bene lattin with thaim in {your Lordshipis} forbearis tyme nor myn. And I feyr that utheris of the nobilete of Scotland persavis the ungodlie trayst that is amangis your Lordshipis freyndis that puttis your Lordship and me into sic ane baite² consedering the Clangregor wes woynnt to be bot servantis under your Lordship and me. And quhar your Lordship wretis that your Lordship hes continewit the answer of the Clangregor quhill the Lard of Auchinbrekis³ and uther freyndis be convenit to mak answer to thame. I wait your Lordship will nocht send answer to thaim bot according to your Lordshipis honor and myn and thairefter will send sum gentill men to me with sic drectionis as your Lordship and freyndis thinkis gude. As to that thai salbe werray weilcum and sall find me resonabiley according to your Lordshipis counsall and freyndis. I haif send sum credens with the young Lard of Inverlevir⁴ into ane memoriall quhilk and it be your Lordshipis plesure I will byd thairatt. Reffarand the rest to your Lordshipis gude mynd and advertisement and sua the Lord blis your Lordship. From llanran the viii day of October 1560.

4 John MacDougall of Dunollie to Glenorchy GD112/39/2/4

28 January 1561, Dunollie Castle (Lorn)

To my best belovite eyme⁵ Collin Campbell of Glenourquhay

Rycht wurschipfull Sir and trest eyme efter mest hartle commendation. It sall be advertis yow that I am als sik as ony wther man may be and tinkis nocht to schepe parrall of my lyf.⁶ And ye ar the man that did me the mest kyndnes that a man mycht do till ane wther and in tyme of my greit neid ye war the man that helpit me mest wnder God⁷ the quhilk I remembir weill in my hart. Suppowis for luif of yow and part of wantines I yit intill a part by the gett of the quhilk I besik yow forgevenes.⁸ Now becaws the caws requiris I pray yow mest effectuslie to remembir nocht

¹ Probably a reference to MacGregor raids on Glenlyon's lands of Kilmorich in Strathgairn: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 300-1.

² Bother.

³ Dougal Campbell, 4th of Auchinbreck*.

⁴ John Campbell, 2nd of Inverliver.

⁵ An uncle or close male relative.

⁶ Not to escape without peril of my life.

⁷ This is a reference to the warding of Dunollie in 1557 by the 4th earl of Argyll when Grey Colin stood surety for him: GD112/1/102; 104; 26 Aug. 1559 (2); AT, v, 77; BBT, 201.

⁸ MacDougall* is asking forgiveness for not having fulfilled all his obligations towards Grey Colin.

ony displesour that I did to yow bot rather keip your kyndnes to my broder and to my hows and all my sourname.¹ And quhair evir thai haif ado² to be thair guid frend and help thame in all thair juste actionis and geif your best consell to thame in all thair neidis. The quhilk I trest ye sall nocht fail and I haif adhortit my broder and the laiff³ of my sourname to obey yow and geif yow thair service abowne all manner of men my Lord of Ergyle allenerlie except. And quhen evir is neid to help yow and your hows your barnes men kyn and servandis insafar as thai may be mycht or power. The quhilk thai grantit befor me and I leif my malediction upon thame geif thai do nocht my bidding. Nocht ellis as now bot God almychtie haif yow in keiping. And help my powir servandis quhen evir thai haif ony action befor your self or ony wther and namele Sorlis barnis⁴ praying yow to help thame. At Dunnollyt the xxviii of Januar 1560. And becaws I mycht nocht writ I cawsit the Deyne of Lorn⁵ to subscrivit this with his hand.

[PS] Athour considerd I hald nay gair to leif yow and supponis I hald ye desyrit noht [sic] now I leif yow the best gift that I haif my broder Duncan and do for hym as ye did for⁶ in tyme of neid and God be your keiper.

5 Argyll to Glenorchy

GD112/39/2/6

11 May 1562, 'The Keir'

To our traist cusing the Lard of Glenurquhar

Traist cusing eftir hartlie commendatioun. Forsamekle ...⁷ sall wit this beirar hes bene at ws namit Patrik Robertson and has schawin ws that my Lord of Altholl puttis at him⁸ weray sair without ony cause as he allegeis. Bot onlie for to haif hym furth of his awin kyndlie rowmeis and takis as he will schaw yow in lenth. And be resson he is now cumin to our menteining and man do for him⁹ in his just cause and actioun that ye fortife and mentene him in his just cause. And speciallie to the keiping of

¹ Dougal MacDougall* succeeded his brother John as Laird of Dunollie and was served heir 6 June 1562: AT, v, 169.

² Have business.

³ Remainder.

⁴ This is probably Sorley MacCouill VicAllane, a MacDougall, for whom Grey Colin stood caution 13 Nov. 1564: GD112/1/152; BBT, 210.

⁵ John Carswell* was rector of Kilmartin and so rural dean of Lorn.

⁶ The 'me' is missing.

⁷ Blot on MS.

⁸ Pressurises. Patrick Robertson of Tullgavane and his kin were given letters of maintenance by the earl of Argyll, with Grey Colin acting as one of the witnesses: 21 July 1562, GD112/1/119. For Atholl's* reply to Argyll's complaints, 22 Nov. 1562 (8).

⁹ Must support him.

his wyld horss that is in the muiris gif he beis put at be my Lord of Atheall or his servandis. And gif it be possiabil to him tak thame away furth of the muir we pray yow to send servandis with him to help him away. For his hes schawin to ws that he lippinis¹ that ye will do alsmeikle for him as ony body. Thairfor we refer the rest of credans to the beirar him self. Swa committis you to God. Off the Keir the xi of Maii 1562. Yours.

6 Same to same

GD112/39/2/7

27 June 1562, Inveraray Castle

To our traist cousing Colin Campbell off Glenurchay

Cousing eftir hartlie commendatioun. Forsamikle as we ar informit that the Clangregor intendis to manuir² and occupy the landis of Ardonage and will nocht desist thairfra quhilk we can nocht suffer langar becaus the same apertenis to our freindis be kyndnes of lang tyme as ye know.³ Quhairfore ye sall declair to thame in our name that quhatewir he be that will intend to occupy the saidis landis except our saidis freindis that he salbe swir of our unkyndnes and of all the skayth⁴ that we or our friendis may do to him. And we think in lyk maner that ye suld nocht suffer our tendir freindis to be wrangit be the Clangregoris in sa far as thay ar under yow. And quhowbeid Makgregor be cum of our hous⁵ yeit we may nocht suffer him or his to do manifest wrang to our freindis and serwantis nowther wald thay pretendit in ony wayis to occupy ther rowmis that ar kynd and native to our saidis freindis and gif thay do lat the same be on thair awin parrall. As concerning the besines of Boquhidder we have spokin earnestlie to our broder⁶ thairintill and he hes promisit to ws befor honest men to gif ws the same swa that na impediment salbe in it bot quhowschone we

¹ Trusts.

² Manure and, more generally, farm the land.

³ The lands of Ardeonaig on the south side of Loch Tay which were under the proprietorship of the Napiers of Merchiston and the Haldanes of Gleneagles had been settled by the Mac Tarichs, who were the earl of Argyll's 'friends'. The MacGregors were occupying them with the tacit approval of Grey Colin: Macgregor, 'Macgregors', 300, 308.

⁴ Damage.

⁵ Gregor MacGregor's* mother was Mariota Campbell, sister of Sir Colin Campbell, 5th of Ardkinglas: Appendix C. There were other extensive links with the Campbells but it is unlikely that the MacGregors were an offshoot of Clan Campbell: Macgregor, 'Macgregors', 29-30.

⁶ The lands of Edinample and Glenample were in the hands of Colin Campbell of Boquhan*, Argyll's brother and future 6th earl of Argyll. In 1560, the earl had promised to infest Grey Colin with them, GD112/2/65/1/2. Despite a contract between the earl and his brother, Colin, 20 Aug. 1562, Argyll MSS bundle 46, Grey Colin did not receive these Glenample lands until 22 Feb. 1563, GD112/2/65/1/3; 5.

pas to the Lawland the same salbe endit without ony fardar delay. We lippin to your selff to speik Makgregor and his freindis to put ws nocht to ony cummers¹ quhilk wilbe thair awin disavantage. And God preserve yow. Of Inveraray the xxvii day of Junii 1562. Youris.

[PS] We ar informit that Dowgall Maktarliche and Tarlich Makkillip wantis wthair grayth² and pray yow to caus restoir thame to thair geir seing it is manifest wrang.³

7 Same to same

GD112/39/2/8

29 June 1562, Ardkinglas Castle⁴

To our traist cousing Colin Campbell of Glenurchay

Cousing efter hartlie commendatioun. Forsamikle as we ar informit of the sundry procedings of the Makgregoris and speciallie in takin takis of the landis of Ardonage quhilk ar partenis be auld and iust possessioun to our frendis and kinsmen for quhome we man do.⁵ And sa gif ye be remembret quhen our fader of guid memorie geff the saidis Makgregoris and thair band to yow⁶ it was to that effect thay suld serve him and yow in all guid actionis and nocht to reiff⁷ wranguslie thair iust possessionis and landis fra our tender frendis quhilk thay do now in deid nocht onlie to the hurt of our saidis frendis bot also to our contempt. Quhairfore we wald thay pretendit nocht to previne⁸ our saidis frendis to the intent to occupy thair rowmis quhilk thay sall nocht do gif we may be of powar to resist thame. Assuring thame gif thay proceid in thair saids wranguss actioun to tak our frendis possessionis by thame that we in lyk manner sall nocht fail to support and help thame that sall tak thair awin possessionis owir thair heddis. Quhilk we wald be leathe to do gif nocht thair proudnes quhilk we man suppress in our frendis iust actioun to compellit ws nocht thairto. Als we wald ye causit the Makgregoris to restoir to Dowgall Maktarlich the pair almost⁹ that we gif him uyder four ky and caus the

¹ Troubles.

² Materials.

³ The plight of Dougal MacTarlich, who had been raided by the MacGregors, is mentioned again, 29 June 1562 (7).

⁴ Lochfyne, Argyll.

⁵ Cf. letter from Argyll to Grey Colin, 27 June 1562 (6).

⁶ Archibald Campbell, 4th earl of Argyll, who probably transferred the bond of the MacGregors to Grey Colin at the same time as the MacGregor lands of Glenstrae: 26 Apr. 1554, GD112/2/81/5-6; GD112/75/19-20; AT, v, 33, 35; RMS, iv, 944. MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 268-9; 298; 308. Alastair MacGregor, the previous chief, had made a bond of manrent with the 4th earl, 6 Oct. 1544: AT, iv, 153; Wormald, *Lords and Men*, 183.

⁷ Steal.

⁸ Forestall.

⁹ Alms.

Makgregoris molest ws na fardar in this mater as thay will nocht incur our indignatioun. And God preserve yow. Of Ardkynglas the penult day of Junii 1562.

[PS] No wther can we stand content that ye or ony uther defend the Makgregoris aganis our saidis frendis.

8 John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl to Argyll GD112/39/2/9

22 November 1562, Balvenie Castle

To my Lord Erl off Argyll

My Lord efter maist hertly commendatioune. I haif resawit your Lordshipis wryting bering ye haif spokin sindry tymis onto me anentes Partik ...¹ sones and his broders gair² and yat I had done na thing thayir anents. I cane nocht remember that ewer your Lordship spak ony thing to me touching thair gair. Quhilk gif your Lordship had done oder towart thair gair or yit thame selfis it haid nocht bene your Lordshipis duetie consideryng the promesis that is betuix us of befoir.³ And quhair your Lordship wrytis that ye think I do unkyndly towartis your Lordship gif that I handill thai fai ... as thai haif deservit at my hands. And that I mane accept your Lordshipis kyndnes in the samin maner I sall mak your Lordship na cause for to allege ony onkyndnes one me. Bot sall keip all pointis that is betuix us in that sort that your Lordship nor na uther mane sall haif na reproche to input to me God willing. Beleifing that your Lordship will do inlyk maner. And sa will commit your Lordship to the protectioun of God. Frome Balwany the xxii of November 1562 be your Lordshipis gud frend.

9 Donald Campbell of Larg to Duncan Campbell of Glenlyon
GD112/39/2/12

12 February 1563, Kilmartin⁴

To the honorable and his lovit eme Duncan Campbell of Glenlyon deliver this

Honorable Sir and eme eftir my maist hartlie recommendiouns. This present salbe to advertis yow that I hef sene and considerit your dowble writtingis to lenth. And as for ane confirmacion of the Lard of Glenurquhais

¹ Ellipsis due to damage to MS.

² Possessions. A reference to Patrick Robertson and his brothers who had been harrassed: Argyll's letter, 11 May 1562 (5).

³ It is not clear which agreement is referred to here but there was a long history of tension between the earls of Atholl and Argyll and there were periodic reconciliations, bonds and agreements.

⁴ Mid-Argyll.

upoun your promiss I nevir supponit bot att ye suld be ane honorable faithfull man nor yit I did nocht desire sic confirmatioun to prese you utherwiss bot at ye schawe me at our first commonyng. And your promiss at the said Lard of Glenurquhay was desirar of me thairand at he was als weill gevin to that purpuss as ye. And quhy gif say hed bene think ye merwall that I wald desire his writting for ane witnessing at he war desirar of me thair to approbat your sayngis that he desirit me to the quhilkis I gef credens in the begynning. Bot ye sall hef me apardonit¹ I cann schaw the said Lardis writtingis to preif the contrar viz that he nevir bald nor desirit me nor my cumpany to cum thair nor wist nocht of that dracht.² This is dissonant with your informatioun quhairfor my counselloris³ hes forbiddin me to cum thair to that I hef ane sekir probatioun⁴ of the said Lard that he desiris me thair or nocht. And gif he desiris me thair I wat he will nocht stwdy to shaw me the samyn for I trestit to this present that ye hed bene bayth coniuclie sett for that purpuss. And als it war necesser that I knawe gif he desirit me thair als weill as ye sua that I and my cumpany mycht the mair esy uss in hes cuntrie quhen mister⁵ requiritis. And attour quhair ye write that the skath of your unfreindis quhilk ye hef gottin⁶ in ane part sall redound to me and my freindis schame without we \be set/ to revenge the samyn and gif plesit me and freindis to cum and tak my part of the remied. As for that plesit you to desire the rest of youris freindis to serve you say lang as I hef done and of sic ane fassioun yit sall I be als redy as thai to the samyn. Bot it is sene expedient to my counsell (howbeit it be lychtlifull to yow) that I gang nocht fuillaigie⁷ thair agane as I did afoir. And sua gif ye get nocht the said Lard of Glenurquhais writting with your awne to me at he is desirar of me thair like as ye ar hef me apardonit at I cum nocht. For I will nocht get men to pass to sic ane purpuss (without costis and expens) bot yit I and freindis salbe als weill gevin for the revenge of thai inimeis as ye be. Gif we gett nocht the said Lardis writtingis that he is desirar of ws thair and your awne writting at ye ar debtor to pay the costis at I sall mak over my

¹ Forgiven.

² Scheme.

³ The reference to his counsellors and later to his council suggest that Donald was still a minor, though he refers later in the letter to having served Glenlyon for a long time. There had been a considerable mix-up between Larg*, Glenlyon* and Grey Colin over Larg bringing his troops for service against the MacGregors. Larg now insisted upon having written instructions before he would come with his men and wanted Glenlyon to underwrite the cost of the operation.

⁴ Dependable proof.

⁵ Need.

⁶ This probably refers to the MacGregor raid of 7 Dec. 1562 on the inn at the Brae of Atholl, after which Duncan Campbell of Glenlyon and Patrick, his brother, took out signet letters against the MacGregors: 13 Dec. 1562, GD112/1/124-5; 141-2.

⁷ Foolishly.

cumpany. For gif ye do nocht send thir writtingis I can nocht hef ferm assurans that ye and the said Lard wald desire ws to cum thair. Bot alwiss we salbe sett for revenge \as/ utheris sall quhen tyme and place requiris howbeit we thoill¹ for ane tyme. Ferdar referris to your awne wisdom and nixt anser in this behalf. Sua committis yow to the Lord God. Of Kilmartin the xii day of Februar 1562. Youris eme at powar.

[PS] Pless mak my commendatiounis to the Lady your bedfallo² David Torscheach and Neill Campbell. For my broder the Lard³ commendis him hertlie to you and thaim.

10 Neil Malcolm, parson of Lochawe, to Glenorchy

GD112/39/12/3

Wednesday [c. May 1563⁴], Annat.⁵

To my lufving maister Collin Campbell off Glenurquhay delyver this

The grace of God omnipotent the comfortt of his son Jesus Christ wit the assistance of the Hally Gaist to be wit you for salutatiounis. This is to advertise your Mastership that I am occupyit wit your Mastershipis bessenes and my awin and ware nocht that I haid syk nessessar bessenes I would nocht be salang absentt fra your Mastership bot I am inspecialle bydand wpoun ane servand that I directit to Lorne to spy sporttis. For I wes infformit that Johne Campbell your eme send fra hym Makgregoris soun⁶ wit his compleis and gif that be trew I sall haif fair advertesiment or evin of thair sepperatioun and diate⁷ quhilk ye salbe advertesist quhow soun I may be suir. And hest the boy to me sua that I may be at yow eftir as ye will haif ado with me quhilk sall nocht be dilayitt saffar as may. Wit my hertle commendatioun of service to my hussie⁸ the Lady and God preseryf yow bayth. Of the Annand this Wednisday be your ondoutitt servitor

¹ Suffer.

² Janet Robertson, Glenlyon's wife.

³ This could refer to Archibald, Donald's eldest brother, though he did not succeed their father John Campbell of Lochnell until 1568, or his elder brother, John of Cabrachan, or possibly his brother-in-law, a Cadogan.

⁴ Neil Malcolm*, signing himself Parson of Lochawe, made a bond of manrent with Grey Colin, c. May 1563 (the bond itself is undated but placed with documents dated Apr. and May 1563), GD112/1/132. The contents of the letter seem to be linked to the events described in Donald Campbell of Larg's* letter to Glenlyon*, 12 Feb. 1563 (9).

⁵ South of Kilchrenan (north-west end of Loch Awe). Neil Malcolm, now styled Rector of Lochawe, received a feu charter from Argyll for the lands of Annat in Lochawe, 22 Oct. 1569: AT, vi, 137.

⁶ John Campbell, probably of Lochnell, who annoyed Grey Colin by entertaining the MacGregors on other occasions. The reference to MacGregor's son probably means Gregor MacGregor, who was still young, having just come of age: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 270, 306f.

⁷ Meeting.

⁸ Mistress or housewife.

reddy to command.

[PS] And quhen ye haif red this braik it sua thai it be nocht patent¹ to mony.

11 Argyll to Glenorchy

GD112/39/2/20

1 October 1563, Carrick Castle (Cowal)

To our trest cousing the Lard off Glenwrquhay

Trest cousing eftir our maist hartly commendations. Forsamikle as ye ar rememberitt thatt at our laist deparitting ye desyritt me to send word to Macgregar to desyr hym nocht to perschew Glenurquhay bott afor I gatt his ansuer he haid browntte ane paritt of it as ye her. And his ansuer wes sen he saw na ralife for hym self nowther be ws nor yow att he wald be doen on the best he michitt.² I heir say thatt the nwmer of fowirty men quhilk ye desyritt me to send wes owir fewe and be resone of the skaithe done ellis in Glenorquhay afor I culd gett my men send thair. I wald send nane afor thatt I advertist yow and knew yowr mynd thairintill and gif ye vill thatt I send ony men thair advertis me with delygens and the samin sall be done. Mairowir Patrik MacDoilker³ is cumin to me schawand thatt thay ar effreyd baithe in body and guidis for yow. Quhilk in deyde I ame nocht perswaditt to giwe creditt to for I beliwe assuritly thatt ye will do na mane harme quhowme ye know to hawe our mentynans afor ye wald cause their feillis⁴ to be tryitt in our presens. Quhilk beand done and thair ewill deidis prowyn or openly knawin ye sall hawe my sichitt and your awin in the samen for satisfaction quhilk giwe thay be fund gilte sall be sair anewche for thaim. And quhiddir ye pleis this or to hawe the law of thaim ony of thaim sall be redy to yow as ye pleis. And desyris yow effectuisly thatt the said Patrick and his brother be na udir wayis handelitt nor said is. Or ellis ye know thatt it will nocht stand with our honour quhilk I am assurit ye will nocht estyme to thaim consedering we efferitt to yow all resone as is above wrettin and desyris your ansuer with deligens in thir premissis. Haifand na fardar occasion to wreitt to yow at this present committis yow to God. At the Carik the first day of October 1563. Yours.

¹ Accessible. Despite its secret content Grey Colin obviously ignored the instruction to destroy the letter.

² Gregor MacGregor* was asserting that he was driven to the desperate measure of burning Glen Orchy because he could not get a settlement with either Grey Colin or Argyll: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 324-5. For Colin's furious reply, 4 Oct. 1563, see 12.

³ Cf. MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 326-7.

⁴ Faults.

12 Glenorchy to Argyll (draft)

GD112/39/2/21

4 October 1563, Balloch Castle

My Lord Argyllis writingis anant MacGregor¹

My Lord eftir maist hartlie commendatiounis service. I haif resavit your Lordshipis writing makand mentioun that MacGregor had birnt ane part of Glenurquhay or your Lordship gat his anser.² I knaw the birning is of verite and albeit I haif the scayth the dishonor is your Lordshipis quhilk I regard maist be resoun your Lordship tuke Glenurquhay on hand afor the Secreit Cunsale in Streuiling³ quhilk causit me to be mair slouthfull nor I wald haif bene. And quhair your Lordship writis that MacGregor anser wes sen he saw nay releif at your Lordshipis hand nor myne that he wald be doand the best he mycht. As to that your Lordship may do to hym as ye pleis bot he sall nevir haif the gud that I may hald fir hym or nane of his surname and I hope in God to se the tyme that thai quha culyeiss sik ribales and cruell tyrantis⁴ salbe eschamit thair of. And quhair your Lordship desires me to advertis your Lordship gif ye sall send men to Glenurquhay I can do nay thing bot refer that unto your Lordshipis plesure \according unto your Lordshipis promis maid afor the Cunsale quhilk I hope your Lordship will perform and better be resoun the men of Glenurquhay mon seref⁵ your Lordship als sone as ony uther within your Lordshipis bundis for quhair thai mycht haif haid support of the cuntre/ afor thai man now tak thair furnesing⁶ with thame gif thai pas thair be resoun the cuntre is neir waistit. And quhair your Lordship writis that MacDoulkere and his bruther ar efferd for me and that thai being under your Lordshipis menteinans and gettand scayth that it can nocht stand with your Lordshipis honour. As to that I knew nocht that thai had siclik of your Lordship bot assuritie I haif thair bandis vii yeris syne with all securiteis that thai culd gif and nay man exceptit bot the Quene Majestie⁷ gif thair had bene ony fayth with thame. And mervalis to quhat effect thai sutit your Lordshipis

¹ Probably in a later hand.

² This was the letter from Argyll to Grey Colin, 1 Oct. 1563 (11). For Gregor MacGregor's* raid on Glen Orchy, MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 315, 325-6.

³ Precisely what Argyll had promised to the privy council at Stirling concerning Glen Orchy was a matter of dispute between Grey Colin and him: 22 Sept. 1563, RPC, i, 248-50.

⁴ Those who entertain kindly such rebels and cruel tyrants.

⁵ Serve.

⁶ Supplies.

⁷ According to Grey Colin the bond with MacDoualker was made 7 years before (i.e. 1556) but the extant bond with him was dated 11 Mar. 1560, GD112/24/1/2, fo. 17, and those from his Balquhidder kin were 9 Mar. 1560 and 17 Apr. 1561, GD112/24/1/2 fos. 16-17; 20: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 304, 326.

menteinans \wythout thai knaw thamselvis giltie or ellis wald gif thair ger to saw ewill seyde betuix your Lordship and me quhilk I think suld nocht ly in thair power considering I falit nevir/ to thame that I promisit kindnes. And sen thai haif begin it lat thame be assurit thai sall haif nay gud of me nor nane utheris of thair surname. And had I usit thame and the rest of MacGregoris cunsaloris as my pwir tenentis hes bene handillit my sobir¹ bundis had nocht gottin say gret scayth as it hes bot I feir it will cum to that at the last gif God providis nocht bott haistelic. Bot ther is naything mair intollerabill unto me nor se...² Lordship regard sik commoun theiffis as MacDoulkeiris mair nor me and the waisting of my cuntre quhilk I knaw your Lordshipis fader wald nevir haif estemit alik. And supponit your Lordship wald nocht sufferit the samen on revengit albeit I had been deyd and specialie the landis that I hald of your Lordshipis self. Bot wald your Lordship gif me thame that I haldin of the Quene Majestie I wald gif your Lordship yit for all the scayth I haif sustenit mair silver nor all the Clan Gregor may gif and nevir cummer your Lordship with thame in tymes cuming.³ Bot to keip the auld kindnes that wes betuix your Lordshipis hous and myne I beseik your Lordship to call unto your rememberans that I mycht haif bene at quietnes als weill as uther nybouris war nocht your Lordship desirit me to be participant of the revenging of the cruell murther of your Lordshipis kinismen and servantis and promisit that nay deligens suld be omittit on your Lordshipis syde albeit your Lordship be sumpart satillit.⁴ Bot the eternall God will steir wp your Lordshipis mynd agane or ellis sum utheris to revenge the gret effusioun of blude sched within your Lordshipis bundis and myne by all the rest of this realme. And I tak God to witnes that I wes nocht the occasioun thairof and swa committis your Lordship to the Lord God from Balloch the fird⁵ of October 1563.

13 Argyll to Glenorchy

GD112/39/2/22

11 October 1563, Ayr

To our traist cousyng the Lard of Glenwrquhay be this delyverit

Traist cousyng efter hartlie commendatiounis. We haiff rasavit your twa

¹ Either humble or weak.

² Ellipsis due to damage to MS.

³ Grey Colin was offering to buy out the earl of Argyll so that he could hold Glen Orchy direct from the Crown, an offer which the earl vehemently rejected: 11 Oct. 1563 (13).

⁴ Settle, in the sense of yielding a little. Grey Colin suggested that he had entered the feud with the MacGregors in the first place at the earl's request to revenge the murder of Argyll's kinsmen, the sons of Campbell of Oib and Campbell of Barbreck: GD112/1/126/141-2; MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 315, 327.

⁵ Fourth.

letteris fra you concernand syndrie heidis.¹ As to the first heid quhair ye say that I tuik in hand to keip Glenwrquhay quhilk I did never quhill the xx day of this instant as the Queneis Grace ordenance proponittis. Bot the thyng thatt I promiissit [sic] was to haif send sum number of men to help to keip the said boundis alsone as I mycht accumin to my cuntray the quhilk I said that I wald do of benewolence to you bot nocht of na command of the Queneis Grace becaus Hir Grace wald nocht command me mair nor my nychtbouris. Thairfoir allege nocht on me bot that thyng that is trewth. And as for the Clangregor quhay are the Quennis rybellis I sall God willyng do my delegece in the persuit of thaim as I may for the awanement of the Quennis service within the boundis that is committit to my charge.² And als I merwell of you that desyris me to gif yow over the superieoretie of Glenwrquhay for I belief that my foirbearis gait it nocht so lychtly. And I am werie sorie that ye suld wryit sik ane propositioun quhilk compellis me to gif that ansure that I wald be laith to do. For suirlie be ye assurit that howlang that I leif that I will nocht give you the said superieoretie. For I thynk me worthy of the samin suppois it ware better nor it is for I thynk to keip that thyng that my foirbearis haid. And so I will nocht wryitt ony fardar at this present³ bot committis you to God. Of Air the xi day of October 1563. Youris.

[PS] As for your tennentis of Glenwrquhay that ye wryit to me to send hame againe ye sall wit that I will nocht stop nane of thame that plesis to gang hame 1563 [sic] Thairfoir send for thame gif ye pleis.

14 John Campbell of Skipnish to Glenorchy GD112/39/6/31

13 October [1563],⁴ Auldmuir (Ayrshire)⁵

To ane rycht honorabill man and his eme ye Lard of Glenowrhar

Rycht honorabill Sir and eme eftir hartlie commendatiouns. This present is to adverteiss yow that my Lord let me se your wryttin ye sen to his lordship and I ded persaife be the saming it apperit ye war in greif in tyme of the wryttin of it. And me Lord was sum pairt crabit that ye wraite safar

¹ Only one of Grey Colin's letters, that of 3 Oct. 1563 (12), has survived.

² The earl and Grey Colin had two different interpretations of what had been agreed in the council concerning the commission against the MacGregors made on 22 Sept. 1563: *RPC*, i, 248-50.

³ The earl was horrified by the suggestion that he should sell or hand over the superiority of Glen Orchy to Grey Colin and was so angry that after the firmest possible rejection he ended the letter. Skipnish* described the earl as 'sum pairt crabit' in his letter to Grey Colin, 13 Oct. 1563 (14).

⁴ Reference is made to the letters from Grey Colin to Argyll of 3, 11 Oct. 1563 (12-13).

⁵ Probably Auldmuir, just west of Dalry in Ayrshire, owned by Sir James Chalmers of Gadgirth: *RSS*, v, I, 574.

as ye deide. For he denyit the first poynt of your wryttin that he tuik on hande to keip Glenowrye befor the Cownsaill and als he was discontentit for that ye desirit schayngin¹ of superiouris anentis the landis of Glenowrye. And he [sic] Lordschip thinkis that ye ar oyer extreme ar upon the twa MacCowlkerss that his Lordship wrait to yow in thair favoris.² I rasonit with his Lordship upon the poyntis of your wryttin the best I culd. And I said till his Lordship that it was nocht his dewety to do for thaim geif that thai war the men that ye callit thaim in your wryttin. And it apperit veill thai war fre in safar as thai raquistit me Lord to do for thaim thai nocht beand put at. Attour I paite me Lord in remembrance of the beginnyng of thir cummriss betuix yow and the Clangregor and of the poyntment quhilk thai offerit yow quhilk the schawe me Lord in Santjonson and of his Lordshipis ansuer till yow. And that hes Lordship knaw him self exsemand his concense how his Lordship haid usit anentis yow sensyn. His Lordship was sumpart offendit with me that I extenuit³ him safar. Efter lang rasonnyng, I was raquistit to wryte to yow to se geif thair was ony appoyntment that ye wald heir betuix yow and the Clangregor. And I sperit⁴ geif thair was ony speciality or yeit geif ony man hald commissioun and thai said nay. For thai ar dispairt that ye will heir ony appoyntment. And geif ye will that I enter in ony fardar commonnyng I sall dryfe it to ane speciality⁵ and adverteiss yow in wryte geif ye think it guid. Me Lord passis to Enraraye⁶ and hes ane conwencioun of his freyndis thair the xv day of this instant moneth. And thaireftir cumis to Dumbertane and drectis certain folkis to the Breiss of the Lennoze and to udir plecis contenit in his commissioun⁷ quhilk he exceptit afoir the Counsaill to persew the Glengregor geif that cum within thai bowndis. I will nocht cumer yow with langor wryttin. Bot ye ar wyss anewcht excepad your wisdome in your awin mater it is ane ill taile that may nocht be hard. Referrand the rest to your ansuer. And the eternall God haif yow in his kepin. Of the Ald Mwre the xii day of October. Be yowris eme at powar in the auld manner.

¹ Possibly a form of exchange or excambion.

² For the two points at issue, the promise to the council and MacDouker, see 1, 3, 11 Oct. 1563 (11-13).

³ Pushed to the limit.

⁴ Inquired.

⁵ Drive it to a detailed conclusion.

⁶ Inveraray.

⁷ The commissions against the MacGregors, 26 July 1563, GD112/1/134, AT, vi, 16; 22 Sept. 1563, RPC, i, 248-50.

15 James MacGill of Nether Rankeillour to Glenorchy

GD112/39/3/1

13 January 1564, Edinburgh

To the rycht honorable Lard of Glenurquhy

Rycht honorable Sir eftir maist hartlye commendatioun. Pleis yow wyt I haif spokin at lenth wyth my Lady your wyff in thir caussis concernyng yow wyth the Clangregor.¹ And as I beliefe the Quenis haldand fordwart to Sanct Johnnestoun for doing of justice in thai materis upoun sik men of the cuntre as hes nocht done thair dewitte I beleiff that way sall put ane stay to all yir trowbillis.² Ye salbe assurit that all thingis as I may do is awir reddy and salbe to yow. I haif at mair lenth in all behalfis spokin to my Lady your wyff as scho will declare to yow. Committand yow to the keping of the Almychty God. Of Edinburgh the xiii day of Januar 1563. Your man at his uter power.

16 James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton, to Glenorchy GD112/39/3/3

13 January 1564, Edinburgh

To our traist freind the Lard of Glenurchar

Eftir my hartlie commendatioun. Eftir the resset of your wryting sua sone as oportunitie micht serve we travelit in your materis and hes takin sic ordour thairin as was thocht the nixt to the weill of your cauiss for the present. We have causit the Quenis Majestie to alter hir jornay from Tevydail to cum to Sanctjohnnestoun quhair Hir Grace intendis to hald ane justice courte pryncipallie for the punischement of sic as hes assistit and forfeit the Glengregor [sic]. And farder intendis befoir Hir Majesteis returne from thyne to se a stay put to your trowbillis.³ Quhat ye wald have doun in thir materis wryte your mynd with sum freind bak unto your freindis heir in courte and we salbe willing to sett fordwarttis the same. Your bedfallow will declair yow the maner how all thingis procedit heir.⁴ Thair foir I will trowbill yow with na langar lettre at this tyme bot committis yow to the keping of the leving God. From Edinburgh the xiii of Januar 1563. Youris assurit.

¹ Katherine was in Edinburgh pressing the case against the MacGregors with the result that the council had issued new commissions for Grey Colin against the MacGregors themselves and their ressetters: 8, 10 Jan. 1564, RPC, i, 255-8; MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 330. See also Morton's letter of 13 Jan. (16).

² When in Perth the queen and privy council renewed the commission against the MacGregors, 18 Mar. 1564: RPC, i, 269-70; MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 331-2.

³ Compare MacGill's* letter of the same date (15) also discussing the queen's and council's plans for the MacGregors: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 330.

⁴ Katherine, having lobbied successfully at Court, was returning with all the details and would have been carrying Morton's* and MacGill's* letters with her.

17 Argyll to Glenorchy

GD112/39/3/4

19 February 1564, Stirling

To our traist cousing the Lard off Glenurquhar

Cousing eftir maist hartly commendatiouns. Forsamekle as ye sall witt thatt I send word to Argyll to swmmon of your tennandis of Glenurquhay to desyir tham to pas haim to manwir thair landis. Quhais ansueris wes thatt thay wer noichitt suir in quhatt manir thay suld pas haim for thay stand in dowitt giwe ye will requer malis for this yeris profittis thatt thay brownitte.¹ In to quhilk giwe ye do thay will nocht pas haim albeid thay be letient² be MacGregor. Quhairfor ye sall advertis me assuritly of your mynd with this berar anentis the samin and I sall do my utir deligens thereftir. Alis ye sall witt thatt Gregar MacEin is contenttit to manwir all the rowmis thaitt he haid in his awin hand togiddir with his fadiris thatt lay wast giwe ye pleis as said is. And he sais thatt he is contettitt to submitt hym to me and to yowr self in all manir of thyngis ye hawe to lay to his charge and your ansuer in thir premissis with delygens. Haifand na fadir to wreitt to yow att this present. Committis yow to the protectioun of God. At Streuelyng the xix day of Februar 1563. Youris.

18 Duncan Campbell of Glenlyon to Glenorchy GD112/39/2/13

2 March 1564, Slatich (Glen Lyon)

To the rycht honorable the Lard off Glenurquhay

Rycht honorabill Sir efter maist hertlie commendatiounis with servis. This present salbe to adverteis your Mastership that I haif spokin with this berar quha hes schawin me sum credit be...ing³ and amangis the rest hes schawin me that your Mastership suld heir that I suld be assurit togider and unfreindis the Clangregor. As to that I wald nocht that your Mastership suld iuge my puir wit say that I wald be the first man that suld agre with thayme insafar as I wes the man that thai handlit maist unfrendlie of the hous that I am cumit of. Trewlie I wald nocht for all the heretaig that the rest of the Clangregor hes that is now lewand bot I suld be the last man that suld agre or be assurit with thaim of the surnam I beir insafar as thay haif done to me the maist inguris that thai can at this present.⁴ I wald nocht that I haid preiffit the fuill in thai efferis bot suld haif bein better

¹ This suggests that Grey Colin was regarded as an exacting landlord if the rumour (whether true or not) was circulating that he would still be collecting the rents, even though the lands had been despoiled.

² Permitted.

³ Ellipsis represents damage to MS.

⁴ Glenlyon* was denying the rumour that he had made a private agreement with the MacGregors by pointing out that of all the Campbells he had suffered the most damage, but he was the father-in-law of Gregor MacGregor: cf. Appendix C.

avisit with freindis nor I haif. Concernin the begynning of thir materis I cann nocht stope the ruvmor of vulgar pepill and specialy of my unfreindis nevirtheless your Mastership sall wit that Macgregor and his freinds that is with him present at this tyme send in ane message with ane callit Makneskar. The quhilk message I wald nocht haif hard war nocht I were consalit with sik company as I haid for sik causis as I bade Johne Leiche¹ schaw your Mastership. The messaig wes this that Magregor [sic] desyrit of me that I wald be the causer to relax him and the rest of the menne that wes put to the horn.² Secundlie till lat Duncan Magregor occupy hes awin takis and ples hes tenentis in thair awin rwmes. Treidly to put samony tenentis as I put out of thair rwmes in Glenlyoun of the Clangregor to put thaim in thair rwmes againe. And ferdly to lat Patrik Johne Dowgalsone to liberte. The anser that I gaif to thir artikilis is nocht honest quhilk I sall schaw your Mastership with the sythment³ that thai wald do to me, I doand the samen. Nocht ellis as now bot refferis the rest to advertisement or meting quhilk I pray God be sortlie as the boy hes schawin me. And the eternall God haif yow in his keping. Of Slattyche the secund of Merche 1563.

19 John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl, to Glenorchy GD112/39/3/5

31 March 1564, Dunkeld

[No address]

Rycht traist cousing efter hertlye commendatiounis. I haif resawit your wryting propoting that the Clangregor hes done sum skaithe to yowe and to your cousing Jhone Campbell of the Lawers in Glenlochaye,⁴ and tuk the wrouthe but tarye⁵ and that ye ar nocht certane quhat cuntrie thai ar in nowe bot that ye will pass your self to the west end of Lochtaye. Thairfoir desyring me to causs all the ferrymen one Taye and Tummell⁶ that thai be not feriet over nene of thai watteris quhilk God willing salbe

¹ John Leche or Leech for doctor, probably a MacLachlan of Craigenterve, made a bond with Grey Colin, 4 Aug. 1552, GD112/24/1/2, fos. 9-10. As a member of a Gaelic learned order, John was probably acting as a scribe and confidential messenger or negotiator rather than a doctor: J. Bannerman, 'The MacLachlans of Kilbride and their manuscripts', *Scottish Studies*, xxi (1977), 7-9.

² To lift the sentence of outlawry from the MacGregors.

³ Payment, in the sense of paying them back in their own coin.

⁴ The MacGregors had made a raid upon Grey Colin's lands and on Campbell of Lawers'* lands in Glen Lochay and Grey Colin had written to Atholl* asking him to block up likely escape routes. Atholl was part of the renewed commission against the MacGregors, 18 Mar. 1564, *RPC*, i, 269-70; MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 332.

⁵ Wrouthe but tarye of wear awa: to slip away quickly and quietly.

⁶ Blocking the ferries was an important service because it was necessary to cross either the Tay or the Tummel rivers to get out of Breadalbane to the east.

\done within my boundis/. And lykwaiss sall send word to causs tak attendance in sic braies of my cuntraye as ye wryt that thair sall cum nene of thame thair and gif thai cum that thai salbe scharplie put at. Forder quhan ye wryt that ye beleif that thai salbe sa scharplie put at on the west hand that thai salbe constrenit oder to cum on my boundis or youris. As to that ye salbe assurit God willing gif that thai cum thair thai salbe sua handlit that thai sall haif als lytill refuge in thir partis as one the west hand.¹ Swa refaris the rest to your nixt advertissment. And God preserve yow. Of Dunkeld the last of Merche 1564. Yours at pouir.

20 James MacDonald of Dunivaig to Glenorchy GD112/39/3/6

6 June 1564, Saddell Castle

To the rycht honorable man Colline Campbell of Glenurchay² deliver this

Richt honorable Sir efter my hartlie commendatiounis. This is to advertiss yow that at my being in court last Makgregor and his cumpany past to Ireland and feid thame selfis with ane brother of myne Sorle MacConaill without ony command or directioun of myne quha undirstude na freindis to be offendit thairat be reasoun of my absence of the cuntre for the tyme.³ And now I thocht guid to advertiss yow that the samin wes done without my advyss. Quhairfoir gif ye be offendit that the said Clangrigor be with my brother ye sall lat me know your mynd thairin and according thairto I sall caus that mater to be usit safar as I may with my honestie and reasoun howsoun thair terme be rwn furth. And sa refferris all uthiris to your ansuer. And sa commitis yow to God. Off Syadull the sex day of Junii 1564. Youris.

¹ Grey Colin was planning to block the western routes out of Breadalbane so that the MacGregors would be driven east: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 333.

² The name 'Arkinglas' was crossed out.

³ James MacDonald had the difficult and embarrassing task of explaining to Grey Colin how his youngest brother, Sorley Boy MacDonald, had, without consultation and when James was at the Scottish Court, hired the MacGregors to fight for the MacDonalds in Antrim. For the episode of the MacGregors in Ireland, letters 11 Sept. and 8 Oct. 1564 (22-3); MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 333-4.

21 Glenorchy to James Menzies of Weem (draft) GD112/39/2/5
c. 3 August 1564¹

[No address]

Nychtbor effir hartlie commendatiounis. I haif sayne your wretin makand mentioun that certane of your servantis mett iiiii or v ky of myn in the brays of your cuntrey passand to the Clanrandis² boundis and that ye haiff comprehendit the samen and desyris to wit quhat salbe done with thaim. As to that ye sall wit that MacRannald and my servantis the last tym that thai wer in Rannoch haid thair spyis afor thaim and the said spyis saw Gregor closby to MacWilliam VicOlcallum³ and ane uvther natyve man of Lochaber callit Johnn Our MacAnedoy VicCouil Abrych⁴ with vi heyd of ky quhilk thai take to Glen Nevis with sundre uther inspreth⁵ and as I am informit that the saidis personis ar ressett in Lochaber as yit into quhais boundis I will sklender na man. And quhar ye wret that ye will keip your awin boundis clene as to that ye do that service to your God and to your princes and of gude nychtboret towart my part quhilk as I belewe offendit never to you nor yit to your surname. And quhowbeit that ye think Williame MacOlcallum and his sonis mayr stadabill⁶ to yow nor I to be your gude nychtbor and ye to haiff the Quenis Magisteis favouris I man tak that in patienis. Bot ye salbe assurit that I will nocht do to yow bot the duwete of ane nychtbor. Bot I adverties yow gif ye cum befor the Quenis Magiste and my Lord of Murray quha become catioun⁷ for yow that I will complaine on yow for the ressait of the forsaidis personis quhilk I wor layth to do gif I mycht haiff my intent uthervyse. And quhar ye wret that thairis ewill rehersand⁸ betuix yow and me as to that ye sall wit that I will tak na ewill reherse on yow nor yit of na uther honest man bot I sall adverties your selff to se gif ye will mend the samen. And quhar ye reffar the rest to our awin meteyne as to that I belewe ye fand me never bot ane

¹ Whilst staying at Castle Menzies, Queen Mary sent a sharp reprimand to Grey Colin following a complaint from James Menzies of Weem*, 3 Aug. 1564, HMC, vi, I, 706. The full summons before the council mentioned in the letter was made on 29 Sept. 1564, *RPC*, i, 289-90. Alexander Menzies had died on 7 Mar. 1564 and been succeeded by his son James. The case came before the privy council 3 Nov. 1564: *RPC*, i, 292-3.

² John MacDonald, captain of Clan Ranald.

³ Malcolm MacWilliam VicOlchallum of Rannoch made a bond of manrent with Grey Colin, 3 Aug. 1552, GD112/24/1/2 fo. 9; *BBT*, 194-5; MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 295-7.

⁴ John MacDonald of Glencoe.

⁵ Household furnishings.

⁶ Serviceable.

⁷ Stand surety.

⁸ Malicious talk.

trew man and quhen ever ye lyk ye salbe weilcum to meit me in my awin place as I did of befor in the auld manner. And God preserve you.

22 Agnes Campbell, Lady Dunivaig to Glenorchy GD112/39/3/7

11 Sept. [1564¹], Dunivaig Castle.²

To ...³ the Lard of Glenowrche gyf this

Eme efter hartlie comendatiounis. Forsamekill pliss with that I am informit that Magrigar [sic] hes gotten his fiall fre Sowrlie⁴ and is in purposis to cume owt of Ayrland in continet.⁵ Allso he desyritt licence fre my howsband to be transportit owt of the Glennes to Scotland quha reffuissit him of the samin. And becaus that he cann gett na ferrin owt of my howsbandis boundis I beleif that he will gange to Knokfergus and thair Cappitane Peris will causs thame to be transportit.⁶ Be that resone I thocht to advertiss yow of thair dayat befor thair cumin to Scotland. Farthar I mervell of yow that sent me no answer of the laist commonying⁷ that was betwix yow and your Laday and me. Nocht ellis bot sa biddis yow to the protectione of God. Off Dunnevaig the xi of September. Be yours.

23 Argyll to Glenorchy GD112/39/3/8

8 October 1564, Edinburgh

To our cousing the Lard of Glenwrquay gif this

Cousyng efter maist hartlie commendatiounis. Forsameikill as ye sall

¹ See the letter concerning the MacGregors being employed in Ireland from Agnes' husband, James MacDonald of Dunivaig*, 6 June 1564 (20). The MacGregors were reported to have landed in the south-west of Scotland, 8 Oct. 1564 (23).

² Islay.

³ Damaged.

⁴ Sorley Boy MacDonald, brother of James, who had given the MacGregors their fee at the end of their service as redshanks. Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador, reported that the MacGregors had returned to Scotland 'very poor', 24 Oct. 1564, *CSP Scot.*, ii, 88.

⁵ Immediately.

⁶ Having had a licence to depart from the Glens of Antrim refused by James MacDonald, the MacGregors had been forced to go south to the English base at Carrickfergus commanded by Captain William Piers. The Scottish council had issued a commission at Grey Colin's request to try to prevent boats from the west coast being used to transport the MacGregors: 4, 13-21 Aug. 1564, GD112/1/150-1; printed in W. Fraser, *The Lennox*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1874), ii, 427-8; MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 335-6.

⁷ Replacing the crossed out, 'writing that I sent to yow'. There is no other indication of the matters discussed between Lady Agnes, Katherine and Grey Colin, though they might have involved marriage proposals.

wnderstand that we ware in to Dalkeith and my Lord of Mwrraye to gidder and my Lord off Mortown wpon the vii daye of this instant passand our tym and wpon the saidis daye we comm till Edinbrucht. And quhen we comm we ware suirlye advertiisit that the Clangregor landit in to sum part of Carrik for in quhat place thai landit we cann nocht tell bot thai did land to the number of foure scoir of men.¹ And thairfoir howsoun that we gat knowlage of the saymin we thocht it best to advertiis yow thairof that ye mycht be ware of thaim. And thai past to the town of Air quhaye refusit to lat thaim enter in the town. And we are assurit that thai will mak fordwairt to your boundis als soun as thai maye. Fardare ye sall wnderstand that we are of mynd to be schoirtly in to Sanct Jonstoun and thairefter will speik with yow in with your awn hous. And this we commit you to God. Off Edinburgh the viii daye of October. And commend us hairtlye to your bedfallow 1564. Youris.

24 Gregor MacGregor of Glenstrae to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/3/19

bef. 25 November 1564²

To my maistress the Lady of Glenurquhay

Maistreis efter maist hartlie commendatioun of service. This present salbe to ramember your Ladyship that I lipin in youe to do my gud herand³ at my Maisteris hand your spous. And remembir at this is the fyrst herand at I desyrit at your hand to do for me. And ye kep kyndnes ye suld do my gud herand tytare⁴ nor my ewill herand. Do in this mater as your wysdoun thynkis expedient and God be your keper. Be youris at command.

¹ For the MacGregors return from Ireland, 11 Sept. 1564 (22). On 9 July 1564, Argyll and all the leading Campbells had made a bond to assist Grey Colin against the MacGregors: GD112/1/148; AT, vi, 46-8; BBT, 209-10.

² This letter probably precedes Gregor's letter to Grey Colin c. 25 Nov. 1564 (25). It should be placed at the start of the attempts at reconciliation after the MacGregors' return from Ireland: 8 Oct. (23); 25 Nov. 1564, GD112/39/3/11. In John McGregor's collection this letter is filed after 1 Feb. 1565, GD50/187/1: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 339, n. 183.

³ Errand.

⁴ Sooner or rather.

25 Gregor McGregor of Glenstrae to Glenorchy — GD112/39/2/25

c. 25 November 1564¹

To ane worschipfull and my traist maister and eym Colin Campbell of Glenwrquhay

Rycht wurshipfull Sir maister and eyme eftir all hertle commendatiounis of my service. All thoyth ye thynk it nocht to all to your plesour nochtwithstanding gif your Maisterschip wald be so gratius as to lat me and my kennissmen brwik² and possiss our awin kynd natife rummiss for dewite and service as we aucht in your service. I my kennissmen freyndis and servandis sa mony as ma salbe obedient and serviabile to your Maistership in tymes cummyng aganis all the Quenes Grace and my Lord Erle of Ergile exceptit and sall eftir my powar recompenss of my service and geir the skayth that is done my heredage and the lif of my kennissmen beand exceptit.³ Ye sall onderstand that I haif na mair to offer and gif yow bot my service togidder with my kenn and frendis sa mony as ma lat and till servef [sic] yow eftir powar in recompenss. Ye ar the maister that is maist necessar for me and my freynds onder God. And I and my kennissmen ar the maist necessar servandis for yow onder God.⁴ And all thoyth that I and my frendis be at deferance with your Mastership instantly, I and tha and gif God sendis me ofbryng⁵ will servief [sic] your Mastershipis ofbryng in tym cummyng. Ye sall wit I am cumin ewiss⁶ your boundis and I mycht till haif donn skayth quhilk I defarrit byding on your gud mynd. I left Scotland at the command of my Lord Erle of Ergile beleifing of the setting of your gud mynd toarthis me.⁷ And throyth your dredart⁸ and all thoycht ye draw on your wtheris ye ar nocht abill to get mair fectuiss⁹ servandis to your plessour nor we ar. Pleiss yow to send me in wrett your

¹ Written after the MacGregors' return to Breadalbane from Ireland in Oct. 1564. It probably refers to the attempt at reconciliation which Argyll mentioned to Grey Colin 25 Nov. 1564, GD112/39/3/11, and is linked to Gregor's letter to Katherine bef. 25 Nov. 1564 (24). In John MacGregor's collection the above letter is placed after 27 Nov. 1564: GD50/187/1; MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 339 at n. 183.

² Have or enjoy the use of.

³ For a discussion of MacGregor's offer of service and its conditions, MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 282, 339.

⁴ This remarkable statement that Glenorchy was the master whom the MacGregors most needed and the MacGregors the servants whom Glenorchy most needed summed up the great irony of the feud: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 397.

⁵ Offspring or children.

⁶ Close to.

⁷ Referring to the MacGregors' trip to Ireland to fight as redshanks for Sorley Boy MacDonald: 6 June, 11 Sept. 1564 (20, 22); MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 33.

⁸ Fear or dread.

⁹ Courageous fighters as servants.

mynd quhilk I pray God to be gud. Be youris with powar and service.

26 Same to same

GD112/39/3/29

Saturday [2 December 1564¹], Stronmilchan²

To the rycht honorable Lard off Glenurquhay

Rycht honorable Sir efter maist hartlie commendatioun of service. This sall certifie your Mastership that I wes infurmit that Johne MacGillespy Vicphatrik send word to your Mastership that I suld say that I wald nocht haif ane officiar in Glenurquhay bot thaim that I wald chuis and in likmaner that I wald nocht lat his servants ramayne in his landis of Knokinty.³ As to that trewlie I thocht it neuer and to verefe the samen I causit Johne MacGillespy cum before James Ruthven and Gregor MacAne⁴ and sperit at him gif I said the samen and he denyit that euer he hard it of ony body. Thairfoir prayis your Mastership to tak nocht sic sayings on me of ony body without thai may mak it gude. For I am myndit to mak your service and put in tenentis in your landis and nocht to stop ony man. I sall ramayne still in Glenurquhay and with the grace of God sall do deligenis to keip the cuntray quhill mayr help cum. And gif your Mastership heiris ony newis I pray your Mastership to advertteis me and in speciall anent the Lordis northland men.⁵ Rest reffaris to your Mastershipis ansuer and the Lord praserve your Mastership. From Stronmessage this Saterdag tymos.⁶ Be youris assurit at comand.

27 James Campbell of Ardkinglas to Glenorchy

GD112/39/3/13

25 January 1565, Inveraray Castle

To the rycht honorable Lard off Glenwrquhay

Honorable Sir eftir my maist hartly commendatiouns. Forsamikle as I rasavitt your lettir in Loichgoilished becauss me Lord was in sik heist to

¹ This letter was probably written some time after his letter to Katherine, bef. 25 Nov. 1564 (24) and after Gregor's offer to Grey Colin c. 25 Nov. 1564 (25); Argyll to Grey Colin, 25 Nov. 1564, GD112/39/3/11. It is dated Saturday which would probably place it on 2 Dec. rather than 25 Nov.

² Near Dalmally, Lorn.

³ Knockinty was about half way up Glen Orchy near the present settlement of Arichastlich.

⁴ James Ruthven was a servant of Grey Colin's and Gregor MacAne* was the Captain of Kilchurn: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 428.

⁵ The letter in the manuscript appears to be a capital L and so an abbreviation for Lordis, in which case Gregor might possibly be referring to some of Argyll's allies or servants from the north.

⁶ Early.

wreitt to yow againe \I culd nocht be lasaritt¹ to wreitt to yow againe/
for he derekittitt your serwand apone the he gaitt.² Nochtwithstanding
conforme to your desyir me Lord and his fryndis hes trawalitt in your
efferris alis far as thay mycht ye beand absentt your selif as ye may persawe
be my Lordis wreting quhairintill the hail mater is contenitt att lenith
udirwayis I wald hawe wretin the samin. Ye sall witt thatt me Lord and his
fryndis ar weill apoinntitt baith apone maikin of arkittis³ for guid rewill
to be haid in the counetry and alis apone the consentting to ane stentt for
to reliwe me Lord of his dettis quhilk stentt is tway merkis of the merkland.⁴
Thair is na wdir nowellis in thir partis nesar to be wretin to yow bott ye
sall be assuritt of me in all tymis baith of the plessour thatt I may do yow
oidir to word or deid as knowis God quhay woll presawe yow. Of Inveraray
the xxv day of Ianuar 1564. Youris assuritly att his powar.

28 Argyll to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/3/15

29 January 1565, Carrick Castle

To our ant⁵ the Ladie Glenwrqhaye delyver this

Ant efter maist hairtlie commendatiounis. We rasavit your letter and
wnderstandis the contenttis of the saymin quhilkis we thynk rasonabill
and as for Maister Archibald Campbell ye sall wit that he is werie ewill at
eiss throw ane fall he gait on the yiss and maye nocht ryiss out of ane
bed.⁶ Bot nochtwithstanding quhen our freindis cumis to us we sall geit
ane man that maye be sufficient for the saymin to serve the Laird. Bot we
beleif that thairis na gentill man that wilbe contenttit to pas thair so quyaitlie
as ye desyir be rasoune thai cann nocht lippin to wnknawin men so well
as to thair awyin men.⁷ And this we wryt off our awyn heid for we
knewe nocht the contraire as yit bot alwayis ye sall knowe the saymin

¹ To be free to do something.

² Ardkinglas* refers to Argyll's letter of 24 Jan. 1565, GD112/39/6/25, which was sent from Lochgoilhead in Cowal by the 'high gate', presumably the Highland route through Argyll into Breadalbane, despite the time of year.

³ Articles.

⁴ Argyll had convened a major clan council which offered Grey Colin two options in dealing with the MacGregors and also agreed to a stent (tax) of 2 merks per merkland to help the earl with his debts.

⁵ Argyll addressed Katherine as 'aunt' in the general sense of a respected elder female relation.

⁶ It is not clear what Katherine wanted Archibald Campbell to do nor precisely who he was. Archibald's fall upon the ice ensured that he could not perform the necessary tasks for Katherine and Colin, 29 Jan. 1565 (29).

⁷ This sentence and the fact that sending troops had been discussed at the clan council of the Campbells held a few days earlier suggest that a military role against the MacGregors was what was intended.

incontenent herefter. And this we commit you to God. Off the Carrik the xxix daye off Ianuare 1564. Youris.

29 James Campbell of Ardkinglas to Glenorchy GD112/39/3/16
29 January 1565, Carrick Castle
To the rycht honorable Lard of Glenwrquhay

Honorable Sir eftir my maist hairtly commendatiouns. I rasavitt your lettir¹ and quhair ye say thatt ye think the ordour guide thatt my Lord and his fryndis beand present for tyme has tain anentis your onfryndis sway thatt the samin be well kepitt. As to thatt I belewe thatt thair was nane present and consentitt to the samin giwe thay failt bott me Lord and the rest of his fryndis hais iust causse to pwnis hym thatt willingly braikis the samin. Mairowir as to your choiss of the tway heiddis send to yow in my Lordis wretting to my jugmentt trewly I think ye haiwe ecsepitt² the best giwe all be performitt as was promisitt as I dowtt nocht will be. Wdirwayis ye hawe bettir occasioun to complein nor ewir ye haid. I hawe sine me Lordis wretting send be yow anentis Rannocche to gett swm oudir off Auchinbrekis howss or myn to ecsep the samin. As to thatt me Lord hes contenewitt³ his ansuer in thatt quhill the Laird of Auchinbrek be heir att hym this Tyisday nixtt⁴ quhairapone he hes stayitt your serwand Dougall to quhowme I refer the ansuer. For I pas fra hym this day to the Lennox to pas with hym to the Lowland and giwe ye think thatt ouder ye or your wyf wald speik with me Lord he will be in Campbell att comptis viii day nixtt eftir the v day of Februar continwaly.⁵ And quhair your bedfallow wrettis for Master Archibald Campbell ye sall witt thatt me Lord hes nocht sein hym sen he cam to Argyle for he is lyand apoun ane sa⁶ thatt he gaitt the eyess bott quhatt wald be his partt trewly I cane nocht wreit fardar. I refer to my Lordis nixtt wretting and the Lard of Auchinbrekis. Committand yow to the protectioun of God. Of the Carrik the xxix day of Januar 1564. Youris att his powar assuritly.

¹ Grey Colin's lost letter was a reply to Argyll's, 24 Jan. 1565, GD112/39/6/25, and concerned the clan council's two options for dealing with the MacGregors: 25 Jan., 1 Feb. 1565 (27, 30).

² Accepted.

³ Delayed or put off.

⁴ The question of Rannoch had to await the arrival of Dougal Campbell of Auchinbreck*, who was expected on the following day, Tuesday, 30 Jan. He agreed to bring troops, 1 Feb. 1565 (30-1).

⁵ If Grey Colin or Katherine wanted to discuss matters with Argyll they could meet him at Castle Campbell (Dollar) where he was would be going through his accounts from Monday, 5 Feb. to Monday/Tuesday, 12/13 Feb.

⁶ Injury: 29 Jan. 1565 (28).

30 Argyll to Glenorchy

GD112/39/3/17

1 February 1565, Carrick Castle

To our traist cousyng Colein Campbell off Glenwrquhay be this delyverit

Traist cousyng efter maist hairtlie commendatiounis. We haiff rasavit your wrytting and wnderstandis the saymin that ye are content that we keip our awyn boundis fra the ressett of the rybellis the Clangregor quhilck God willing salbe done. And gif ony off our freindis neckleis the saymin ye sall se thaim pwnist to the regour. And fardare gif ye mister ony men ye sall haif thaim so that we maye be advertiissit thairof in dew tym. Fardare ye sall rasaif ane wrytting to Makranald to the effect that he sall mak guid service to the Quennis Majesty against the saidis rybellis.¹ And fardare as to the contentis off your bill about the manuryng of Rannoche and oderris contentis thairin ye sall wit that we haif adwysit with certain off our freindis that is heir with us instantlie. And namelie the Laird of Achynbrek and hes thocht guid till contenew the anser thairof quhill our awyn meittyng. For we haif causit Dougall to be content to pas to Ballyoch be the heland gait and our self sall be thair on the xvij daye off this instant be the Lauland gait² quhilck daye Dougall promissit to keip. And to this effect we thocht guid to pas wpe that we mycht dres and end all the besines that is neidfull with your self and your awyn consent quhilckis salbe referrit to your [sic] for your weill and honour. And in the mein tym God willyng ye sall se guid service doune with all delegeance againis the saidis rybellis. And this God willing we sall nocht fail to keip tryist wnles your self mak us advertisment that we neid nocht to pas thair. For in deid we think it maist neidfull to pas thair consideryng it salbe to your weill. And thairfor advertiiss us in wryt agane gif ye will haif us cummand or nocht.³ And this we commit yow to God. Off the Carrick the first day of Februare 1564. Youris.

¹ The contract between Grey Colin and Ranald MacDonald of Keppoch* was made to pursue the MacGregors: 25 Apr. 1563, GD112/1/130; *BBT*, 206-8; MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 320, 340. Subsequently Grey Colin had become cautioner for Ranald's 'good rule' before the privy council: 13, 27 Nov. 1564, GD112/23/1/11, *RPC*, i, 289-90.

² A sixteenth-century version of taking the high road and the low road. Dougal would probably have to travel via Glenfyne, Glenfalloch and the Drumalban passes into Glen Lyon or down Glen Dochart on his way to Balloch Castle at the east end of Loch Tay. The earl would come through the Ochils from Castle Campbell and either via Perth or across Strathearn.

³ The earl was most anxious for a personal meeting with Grey Colin to settle the details of the offensive against the MacGregors and he was prepared to travel to Balloch. Grey Colin seemed to have been exceptionally reluctant to travel outside his own bounds.

31 Argyll to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/3/18

1 February 1565, Carrick Castle

To our ant the Ladie off Glenwrquhaye be this delyverit

Ant efter maist hairtlie commendatiounis. We rasavit your letter and wnderstandis the saymin and thinkis it were resonabill and guid. And as to the anser thairof we wryit on to you sum of it of befoir¹ but as tuchyng the weill off the Lairdis housse ye sall wit that we wald desyer the weill thairof rathare nor mony off our kyn as lytill merwell ware the quhilkis God willing salbe knawin schoirtlie that we wald the weill thairof. For neither sall we spair our awyn bodie nor our freindis and serwantis in the doying of that thyng that maye be for the weill off his housse as God and man sall knaw without sum off our freindis or serwantis begyill us.² And gif thai do the saymin God willyng ye maye se and heir that thai salbe pwnist to the regour thairfoir bot we suspect nocht the saymin in na wayiss to be. And fardare we will refer the rest to our meittyng for God willing we thynk to be rycht schoirtlie in the Ballyoch our self and the Laird of Achynbrek for the doying of that thyng that maye to the weill off the Lairdis housse. And we sall causs the Laird off Achynbrek tak wpe sik men with him as salbe thocht neidfull and to be left in service with the Laird.³ And in the mein tym ye sall nocht dout God willing bot thair salbe guid service with delegeance done wpon the saidis rybellis be thaim that apertenis to us. And this we commit you to God. Off the Carrick the first daye off Februare 1564. Youris.

32 Dougal Campbell of Auchinbrek to Glenorchy GD112/39/4/1

Sunday [25 Feb. 1565⁴], Loch Awe

To the rycht honorable man and my trst eyme Collin Campbell of Glenurchay

Rycht honorabill Sir and trest eyme eftir maist hartle commendatiounis. Forsamekill ye sal be infurrmit that I haiff spokin with MacGrigor and

¹ See 29 Jan. 1565 (28).

² It is interesting that this ringing declaration of support for the house of Glenorchy was made to Katherine and not to Grey Colin, though both were sent letters on the same day by Argyll. For Grey Colin's see 30.

³ Auchinbrek* would come to Balloch separately with a contingent of troops commanded by his brother Alastair who would remain with Grey Colin: 25 Feb. 1565 (32).

⁴ Written after the Balloch agreement of 20 Feb., GD112/1/158; MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 340-1, and before his letter to Grey Colin, 14 Mar. 1565 (35). Auchinbrek* discussed the Balloch terms with Gregor MacGregor* and his brother Ewin* on a Sunday afternoon, probably the same Sunday (25 Feb.) on which he wrote this letter 'in haste'.

with Ewin his brodir wpon this last Sunday eftir nowne anenttis all bissynes that was commwnit betuix my Lord and yow with the rest of the frendis at Ballyocht the last day effoir my Lordis departing ffra yow.¹ Thairffor MacGrigor with awyce of his brodir Ewin hes desyrit me ffor to wrett to yow that him self and his men may haiff of yow xx dayis of surrance² eftir the wrettin of your ansour. That he may be awycit with the rest of his cunsall and that he haiff ane lettir of surrance ffra my Lord send to all his bowndis that he and his men may haiff surrance the space of the said xx dayis ffor to se geve he can aggre with yow and the rest of frendis. Mairattour he hes promecit me ffor to nocht cum nour wse oidir na part of your bowndis ffor to do na skayth the space of your surrance exsept that he use Glenurchay. And thaim that lykis with gude will ffor to geve him ane nytis meit to takit and that affore he man heiff meit quhair evir he cumis. Now geve ye pleis that this be downe adverteis me in writ eftir the resavin of this bill. In heist and cais MacRonald ffor to do na skayth to thame the space of the said xx dayis.³ Nocht ellis bot credence to the berar. At Loch How this Sunday. Be your eyne at powar.

[PS] Commend me hartle to your bedfallow.

33 Alistair MacAlistair MacGregor to Glenorchy GD112/39/3/21

March 1565, Kilchurn Castle

To the rycht honorable man and my trest maister Collin Campbell Lard of Glenurche

Rycht honorabill Sir and trest Maister eftir maist hartle commendatiounis with service. Your Mastership sall ondirstand that your servand Gregor Makain hes comwnit wyth me in presence of the Lard MacEwir and the Lard of Inerlevir and hes scahwin to me part of your mynd.⁴ That is to say that MacRonald hes bein speikan with your Mastership abowt me and my bruder and your anser thairwpon that ye vilbe contend for to relax me and my broder geve I vill fyill my handis upon sum part of the personis of Glengrigo. And mairattour to fforgeve all the geir and grayth that was

¹ Argyll left Balloch on 20 or 21 Feb., and was in Perth on 24 Feb. 1565: GD112/39/3/20.

² Assurance, a truce or safe-conduct.

³ The MacGregor chief and his brother wanted a truce for 20 days to see if a settlement would be acceptable to the rest of the clan, though they would need to get provisions from the inhabitants of Glen Orchy. It was important that MacDonald of Keppoch* and his men were stopped from raiding the MacGregors during the truce.

⁴ Discussion between Gregor MacAne*, who was bringing the letter, John Campbell of Inverliever and a Campbell of Asknish (also known as MacIvers), probably Ewir MacEwir of Largothene who signed the earl of Argyll's letters of fire and sword against the MacGregors: 16 June 1565, GD112/1/160; BBT, 211-12.

tane fra me and never to fallow nor perschow na maner of geir and grayth that was tane ffra me in tymis by past swa that ye mak satisfactioun for me to all complemaris wpon me ffor all creimis downan for me in tymis by gane. And to get me my remissioun ffra the Queneis Grace and namely ffor all creimis and faltis downan to Donald MacHerle by me and the damnamis of Ardownen.¹ And geve the said MacRonald sendis in plageis ffor me I am contend beffor the saidis Lardis wpon writtin and freindis to fulfill. And bwnd to keip my part as upon writtin oudir upon sum of Glengrigoris selffis or upon thair servandis as God may sente. Sua that your Mastership vill mentene and ffortefe me to my awin kynd landis. As ffor geir I dowt nocht bot your Mastership vill help me thairto eftir my gud service as God vill helpe me thair to. For my self offendid nane in my service to yow. For it is over lang to me ffor to writ my mynd to your Mastership. Thairffor geve ferme credence to this berar Gregor Makain. This committis your Mastership to God at Castell Kelcuring the fyft day of Merce 1564. Be your servand at command and service.

34 William Maitland of Lethington to Glenorchy GD112/39/3/23

8 March 1565, Edinburgh

To the rycht hono... the Lard of Glenurquhay

Rycht honorable Sir eftir maist hartlie commendatioun. My Lord of Menteth quha now is with God² at his departing left to me the protectioun of his wif and barnyis quharof I thought gude to advertiss you. And albeit I understand that ye bare sufficient favour and kyndnes to him in his lifyme yit seing that at this tyme I haif sum enteres³ thair away I will lippin that his freindis and tenentis haif the like favour of you for my caus. And thairfor I pray you that in the persute of the Clan Gregor or uther wayis ye gif heid that the Erll of Mentethis tenentis and rowmis be nocht oppressit nor trublit be your servandis sua that now quhen thair ar in my handis thay be nocht in a worc cause nor quhen him self wes a live. And in that doing as ye sall do me gret plesour sa may be ye assurit that I sall recompenc with you with the like gude will as occasioun sall serve. Thus I commit you to the protectioun of God. At Edinburgh the viii day

¹ Possibly the damage done at Ardewan near Ardeonaig on the south side of Loch Tay.

² John Graham, fourth earl of Menteith*, died in Jan. 1565: *Scots Peerage*, vi, 160. His wife was Marion Seton, the sister of Mary Seton, one of the 'Four Maries'. Another of the Maries, Mary Fleming, was later married to Maitland. Menteith, who was a zealous Protestant, had been linked to Grey Colin in the letter addressed to them both, calling for help during the Reformation crisis: Introduction, 49; 10 June 1559 (1). Menteith's sister was the second wife of the 4th earl of Argyll: Appendix C.

³ Interest.

of Merche 1564. Youris always to command.

35 Dougal Campbell of Auchinbreck to Glenorchy GD112/39/3/25

14 March 1565, Loch Gair¹

To ane rycht honorable man and my trest eyne Collin Campbell of Glenurchay

Rycht honorabile Schir and trest eyne eftir maist hartle commendatioun. I have resavit your wretting quhair it makis mentioun that ye vill nocht geve na assurance to MacGrigor nor to his men. Bot bidis me and the Lard of Ardkynglass ffor to geve MacGrigor and his men assurance the space of xx dayis in this manar geve we had be bruit² that we mycht bring thame to ane guidle way off greence³ swa that the Glengrigors wsit nocht in ony part of your bowndis the space off the said assurance. Now ye sall ondirstand that I haiff goddin na word ffra MacGrigor sen I wret to your self last⁴ be ressun that the Lard of Ardkynglass is bot now cumin haime. Thairffor I haiff send ane servand of myne with your servand to the Lard of Ardkynglass with ane wrettin of my awin. And hes biddin him wret his heil mynd to yow twiching the ansor of MacGrigor that geve it cumis to your purrpass concerning to our commwing in presence off my Lord that ye mey send me your assurance in wret. And that ye nour nane of youris do na skayth to nane of the Glengrigors the space of the assurance refarran the rest to your awin wistown [sic].⁵ And commend me hartle to your bedfallow. As anent my brudir and the Lard of Duntreinis brudir sendin to yow with heist thay are makand thame in redynis and salbe at yow als schowin as thai mey.⁶ This committis yow to the protectioun of God. At Lochgar the xiiii day of Merche. Be your eyne at all powar 1564.

36 Glenorchy to Argyll (draft)

GD112/39/5/2

16 March 1565, Balloch Castle

[No address]

My Lord efter mayst hartlie commendatioun of service. I haif resavit

¹ On Loch Fyne, Argyll.

² News.

³ Agreement.

⁴ Probably Auchinbreck's* letter of 11 Mar. 1565 (32).

⁵ Probably 'wisdom'. The complicated negotiations involved Argyll, Ardkinglas* and Auchinbreck* as well as the two 'principals' Grey Colin and Gregor MacGregor*: 16, 19 Mar. (36-7); GD112/39/3/26; MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 340.

⁶ For the provision of Alastair, Auchinbreck's* brother and Donald, Duntrune's* brother along with 24 men, see 20 Feb. 1565 agreement, GD112/1/158; MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 341.

tua writingis of your Lordshipis¹ makand mentioun that thair wes seruantis of myn in cumpany with John McAlesteris soine at the slauchter of the Lard of Bawquannandis seruant.² As to that I assure your Lordship thair wes nane of myn at it nor never salbe at siclik with my will and gif the Lard of Boquhannan will gif me the namis of ony of my seruantis that wes at the said slauchter I sall put thame to the lawis. As to the assurans that your Lordship hes sufferitt the Lardis of Auchinbrek and Ardkinglas to gif the Clangregor I think that your Lordship hes done weill thairintill sua the promessis maid unto your Lordship be kept. Bot gif it be onlie that thai may tak meitt in your Lordshipis boundis during the assurance I think it is nethir your Lordshipis honour nor my weill. I send writings aucht dayis syne to the Lard of Auchinbrek and hes resavit na ansure thairof as yit.³ And quhair your Lordship writis that my seruantis hes brocht away certane gudis and geyr of the Lard of Boquhennan in place of Duncane MacCoull Keir geir and desyris me to restor the samen againe be resoun that the said Lard dependis onlie upoun your Lordship and hes tynt⁴ and ...⁵ my Lord of Lennox for that cause. Your Lordship sall wit that I send my seruantis to haif apprehendit the said Duncan and to haif brocht him to justice and seing thai culd nocht gett him brocht away part of his gere and nay uther manis geir as I sall sufficientlie preiff and that with your Lordshipis awin seruantis and diverss utheris quha wer present for the tyme. For thair wes restorit all geyr that wes clamitt be the Boquhennanis and the Clanferlane and cautioun fund thairfor quhilk drew to xl heyd of ky and better. And Duncane MacCoullis gere wes offerit siclik upoun catioun and nay man wald be gude for it and the nychtbouris grantit. ;hat thair wes na geyr thair brocht away bot the said Duncane. Therifore I beseik your Lordship to consider the matter according to your Lordshipis honour and myn for I haif done na thing bot according to the commissioun that I haif of the Quene Majeste⁶ and can nocht restore the gere quhill the man be fyrst purgit be the law. For uthervyse peruse my commissioun quhilk I will nocht do to mak ane oppin way to utheris to desyre siclik. Bot quhen the Lard of Boquhennan presentit the man to the law and beis pergit of sic thingis as I will persew him according to the Quene Majestie ordinans than I sall restor the geyr and mak the Lard of Boquhannan mendis at your Lordshipis sycht bot in the mayntyne your Lordship mai haif me excusit. For gif the Lard of Boquhennan haid respect to his awin

¹ One letter was 11 Mar. 1565, GD112/39/3/24, the other has been lost.

² See MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 342.

³ Auchinbreck's* letter of 14 Mar. 1565 (35) had not reached Grey Colin.

⁴ Tyne, in the sense of to draw away from Lennox and his affinity.

⁵ Damage to MS.

⁶ Grey Colin pleaded his royal commission of 22 Sept. 1563 which explains why there were complaints against his over-vigorous use of it: 22 Mar. 1564, RPC, i, 271-2.

honour he wald nocht insist sa far in ane common theiff action repugnant the lawis of the realm. I am glaid that your Lordship be servit be Boquhennan and siclik honest men, nochttheles it is na caus to your Lordship to lychlie¹ your awin quhilk man be your best quhen it cummis to the upwith.² For my forbearis servit your Lordshipis predecessouris quhen the Boquhennanis wer to seik³ and speciallie quhen thair wes mayst ado. I wrete nocht to your Lordship for MacCoule Keir gere for with the help of God I sall neuer tak gere bot with gude zele bot I wald your Lordship desyrit na thing of me bot according to your Lordshipis honour and myn. I resavit ane lytill tykat of your Lordshipis sayand that your Lordship knew nocht the ground of the mater anent the Clangregor thairfore sen the Lard of Ardkinglas is passit to your Lordship I pray your Lordship aduerteis me as your Lordship thinkis gude. The rest committis to your Lordshipis wisdome and the Lord God preserue your Lordship. From Balloch the xvi day of Merche 1564.

37 Argyll to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/3/27

19 March 1565, Stirling

To our luffing ant the Ladie off Glenurchay

Efter hartlie commendatiounis. We resavit your letter and wnderstandis thairby that the Laird is nocht content that we wret to him concerning the guidis that war tane away out of the Laird of Boquhannanis landis.⁴ Trewlie the occasioun of our wreting to him was that the bruit was sa⁵ and is yit that John MacAllasteris soun with his companyounis quhay war at the slachtar off Drummond in Stratherne (quhilk is haldin ane foull deid and murthour) was the away takar with his saidis complexis of the saidis guidis quhilk we thocht was nocht the Lairdis honour. And in deid we wald be leathe to heir ony thing that war dishonour to him bot we wald advertis him thairoff. Merour we supponit that the Laird wald rather had Duncann MakCuillkeiris awin bode to be presentit to the law nor his geir quhilk wilbe now difficill to get gif he may eschew⁶ be ony way. And

¹ To deal lightly or contemptuously.

² In the sense of 'when it comes to the crunch'.

³ 'To seik': absent.

⁴ Argyll's original letter of complaint about the raids was to Grey Colin on 11 Mar. 1565, GD112/39/3/24; Grey Colin's reply, 16 Mar. 1565 (36), to which the earl replied 19 Mar. GD112/39/3/26.

⁵ The rumour was so.

⁶ Escape.

as to our awin part trewlie we aucht him na kyndness and wald be als glaid to haif him punissit as the Laird him self wald as salbe knawin efterward. For God willing it that we suld do and that thing that we haif promissit to the Laird we will perform the samin to our awin honour and his honour and the weill of his houss. And gif the Laird be nocht content that we advertist him of the bruit that we hard we sall nocht writt to him agane in sik ane maner for trewlie it was for his awin honour and weill and esshewing of ewill bruit that we wret to him and for uthir caus quhilk we think to be our dwete. And so committis your Ladyship to the protectioun of God. Of Streueling the xix day of Merche 1564. Youris.

38 Patrick, 3rd Lord Ruthven to Glenorchy GD112/39/3/28

21 March 1565, Edinburgh

To his broder the Lard of Glenurquhay

Broder efter mayst hartly commendatiounis. I resavit your wreting with the copy of the Erle of Argylls wreting and als hes opinnit the Erle of Argylls wreting that he sendis with this berer to yow.¹ Quharin I find that he wauld have yow restoring the geyr nocht making suir gyf the man sall enter and I remembre weyll that your commission sayis as ye wret.² Thairfor ye may keip styll the geyr without danger of the law gyf ye pless. It aperis to me be my Lordis wreting that he wauld nocht ane querrell to yow suppoys he neyddis nocht. For suppoist he and ye wauld bayth assuir me of all thingis promyst to yow I will nocht credeyt quhill I see it with my eiis consydering samony promesis as hes ben mayd and brokin. And last of all quhen I spak with my Lord of Argyle he gef als gud wordis as evir he gif bot quhat followis thairin God kennis bot I am hard of trutht as Sant Thomas wes.³ As to your freindis of courte the [sic] stand to yow as the wer wount. And the and I hes resonit oft anewcht anent the slauchter of Drummond for it wes giffin thair to understand that the wer your servandis that committyt the slauchter and come out of your houss to the deyd doing and hes ben furneist and resayt within your boundis sensine and remainis thair mayst I gef sufficient anser thair to ...⁴ and als to the Drummondis. My Lord of Argyle is in Styrling and quhydder he goys to

¹ It is not clear if this was Argyll's letter of 19 Mar. 1565 to Grey Colin, GD112/39/3/26, because it was written in Stirling and accompanied by another letter to Katherine (37).

² For the details concerning the stolen goods, 16 Mar. 1565 (36).

³ Ruthven* is indicating his scepticism about the performance of Argyll's fair promises with reference to the story of Doubting Thomas!

⁴ There is an indecipherable abbreviation in the manuscript which probably refers to a person, possibly the Laird of Buchanan. The whole sentence is difficult because it is not clear if 'mayst' should belong with 'remainis thair', in the sense of 'remaining there most of the time', or with 'I', in the sense of 'I must give sufficient answer'.

Argyle I think ye ken better nor I. Bot gyf he and your freindis of Argyle kepis promise ye will have exsperiance schortly. Bot always I pray yow to gyf gud attendance to your awin body and pass nocht to the west end of the loch sa raklesle as ye do and remanis thair with sa few ane nummer as ye do diveris tymes. Remember the consell ye gef me oftymes quhen I was under feyd and do the same now your self.¹ The Secretary passyis in Ingland within thre owlkis.² The Quenis Majeste rydis on Mununday or Tuisday toward Styrlyng quhair sche remains quhill Paysche be passyt and thairefter rydis to Sanctandros. I beleyf to be at hame on Palm Sunday³ and then we sell meyt and resson on all thingis. Referring the rest to that tyme. And Chryst preserf yow. My bedfallow calis hyr hartly commendatiounis to yow and to your bedfallow and tyll hyr doychter Jean.⁴ Wreting at Edenburghe the xxi of Merche. Yowr assurit broder at his powar.

[PS] Your freindis of courte will assyst your honest causs. Resave the copy of the wreting that ye send me.

39 Argyll to Glenorchy

GD112/39/4/2

5 April 1565, Garvie (Glendaruel)

To our traist cousyng the Laird off Glenurquhay delyuer this

Traist cousyng efter maist hairtlie commendatiounis. We rasavit your letter and wnderstandes be saymin the skayth and slauchter and trubill that is betuix you and your wnfreindis quhairof we are nocht glaid. Ye sall wnderstand that we haif haldin your servant here with us quhill our freindis was convenit in the Garvie. And efter thair convenyng we consultit for supple to you aganeis your unfreinds. First thairis past wp to you alradie Alexander Keir and Donald Oige with twentye four gentillmen.⁵ And as we are informit that the Clangregor hes bein awaitand on thair wp passyng for to persew thaim bot awayis thai haif tane thair adventure. And as we beleif and thai meit with ane rasonabill number of the rybellis that thai sall do lyk honest men God villing. And as for mair releif to you ye sall wit we haif stentit wpon Lorne, Argyll and Covall xviii scoir of men.⁶ And

¹ Ilanran (Killin) at the west end of Loch Tay was regarded as more dangerous because it was not as well fortified as Balloch Castle and was the reason why Finlarig Castle was rebuilt. Ruthven reminded Grey Colin of the good advice he himself had offered when Ruthven was at feud.

² Weeks.

³ Palm Sunday was 15 Apr. and Pasche (Easter), 22 Apr.

⁴ Jean, the daughter of Grey Colin and Katherine and god-daughter of Jean Stewart, Ruthven's wife.

⁵ Alastair, the brother of Auchinbreck* and Donald, the brother of Duntrune* captained a force of 24 'gentlemen'. These men had been sent as part of the Balloch agreement of 20 Feb., GD112/1/158; MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 341.

⁶ For the military arrangements, see Introduction, 46.

of thame saxe scoir monethlie or twenty dayis to remane with you ilk ane efter odir. And now first we haif ordannit that the saxe scoir of Lorne suld pas to you incontenent God villing and we haif send for MacCoull¹ to cum to us with all delegece for the saymin effect. And thairfoir ye sall wryit ane schairpe letter to all your avyn tenenttis of Lorne to be {rade with all dele}² gence to pas with MacCoullis freindis and our tenenttis to {your boundis and} efter the men of Lorne the men of Ergyll salbe at you and efter thamen the men of Covall ordourlie everie cumpanie be {thairselfis}. And now efter the seid beis put in the ground the Laird of Achynbrek him self hes promist to us to pas with ane number of men {to duell in to} Glenurquhaye for ane sasone. And as for Airdkyng{las we haifspokin} anevcht to him anenttis thaime and to MacNaichtane {quhay hes bayth promist} to us that thai sall do that thyng that lysis in thair {powareis aganeis thame} that we maye know the saymin ansueris be thaime. For we fynd thame weill myndit againis thaime.³ And all oderis of the cuntrie we fynd of the saymin mynd quhilkis mair nor ye lippynnit for. And {this we haif} done als meikill for the sklanderis saik of nychtbouris as for ony skayth that we haif gottin or ye either. And fard{are ye sall witt that} James MacConill hes wryittin to us anenttis the besines betuix {thou and him and} for the keipyng of the daye appoyntit in Steirlyng.⁴ And he {desyiris} that the saymin tryist be in Glasgo or Dunbartane be rasone {thair beis} with him sum of his brether and freindis that maye nocht weill {pas bye} the saidis tovneis. Quhairfoir we thynk best that {ye appoynt the daye} ony tyme about Pace⁵ and advertiiss us the saymin daye. And the saymin daye to be in ane of the saidis tovnnis and ye advertiiss the saymin to {us siklyk that} we maye advertiiss him of the saymin that he maye keep it. {For we persaif} him weill myndit to the saymin for favour and luif. And this {we pray} to haist the ansuer heir of to us againe for thair causis. {And this} we commit you to God. Off the Garvie the fyft {daye of} Appryill 1565. Youris.

[PS] Commend us hartlie to your bedfallow. And as for the first saxe scoir we thought to haif send thaime to you throw Menteith or the Lennox⁶ thairfoir advertiiss ye schoirtlie quhat waye ye thynk best to thaime to pas wpe to you.

¹ Dougal MacDougall of Dunollie*.

² Readings from GD50/116/178-80.

³ Both Ardkinglas* and MacNaughton* were related to Gregor MacGregor* and so had divided loyalties: Appendix C.

⁴ It is not clear what the business was between Grey Colin and James MacDonald of Dunivaig* in which Argyll was acting as a mediator.

⁵ Pasche (Easter), 22 Apr. 1565.

⁶ These routes would avoid going too close to territory in which the MacGregors operated.

40 Mr John Wood to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/4/7

24 May 1565, Ayr

To the Richt worschipfull Lady the Lady of Glenwrchye

Madayme after my maist hartly commendaciouns. Albeyt I wrayt but anis to you anentis the Lard your husbandis besynis¹ yit the yssue sall declayr God willing nayther wes I unmyndfull thairof nayther sufferyt I utheris to byt...² nor he in anis broucht with grytt travell to grant the lytill the desyris ye traisyt of me. And albeyt it war sum thing myslykist your husband for the luiff of God lett nevir that sum thing stay sa guid and sa necessaye ane purpose for the weil of the Lardis house to the quhilk I testifye befoyr God ... my smal power. I beyr nales guid ... to my Lord of Murray nayther sall ... uther ...ss... in my proceydingis quhair occasion salbe offerid to me to utter my guid will. I used avch... last to trawell the futherence in thir matter quhill h ... dewytey baycht diligently cayrfully and ... nouvellis the brwytt in heir the ... against my Lordis heir convenit³ ffor ... thair for... to putt thayme selfis in swyrtye to you or nowellis ... of the in countreis ar better knawin to ... nor to wa [sic] heir. And thairfor after my hartly commendatioun to the Lard your husband I committis your Ladyship to the protectioun of God with ane thousand thanks for my guid treatment.⁴ From Ayr the xxiiii day of Maii 1565. Your Ladyshipis to command at service.

41 Argyll to Glenorchy

GD112/39/4/9

5 July 1565, Inveraray Castle

To our traist cousyng the Laird off Glenurquhaye gif this

Traist cousyng efter maist hairtlie commendatiounis. We haif rasavit your letter and wnderstandis be the saymin the proceidyngis ye haif bein in till schoirtlie with the Clangregor⁵ and persaisis siklyk be your wrytting that the Clangregor are nocht your hail partie that vald wraik you onlie bot oderis of your nychtbouris siklyk as my Lord off Atholl quhom we thynk better dettouris on to you ffor the skaycht ye haif gottin nor the

¹ Due in part to the damage to the right-hand side of the letter, it is not clear what 'business' is meant by John Wood*, the secretary to Lord James Stewart, earl of Moray*, possibly the MacGregor feud and the support Grey Colin received at Court and in the council.

² Ellipses due to damage to MS.

³ This was a meeting in Ayr led by Moray of those who opposed the marriage to Darnley.

⁴ Katherine had obviously done Wood some kind of favour.

⁵ This letter was probably carried by Gregor MacAne*, 6 July 1565 (42). Letters of fire and sword had been issued by Argyll against the MacGregors from Dunstaffnage Castle in Lorn, 16 June 1565, GD112/1/159; BBT, 211-12.

Clangregor. Quairfoir gif ye will pleiss to be off that mynd as to revenge your actioun on thame ye salbe assurit off the best fortificatioun as we maye mak on to you to be revengit on thame that hes tain the actioun in hand. For howsone ye pleiss we sall nocht fail God willyng to send on to you ane thousand off our men¹ or mayr as ye pleiss to the saymin effect to be revengit upoun thaim that makis to be your partie. And ye till wse thame as ye pleiss your self thairintill. For ye maye be assurit that we will ...² and to defend your houss fra ony vraik as our awin and thairfoir we wald that the best ware done thairintill schoirtlie. For this sa man... of fortificatioun we maye mak on to you bot the saymin salbe maid to the uttermost of our pover. And ffordare as to the Clangregor seyng now quhat cumir we our self are in till and the bayth we vald be rycht glaid that ye wald lait wit over cum will in that matter quhilkis that ye wald submit your self to the jugement off us and our freindis anenttis the saidis actioun. For we thynk gif ye wald be contenttit to do the saymin that we mycht yit fynd ane vaye that the Clangregor mycht becum guid servanttis to wair thame selfis aganeis oderris with us and you bayth. And this we thynk wer the best to be done for and thai ware ouris we mycht caus thaim till wair thaim selfis fardare nor oderis.³ And we haif wrytting on to you in ane oder bill the heidis that wilbe thought guid be us and our freindis to be done betuix you and thame. The quhilk gif ye will do the saymin and byid thairat that ye send on to us with thir berrareis your hand wryt thairanenttis that the matter may be dressit the better. And ffordare gif ye wilbe of the mynd that ye will nocht in na vavis haif the Clangregor to be our servanttis and youris bayth as we haid rathare that thai ware ouris. Ye salbe assurit howeuer it be of our fortificatioun to the uttermost of our povare and viss⁴ sayvin as your visdom will thynk best and always advertiiss us w... is your mynd in all the heidis that salbe in the oder tikat.⁵ And as to the supportt ye desyir presentie we haif nocht with us bot ...las⁶ onlie bot within fourdayis heirefter we haif apponynttit ... of Achynbrek and MacCoull⁷ and certaine oderis freindis to be heir con... saidis daye that we haif appaynt quhilkis within thrie or four dayis. For we beleif that quhein thai convein that thai sall thynk guid till ... send wp on

¹ For the military arrangements and the background to the Chase-about Raid, see Introduction, 50-53.

² Ellipses due to damage to MS.

³ Argyll was suggesting the ploy that a settlement should be made with the MacGregors who would then be employed against Campbell enemies and deliberately 'sent into the front line' (cf King David's orders concerning Uriah the Hittite!): MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 347-50.

⁴ Possibly 'vyse' or 'vysing': to bethink oneself or advice.

⁵ See Memo below.

⁶ Probably Ardkinglas*: 6 July 1565 (42).

⁷ Auchinbreck* and MacDougall of Dunollie*.

to you sik fortificatioun as maye nocht weill be resistit be ony that wilbe in the contrare. Bot alwayiss haist thir beirrareis with your your [sic] mynd. And thairefter we sall send wp als sone as is possibill ane thousand off our men or mayr. And as tovairttis the Clangregor and we knew your mynd we mycht do thairefter in the mein tym that men wilbe ryissand. Thairfoir haist the beirrare with all delegece to quhom ye sall gif credence. And this we refer all thyngis to the returnyng off the beirrare. And sa we commit you to God. Off Inveraraye the fyft daye off Julii 1565. Youris.

[PS] And ffordare we praye you to wryit to Maknaichtaneis tennenttis that was in Teirarthuir¹ till pas in the land againe in to Maknaichtaneis name. For we sall causs him and his be willyng to do you guid service. For his part maye be weill knawin be your self for his part is guid and nawe guid and gif he keipis nocht the saymin guid part in tymeis cumyng we sall request als earnestlie to put him out off the saymin again for it maye be done or tym off fermes be to tak wpe.² And send vord with this beirrare againe heir anenttis.

Memorandum.³ Thir are the heidis that we thynk the Clangregor suld be exceptit be us and be the Laird off Glenurquhaye in consideratioun off matteris as thai stand in the realme presentlye.

Item. In the first that the Laird sall send me his hand vryit to stand at thir articlis that salbe wnder wryittin.

Item. That MacGregor and samonye as wsis his consall off his kin and dependerris on and samonye as he vill put in bill to offer him and thame in our willis and the Lairdis provyiding that I and the Laird mak thame suir off thair lyffis and MacGregouris heretaige and his kyndlie roumeis. Exceptit providit that the Laird be satisfeit at our sycht and our freindis sycht be the saidis Makgregor for his entres and mareage of his heretaige and kyndlie roumeis allanerlie.

And at the Laird be guid and kyndlie maister to him and his dependerris on accordyng to thair guid service. And gif ye will nocht be contenttit with this saymin advertiis us in haist and all wayiss we sall send the men promisit in my oder wryittyng. And gif the Laird beis contenttit with the saymin that he send his assurance to us to be maid on to Makgregor and his dependerris ffor we will send na assurance of ouris to thame quhill your ansuer cum againe. And we nor nane of ouris knawis nocht yit quhidder the men be bundin to nane oderris or now bot we haif haird off the saymin and sall haif intellegence off the saymin or the berrare returne againe.

¹ MacNaughton of Dunderarve's* tenants in Teirarthur, which is just north-east of Finlarig at the west end of Loch Tay.

² If MacNaughton did not co-operate in the future, Argyll would not grant him the leases that were coming up for renewal.

³ On a separate sheet. Proposal for a settlement with the MacGregors; see Grey Colin's reply, 9 July 1565 (43); MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 350-1.

42 James Campbell of Ardkinglas to Glenorchy GD112/39/4/10

6 July 1565, Ardkinglas Castle

To the rychtt honorable Lard of Glenurquhay gif this

Honorable Sir eftir my maist hartlie commendatiouns. I rasavitt your lettir fra your serwand Dougall Campbell and sall assuritle lawbour to putt the haill heiddis of the samin to ane end as ye wreitt in sway far as lysis in my powar. For eftir I rasavit your lettir I passitt to me Lord quhayis mynd Gregar MacEin hes to schaw yow att lenith eftir sik consultatioun as he haid for the tym.¹ Quhairfor I pray yow effectusle baith for your awin weill and my Lordis to tak sik awysment in MacGregars maters instantle that this be the last commonyng that ewir ye have ado with tham. And I wos assuritt giwe the mater hed tain ein end att your last commonyng with me Lord that he wald hawe don yow service quhar ye desyir the samin maist ernstlie to be doin as I trest he will do yitt. Gif thair be na fardar prosiditt betuix him and ony wderis nor I hawe hard of as yitt bott I sall do deligense to know thairof afor this berar returin. Aliss ye sall witt that I hawe hard that the Clangregor ar cumin awyis thir partis owit of Monteith and is nocht assuritt thairof as yit. I am effreyitt to latt your serwand pass quhill I know the way to be assuritt to hym for I wald nocht for that that [sic] I am acland² that he gatt skeyth passand fra me. Thairfor I thocht guid to stay hyim quhill Gregar returin. For trewlie gif that I war nocht speikand feise to feise with MacGregar thair is na udir of his company that I vald beliwe into. Haifand na fardar to wreit to yow presentlie bott prayis yow sein ye se the warld passis to sik cumeris and malise baith in your contrai and your cheiffs³ that ye will latt your witt orcum⁴ your will for ane schortt tym. Nocht dowittand that God will be the Fardar fra the sending of your desyris to yow. Fardar ye sall gif creditt to this berar. And sway committis yow to God. Frome Ardkinglass the vi day of Juli 1565. Youris assuritt att his poware.

¹ Gregor MacAne* was being used as a go-between in the negotiations with the MacGregors and probably carried Argyll's letter of 5 July 1565 (41).

² It is not clear what this word is, but it means 'loath to' or 'unwilling'.

³ Reference to the opposition to the Darnley marriage leading to the Chase-about Raid, in which Argyll was heavily involved: Introduction, 50-1.

⁴ Overcome. The same phrase about wit overcoming will, or reason conquering emotion, which had been used in Argyll's letter (41).

43 Glenorchy to Argyll

GD112/39/4/12

9 July 1565, Balloch Castle

Copy of my Lord Argyll's bill delyverit the ix of Julii 1565

My Lord efter hartlie commendatioun of service. I have sein your Lordship's writing¹ makand mentioun that your Lordship persaisis that it is nocht onlie the Clangregor that is incontrar me bot the Erl of Athoill in lyk maner quha is ane better dettour. Indeid my Lord I grant the samin and prayis God gif it had bein his pleissir gif I behuivit² to have sufferit sa mekle skaytht as I have gottin that it had bein the Erl of Athoill that had bein the doar thairof rathar nor thaim that hes doun it. And quhair your Lordship writis that your Lordship wald send me ane thousand men conforme to my first writing or ma gif I pleissit to revenge my displeissir doun onto me. As to that gif that the men had cum to me in ane quyt maner and your Lordship's presens to have bein heir in Balloch it had bein ane sufficient cummer and I hopit in God that the Erl of Athoill suld have had grettar dyspleissir than evir he did to your Lordship or to me. Bot now presentlie my Lord Secretar my Lord Sanctcolmes Ynche and the Justice Clark cam to Ruthven this last Setterday at evin at the Quenis Majesteis command with chargis to your Lordship to the Erlle Athoill and me under the pains of tressoun that na convocatioun of the Quenis legis be maid onto the tyme that Hir Majeste be forder adwyisit.³ Quha purchesit thir letters your Lordship man consider efterwart.⁴ My Lord of Sanctcolmes Ynche and the Justice Clark beis in Balloch this Mononday⁵ at evin and thair efter passis fordward to your Lordship and my Lord Secretar and my Lord Ruthven passis to the Erl of Athoill in lik maner. My Lord I am nocht in my awin of this be ressoun that my geir is laitlie tain fra me by ordor and I ma nocht tak geir againe nor your Lordship that wald assist to me and uther freindis. Your Lordship ma persais this is ane grett pertialitie. Quhair your Lordship writis toward the Clangregor and sayis that your Lordship wald that I lat my wit gang our my will be ressoun of this trubles wardlt.⁶ And that your Lordship belevis that the Clangregor wald mak service upon utheris and to that effect desyris me that I wald byid at the seycht of your Lordship and freindis. As to that your Lordship knawis that I was nevir by that and your Lordship

¹ 1 July 1565 (41).

² 'Behovit' or was necessary.

³ William Maitland of Lethington*, James Stewart, commendator of Inchcolm*, and Sir John Bellenden who brought the royal order to Ruthven Castle (Perth): *TA*, xi, 375.

⁴ Sir William Murray of Tullibardine* was later accused of purchasing letters against Grey Colin, 31 Oct. 1565 (55).

⁵ Monday, 9 July.

⁶ 'Troublous world'.

hes ane writing upoun the samin. And gif your Lordship pleissis at uther hedis with the adwyiss of freindis that your Lordship thinkis mair for my weill and mak the samin knawin to me I am content to byid thairat. Now sen I have submittit my self to your Lordship and freindis the dishonour of it will evir stand upoun your Lordshipis houss and your Lordshipis freindis albeit that I have gottin the skaytht without that ane manifest mendis be maid to me. In gud faytht war nocht the the [sic] confidence that I have onlie of your Lordship under God for all the geir that evir I had or hes I wald nocht submit me to freindis in thir causses war nocht that I am out of dout that your Lordship will have evir to my honour as to your Lordshipis awin.

And quhair your Lordship writis certain heides quharthrow your Lordship thinkis that the Clangregor suld be acceptit be your Lordship and me for certaine caussis presently in the realime.¹ And quhair your Lordship writis for the first artikle that MacGregor and sa mony as wis his consall of his kin and dependaris on and sa mony as he will put in bill to offer him and thaim in your Lordshipis will and myin thair lyvis being saif hawand thair heritaigis and rowmis. As to that my ansuer is that I wald wit quhow mony is \and quhat thai ar/ that he wald gif in bill to that effect that I mecht be skaythtless of thaim in tymes cuming. Secondlie quhair your Lordship writis that I wald be contentit to byid at the seycht of your Lordship and freindis toward MacGregoris interest and mariage. As to that your Lordship knawis that I agreit \for his interes and mariage/ be ane obligatioun maid be your Lordshipis adwyiss and Colyne Campbell of Ardkinglass and John MacAlestair MacNachtain for the sowm of sex hundrethe merkis² lyk as the obligatioun beiris the samin quhair of I will stand content. And albeit in the said obligatioun that it is specifeit that the tua MacGillechelleis was promesit to me I well exonar³ MacGregor of that point of the obligatioun be ressoun that thai ar the Erl of Athoillis servandis.⁴ And as to MacGregoris kyndlie rowmis I can nocht mak your Lordship ansuer of that be ressoun that the Clangregor allegis that mekle of the rowmis that I have suld be thairis bot quhowsoun that your Lordship advertesis me in MacGregoris name of the rowmis thai desyir I sall send your Lordship ansuer. Quair your Lordship biddis me be ane gud maistir to thaim thair is na thing that I will promess to thaim befor your Lordship and freindis bot the thing I sall keip. And quhair your Lordship desyris me to send ane assurance as to that I send thaim nevir ane nochtwithstanding

¹ These were replies to the points contained in the separate Memo attached to 41: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 350-1.

² Agreement made on 24 Nov. 1562, GD112/1/122-3; 125: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 309-10.

³ Free from an obligation.

⁴ For the symbolic importance of the surrender of the two MacGille Cheallaichs: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 306-7, 350-1.

all the assurance that your Lordship promesit thaim in my name I kept the samin and gif thai haive brokin ony I refer that to your Lordships awin judgement. And for this present tyme sa lange as your Lordship thinkis I am contentit to assuir thaim and sal nevir be myndit to brek your Lordships assurance God willing. For had the Clangregor bein als faythtfull to your Lordship in the keeping of thair assurance as I have bein I had nocht gottin sic skaytth of men and geir as I have gottin. Bot I will refer that to your Lordships awin wesdom as I have done all the rest and the skaytth I have gottin. And gif your Lordship gevis thaim ane assurance in my name I pray your \Lordship haist word to me of the dait of the assurance and quhow lange it induris quhidder Duncan MacGregor VicRoyrair and his complecis that ar of the Erl of Athoillis assistance be assurit be your Lordship in my name or nocht to the effect I ma keip my promessis to your Lordship./ Gif that my Lord of Sanctcolme and the Justice Clark cumis fordward to your Lordship with the Quenis charges I sall adverteiss your Lordship as I ma with deligence.

44 Argyll to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/4/14

10 August 1565, Lochgoilhead

To ... Ladye ... urquhaye delyvir ...¹

Antt eftir maist hartlie commendatioun. Ye sall wit that we haif writtin at lenthe our mynd to your hwsband quhairbye ye may knawe the manir that we haif trawellit in to betwix your hwsband and MacGregar.² And quhowe eirnist the hail nobilitie of the religioun is to hawe the mater tayne up ye will knawe be thair writtingis send with the berar.³ And now I w...ist yow affectuouslie to assist your hwsband with your guid counsell to tak up the mater consedaring it is at sik ane poynt as ye may persawe be owir letir send to the Lard and na thing bye the Lardis last writting bot in sik small petetiounnes as we are confedint to chairge the Lard with quhilkis bayth to his honor per...ing. And this I pray yow to be maist eirnist in to weill haist ffor sik cawssis as the berar will schaw yowe quhom ye sall credit and that [sic] committis yow to the protectioun of God. Off Lochgoillesheid the x day of August 1565. Youris asswritly.

¹ Ellipses due to damage to MS.

² A series of letters, now lost, passed between Argyll and Grey Colin around this time concerning the settlement with the MacGregors: 3 Aug. 1565, GD112/39/4/13.

³ These letters are not extant but a later set sent from the duke of Châtelherault* and the earl of Moray* survives: 24 Aug. 1565 (45-46).

45 James Stewart, earl of Moray, to Glenorchy GD112/39/4/16

24 August 1565, Ayr

To my traist freind the Lard of Glenurquhaet

Traist freynd after my maist hartly commendatioun. A...this¹ haif with utheris my Lordis heir past unto you ane common bill concerning your appointment with MacGregor yit for dyvers respectis I wald nocht omytt my awin particuleyr seing I haif supersedit to wrytt to you to this hour.² And yit I traist the yssue of the matter sall lett you understand I wes nocht foryetfull of you as it is nocht my part in verray deid. I understand that MacGregor is condiscendyt³ to verray reasonable poyncs as ye will undirstand be my Lord Ergyll my brother with quhome I haif bene als playn as ernist and yit wes bayth. I beseik you pretermitt nocht⁴ this occasion to putt your self to eyse and thairthwith mak yow hable to do your freyndis ane guid turn.⁵ Yff I may forthir to your contentement I sall omytt na thing that lyeyth in my pouer as evir ye list imploye me. Thankand hartly of your guid treatment. And thus after my hartly commendatioun to your Lady I committ you to God. Frome Ayre the xxiiii of August 1565. Youris assuredly at pouer.

46 James Hamilton, duke of Châtelherault and James Stewart, earl of Moray, to Glenorchy GD112/39/4/17

24 August 1565, Ayr

To our traist freynd the Lard of Glenwrquhy

Traist freynd after our maist hartly commendatioun. Forsamekle as we haif understand therle of Argyille your cheif hes tain grytt paynis to address ane agreance betuix you and your nychtbouris and now hes brought hyme to guid and reasonable termis and sic as we beleif sall satisfye you. Quhairof as we ar maist rejoyced for your wele and dywerss utheris causes sa on the uther part we will maist ernistly craif of you as your faythfull freyndis that ye wilbe conformable and nocht to lett so guid ane occasion of concord slyp for any small or tryffilling matter albeyt it suld evyn seame sumquhat in the reasonable menis syght.⁶ But rather consyddr the

¹ Ellipsis due to damage to MS.

² Probably referring to the joint letter with the duke*, written the same day (46), but Moray* wanted to send a personal letter as well.

³ Entered into agreement.

⁴ Do not leave undone, or pass by this occasion.

⁵ Meaning that if Grey Colin settled with the MacGregors he would be free to assist the Lords in the Chase-about Raid: Introduction, 50.

⁶ As in the letter of the same date from Moray* alone (45) considerable pressure was being exerted upon Grey Colin to accept a settlement with the MacGregors, even at the cost of some concessions.

tyme and in quhat cace your cheifis house and your awin bayth with ws your freyndis presently standis.¹ And pretermytt nocht sa guid ane occasion quhayrby ye accommodate your self and all your freyndis and annoy and hurt your enymeis. And quhair uther thingis will nocht move you lett our respectis and maist ernist requelistis move you. Howbeyt we persuade our self that ye salbe fully satisfeyt with the offeris quhairunto he is brought already. As to the securyte we wilbe mediatoris and wytnesses thairto in sic sort as yff after appoinctment mayd ony faille be mayd on ayther syd contrayr the thing aggreyt upon and promised we will think our awin honouris twychyt.² But heirin we dowbt na thing of treut and honour. And thus prayand God to preserve you we remytt the rest to your cheif my Lord of Argyll. Frome Ayre the xxiiii of August 1565. Youris assured freynd [sic] at thair power.

47 Argyll to Glenorchy

GD112/39/4/18

28 August 1565, Lochgoilhead

To our traist cowsing the Lard of Glenurquhaye delyver this

Traist cowsing eftir our maist hartlie commendatiounis. It will pleis yow to wit that eftir our commonyng with me Lord of Mwrraye at lencht in all materis and in respek of sik inconvenientis as apperit schortle to cum behand qwhilkis ar nocht unknawin to your self. And me Lord of Mwrraye schow to me that he trawellit witht yowe at lenthth thairintill. And efter lang cunsultatioun his Lordship schewe to me that he trawellit witht yow anentis the taking up of the mater betwix yow and MacGregor gif it mycht haif beine done be ony maner of waye.³ And the Lard of Ardkinglass schew ws your mynd at lynthth thairintill. And tweiching the desyris of MacGregor in his last messaige quhilk we thocht never that could be agreable to your honour throwe the eirneist desyir of me Lord of Mwrraye and the rest of the nobilite beand present mowit ws trewlie {fardar to travell}⁴ in that matter nor we thocht necessar eftir resett of MacGregoris importioun desyris as the Lard of Ardkinglass {schew to yow. And} the sadis nobiletie haifand in mynd the greit gwid that {your beand} at libertie mycht do to your hail brethren gif ye war {nocht at cumm}ris witht your awine.⁵ And als me Lord of Mwrraye {schew to

¹ A reference to the problems being encountered by the Lords in the Chase-about Raid: Introduction, 50.

² This was an offer to guarantee and underwrite the terms of the agreement with the MacGregors.

³ This suggests that Moray* had an active role mediating in the MacGregor settlement, particularly in persuading Grey Colin and Argyll to make the necessary concessions.

⁴ Readings from GD50/116/192-5.

⁵ The Lords involved in the Chase-about Raid were very keen to free Campbell forces from the MacGregor feud so that they could help their cause. Atholl had been made lieutenant of the north and Argyll declared a rebel on 23 Aug. 1565: *RPC*, i, 357-8.

me} sindrie heiddis concernyng the Erlle of Athoill your {nychtbour as ye} commonit at lenthth with him I thocht guid to seik {an wtter an} swer of MacGregor qwhairthrowe he is becum {mair easye and is} presentlie witht ws heir and ondir na appoint{uament that} qwhill the resett of your ansuer with this berar upon the heidis quhilkis differris na thing almaist fra your awine lettir and last heidis.¹ That is to saye MacGregoris lyif and his haille cumpanie to be free and in lik maner all skayethes, sclaychtorres or qwhatsumeuer awaye taking of gheir hes beine betwex yow in tymes bypast to be remittit and {forgiffin and} MacGregoris heretaige to be giffin to him at our sycht as your {last} writting specifies for the vic merkis of compositioun. And that we and {ye sall put him} and his haille freindis in thair kyndlie rowmes and possessiounnis {as thai} war at the begynnnyng of the cummer thai beyng trewe and {faythfull} to yowe. And gif it salhappin him or ony of his {freindis to get ony} rowmes fra ony utheris thai serwyng ws and yow upon the samyn rowmes we and ye baytht to fortifie and manteyne thame thairintill for thair gwid service as said is. Mairowir ye sall wit that thair is swm of the principallis of MacGregoris kin that is abill to depend upon the Erlle of Athoill. In that kaiss MacGregor sall tak ane schort daye to get thair myndis and gif that thai will nocht be content to cum with him in your serwyss and owris in that kaiss he wilbe content to persewe thame as ye and I will command him quhair euer thai be. Ye and we defendand him thairintill and mentenyng the maist speciall of his kin or brether to brwik thair rowmes that will nocht cum and he to pwt na man in thair said rowmes bot witht your awyiss and owiris. {And as} to that heid trewlie we think it rycht guid ffor we wald that tharselffes war be neckis als lang.² And now last of all thai haif proponit ane matter to ws quhilk we think ye will nocht denye to ws quhilk is seyng we are passand of the countreye instantlie as the berar will schawe yowe. We pray yow that ye wald send Gregor MacCundoche {Ladosynchtis} sone³ quhilk ye haif in captivitie to ws to the Carik to remayne quhill our meitting and youris. And we promeiss faythfullie to yow {to} keip him thair in our place quhill the said tyme and this will bring on the mennis myndis mekle and als thai say that thair is ane boye of thairis taine the last daye be yowe quhilk boye we pray yow in lyik manner keip unpwt downe⁴ quhill our said meitting. And gif ye

¹ The points of the proposed agreement with Gregor MacGregor, who was with the earl in Lochgoilhead at that point, were listed: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 352-4.

² A curious phrase which presumably refers to stretching necks in the sense of the gallows.

³ Gregor, the son of Duncan Laideus, who had been taken prisoner by Grey Colin, was to be sent to Carrick Castle to help concentrate MacGregor minds!

⁴ Presumably a callous and inelegant way of asking Grey Colin not to execute the MacGregor 'boy'.

think it gwid we vald {your mynd} war haistit heirintill and als gif ye think it best to pwt ane asswrance betwix yowe quhill our haymecuming. And fardar MacGregor promiseissis faythtfullie to ws to do in tymes cumyng the haill thing that lysis in his powar to your contentment and owres and to abyid our will and Campbellis in thair partis for your contentment excepad the heidis above writtin. And now last of all we praye yow affectuousslie that ye will schawe your self willing and glaid in thir premisses. And God willing we sall find the waye that ye sall lawicht your tyme about at your nychtbouris schortlie nochtwithstanding that thai think thame selfis afor the hand.¹ As to the asswrance ye sall wrett to ws your mynd thairintill and we sall do thaireftir in your nayme and ye sall resaif ane lettir fra the Dwik and me Lord of Mwraye tweiching the samyn pwrposs.²Fardar it will pleiss yowe gif credeit to the berar. Off Lochgoilisheid the xxviii of August 1565.Youris asswritly.

[PS] Eftir the depesche³ of this bill we resaiffit ane writt...⁴ of youris ane uther of the awld Ladye Twllebuidyinis⁵ and als of Abyrkarnyis⁶ anentis the awaye taking of ... of ... gwidis we dowbt nocht bot ye may knawe the ... dewydit or ever thai come in our cwntrre and is ... tent that thai sowld want enye of thair gheir and sall do our wttir diligenss to cawss thame be restitut thairof ... maye be enye maner of waye. And as we a ... inst ... dewydit at scaphillance and past in syndre ...Youris

48 Glenorchy to Argyll (draft)

GD112/39/4/19

30 August 1565, Balloch Castle

[No address]

My Lord efter all hartlie commendatiounis of service. I haif resavit your Lordshipsis writing makand mentioun of my Lord of Murray labour and diligence in my actioun and the Clangregoris of the quhilk I thank his Lordship hartlie for it is nocht the first gud that his Lordship hes schawin towart me and my house. I haif consyderit all the hedis and pointis of your Lordshipsis writing. And as to MacGregor mariage and releif, I wilbe contentit as befor with sex hundreth merkis. And as {to the sycht}ment⁷ of murthor, slauchteris and spulye commit be MacGregor and his complicis

¹ Argyll assuring Grey Colin that he will get the last laugh despite the fact that his enemies think they are ahead of him.

² Cf. 24 Aug. 1565 (45-6).

³ Dispatch.

⁴ Ellipses due to damage to MS.

⁵ Katherine Campbell, Grey Colin's aunt, who was the dowager Lady Tullibardine: Appendix C.

⁶ Robert Murray held Abercairney.

⁷ Readings from GD50/116/195-7.

{against} me and my servants, your Lordship knowis that I haif alreddy
 referr{it to your Lordship} and your frendis being Campbellis that part
 and bydis thairat as {yit and will sta}nd as sik deliverans as your Lordship
 and the said freindis will pronunce {nocht doutand bot} the samyn will
 be to my honour and weill be resoun of my gret {scayth sustenit be thir}
 procedingis. As to thair lyvis gif the appointment t{akis place I am
 conten}tit to be saiff bot I wald wit quhow mony MacGregoris {desyris
 and thair na}mis to be put in bill and thai to be remit be your Lordship
 a{nd me and swa mony a}s beis nocht contenit in bill that MacGregor be
 enime to tha{me als weill as I. And} as to the rowmis and stedingis that
 thai haid at the b{eginning of the cummer I} sall do my deligence that
 thai may bruke the samyn and {nocht onlie the rowmis} quhilk thai haid
 before bot als all uther rowmis that thai {may purches for gif thai} be
 your Lordshipis servantis and myne I am glayd tha{t thai be weill stakit of
 tha}ir awin. As to the assurans I am contentit that yo{ur Lordship gif
 thame ane assuran}ce quhill Candilmes¹ or langar gif your Lordship plesis
 {and in the meyne tyme qu}how sone your Lordship and the freindis
 decernis the appoint{ment may be endit and the} assurans hes nay thing
 ado. Your Lordship knowis qu{hat scayth I haif gottin under a}ssurans
 thairfor gif your Lordship giffis thame ony in {my name send me your
 Lordshipis} writing that I be scaythles in the meyne tyme an{d send me
 thair namis in bill} that beis assurit and I sall God willing keip the {samyn.
 As to Duncane Laid}us Oy your Lordship sall haiff him quhow sone ye
 send {me the assurans or ellis I s}all hald hym in fre ward with my self
 quhill {I speik with your Lordship and als} sall contenew the boy that
 your Lordship writis for al{beit he is an Atholl man.² And} quhair your
 Lordship writis that gif I be contentit w{ith the hedis that} your Lordship
 sall gar me lauch my tyme about at {nychtbouris. I assur your Lordship
 that} is the thing that movis me mair to accept MacGregor {in fawouris
 nor ony geir} that euer he may gif me. For gif he use him weill in th{at
 cace he is abill to be r}ewardit. Atour your Lordship sall wit that Duncane
 MacGregor {at Roro and the man of G}lenleydnocht hes tane ane
 thousand pund wort of geir fra{e my seruantis laitlie} thairfor I wald your
 lordship advertesit me gif MacGregor will {haif thame assurit or nocht}.
 I am informit that your lordship and bretherine ar to pas with f{orce to
 the Lawland for} avansing of the glorie of God and the common welth.
 T{hairfor I pray your Lordship} to be circumspect and handill the mater

¹ Candlemas, 2 Feb.

² Grey Colin was agreeing point by point with the proposals of 28 Aug. 1565 (47), though he was anxious to add extra guarantees about damage from raids because he had been caught out before: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 354, 396.

be wisdom for the {winning and tynsall} of the hale wair standis this viage.¹ And gif I war of a{bilitie as I} haiff bene it suld nocht haif bene counsall that your Lordship suld {haif haid in} tyme of say wechtie materis bot rather my awin persone and all that wald assist me quhilk your Lordship sall haif God willing schortlie sua I war out of cummer. I am feirfull for my Lord of Athole invasioun, quhowsonsone he cummis and gif he puttis at me I man transport my gudis [sic] Glenurquhay. And gif your Lordship levis MacGregor at hame I pray your Lordship causs him and the rest of your lychtmen² {to} be reddy in cace I send thame word to cumm in my suport and lat MacGregor {be} assurit that I sall not brek ane word of my promeiss to him. The rest {committ}is unto your Lordshipis wisdom and answeir and your [sic]. Youris at Balloch, {the} penult day of August 1565.³

49 Argyll to Glenorchy

GD112/39/4/20

1 September 1565, Dunoon

To our traist cousing Colin Campbell of Glenurchay

Traist cousing efter hartlie commendatiouns. We haif resavit your writing and hes considerit the contentis thairof at lenthe. And is weray glaid with all our hart that ye ar sa weill willing to agre with Makgregor for the speciall heddis that ye haif writin in your bill particularle is the same weray heddis quhairupoun we and Makgregor hes condescendit. As to the assurans we culd nocht send the same becaus Makgregor hes nocht spokin hidderto with his men and knawis nocht as yeit quhome for he will assuir bot within sex dayis ye salbe advertist of thame that Makgregor will assuir for.⁴ And as to the rest that will nocht be includit within the said assurans Makgregor sall be thair enemye and perschewe thame in lyk maner as ye will do. Prayand yow in the mein tyme that nowthir the taking of horss or ky or mearis betuix yow and thame that dependit upoun Makgregor in tymis bygane be ane occasioun to hinder ane guid purpos and agreans. For Makgregor him self is present heir with ws and his freindis may do by his will quhat thay pleis bot quhow schone Makgregor him self speikis with thame (quhilk wilbe with all diligens) all thingis wilbe stayit. Meirour we purpos God willing to be in the hicht of

¹ Grey Colin warned the earl of Argyll to be very careful of hazarding all the hopes of the rebel lords on one expedition in the Chase-about Raid.

² In the event of an invasion of his territory by the earl of Atholl and the queen's forces, Grey Colin wanted to be able to call upon Argyll's light cavalry and MacGregor's men: Introduction, 51-2.

³ The last two lines were added in another hand and with different ink.

⁴ Grey Colin had been most insistent, 30 Aug. 1565 (48), that specific names should be provided for those to be included within the assurance and the agreement.

Mentheithe upoun Tyisdaye nixt to come ewest Abirfuill¹ and in the mein tyme ar advertist that the Erle of Atholl is gatherit with all his freindis of purpos to cum fordwartis to do skayth owthir upoun yow or sum uthiris freindis nairast adjacent to him. Prayand yow thairfoir all excuis by put to send ws swir advertisement of his proceidingis and purpos and gathering. For we will burthene yow with the same to mak ws contenvall advertisement of his proceidingis as ye may best haif intelligens thairof ilk twa or thre dayis annis that we may prowyd for him the best we may. For with Godis grace we haifing intelligens he sall by his pray deir. And we lippin to haif intelligens be yow quhome we mak watchise man in the same as we ar assurit ye wilbe redde to support gif neid beis.² The rest of the contentis of your bill salbe suirle performit God willing. And sa committis yow to the protectioun of God. Frome Dunnune the first day of September 1565. Youris.

50 Châtelherault, Moray³, Alexander Cunningham, 4th earl of Glencairn and Andrew Leslie, 5th earl of Rothes⁴ to Glenorchy.⁵

GD112/39/4/22

12 September 1565, Dumfries

To our rycht traist freynd the Lard of Glenurquha

Traist freynd eftiroure hartlie commendatiouns. It is not unknowin to yow how for the defence ofoure brethren andoure avne livis we wer of lait compellit to put our selvis togidder and also how for lack of concurrence ofoure brethren we with sa gude a caus wer put in owir gret a hazard. Quhill now we haif retyredoure selvis in thir rowmes to repairoure forces quhairin we are earnistlie occupyit at this present. Willing you to understand that God hes sa mercifullie delt with ws that he hes fund ws grett freyndschip and abundance of forces apperandlie to releveoure oppressed brethren and to putoure caus to sum gude poynt quhilk we are deliberat to do and that schortlie God willing. Craving thairfore of yow as

¹ Next to Aberfoyle, on Tuesday, 4 Sept.

² The earl was in desperate need of accurate military intelligence of Atholl's movements and was relying upon Grey Colin to keep him informed every couple of days.

³ In his absence Lord James Stewart's* houses in the priory and the castle at St Andrews were seized on 9 Sept.: D. Hay Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland* (London, 1910), 608-12. I am grateful to Linda Dunbar for this reference.

⁴ Assuming that English help was on its way, these Lords had hopes that they could muster support to oppose the king and queen. Argyll was in the Menteith area so was not one of the signatories. Not surprisingly, the language of this circular by the 'rebels', and their declaration at Dumfries on 19 Sept. (Calderwood, *History*, ii, 570-6), echoed the proclamations issued by the Lords of the Congregation in 1559-60, but was far less successful in eliciting support.

⁵ General circular addressed to Glenorchy.

we assure oure selffis ye tendir the caus sa ye wilbe sa gude as to find your self in reddynes to joyne with ws and the rest of oure brethren at sik tyme and place as salbe appointed and as ye salbe advertist of xxiiii houris befoir. Lett your forces be sik as the wechtynes of the caus requiris and your lonyng for the weill thairof for xx dayis. We traist we neid not to discover the procedingis of oure adversariis quhairof we suppose ye haif bettir experience nor we wald desire. Bot referris the samin with the circumstances of all thingis to youre avne wisdom. Praying God to be your confort quhill meting. Fra Drumfreis this xii of September 1565. Youris assured freyndis.

51 Argyll to Glenorchy

GD112/39/4/23

15 September 1565, Inveraray Castle

To our traist cousing the Laird of Glenurchay

Cousing efter hartlie commendatiounis. We wret to yow yesterday¹ with your awin serwant concerning Makgregor quhome we find weill willing to serve yow with the rest that will in ony wayis depend upoun him. Nochtwithstanding thair is gret and earnest perswasiounis maid wnto him be the Erle of Athollis conwoy² for we assuir yow that we haif gottin intelligens that the revocatioun of your few of the Kingis landis of Braidalbane togidder with all the Chartres landis in that cuntre ar promisit wnto him be the Quene to cum and depend upoun the Erle of Atholl at hir command.³ Bot that will in na wayis move him for we know that the erledom of Ergyll wald be promisit to yow or sum uther of our freindis in lik maner for the lyk service gif it wald be acceptit. Quhairfoir ye sall haif na dowl of Makgregoris guid service as we wrett to yow sindry tymes befoir. Meirour we pray yow weray effecteousle to caus deliver ws the man that is in the castall and the boy for we know weill that thair deliverand will be ane way to draw in the rest of the Clangregor as we dowl nocht your awin wisdom will consider. For we assuir yow it nocht for na uther caus we desyre thame bot to the said effect. And so committis yow to God. Frome Inveraray the xv day of September 1565. Youris.

[PS] Send sum serwand of your awin to the castall to deliver the man

¹ This letter has not survived.

² Escort.

³ The bribe offered to MacGregor* to change sides and join Atholl and the queen was the transference of Grey Colin's tack of Discher and Toyer, the royal lands on the north and south of Loch Tay, and the Breadalbane lands belonging to the Perth Charterhouse. Together they comprised most of Grey Colin's holdings in Breadalbane, so Gregor MacGregor was being given the chance to replace Campbell power in that area with his own. Argyll's confidence that MacGregor would not accept the queen's offers was vindicated: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 354-5.

and keip this uthir point concerning Makgregor secret becaus weray few knawis the same.

52 Ranald Og MacDonald of Keppoch to Glenorchy

GD112/39/5/21

c. 26 September 1565¹

To ane rycht honorabill man Collyn Campbell Lard of Glenurquhay

...Jesus²

Rycht honorabill Sir I commend my service hartlie to yow ...³ I resavit your wrytyng informand that the Lordis hef writin to yow anentis the Clan Gregor⁴ and thair ag{rians}. As to this ye know I can nocht be discontent of ane thing that is profeit or {honour} to yow in thir causis so that I haif ane gud part of it conform {as} I haif of yow {in my} assidatioun⁵ and band and quhair ye dissayre me evir instantle to yow ye sall ... Thair is ane newe harschipe and schlachtor meid on puir men that partinet me in the Bra of Badyenoch be the Clanranald quhilk I fortuk the harschipe and brocht it agan and the Clanranald hes tan part of my cuntra geir agan for that and bostis me heirfor to tak meir of my geir.⁶ Moirovir ye sall wit that the King and the Quein hes send thair haratis⁷ with chargis to all the northe and to me amangis the leif commandand ws to be in Lorin with all our puar the xxviii day of this instant munet with xx dayis furnising efter our being thair. And as thai say this is thair get⁸ to Lorin gif thai ga. Bot gif thai ga I sall advertiss yow and my Lord of Argyll as thai ryis thairofis. Bot I se thai do no thing bot giffis gud taik for this and sayis that thai sall do conform to the charge for thir causis ye knawe. I may nocht ga out of my avyn rowmis instantle without ye haid mekill ado that ye mycht nocht forbeir one quhilk an [it] wor I salbe redde at your command.⁹ And als to the Clancamron thai gadderit to revenge this last harschipe

¹ This letter mentions the proclamation by Henry and Mary ordering a muster in Lorn on the 28th of the month. There were a series of orders concerning troop movements in Aug. and Sept. 1565 and this probably refers to the order of 22 or 24 Aug. 1565, *RPC*, i, 355-7, 359-60. This letter was placed in Sept. 1565 in John MacGregor's collection, GD50/187/1. Readings from GD50/116/199.

² A superscript line above the salutation but illegible with the water damage, probably a blessing, as in 10.

³ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁴ 24 Aug. 1565 (46). Keppoch* had been employed against the MacGregors, 1 Feb. 1565 (30).

⁵ Lease.

⁶ MacDonald of Clanranald had raided Keppoch's people in the Brae of Badenoch and, although Keppoch had recovered the goods, others were taken and threats issued about further raids.

⁷ Heralds.

⁸ Meaning 'gate' in the sense of route.

⁹ This probably means Keppoch would not come immediately, unless there was something urgent which could not wait a week.

that wos down in Rannoch in to sum plece on yow.¹ Bot I se thai haif doun no thing for thai may nocht do one thing on yow onwiting of me less thai send cateran to steill out of your bundis. For gif thai do udervayis ye salbe soun advertist be me with all the puar and fortificatioun I may. The rest referis to your advertisiment and God kepe yow. Be youris with all puar at command.

53 Glenorchy to William Stewart of Grandtully (draft)²

GD112/39/5/5

30 October 1565, Killin

[No address]

Honorabill Sir efter rycht hartlie commendatiouns. I haif resavit your writing and quhair ye writ that my Lord of Athole hes commandit yow declar to me that gif the Erle of Ergle or ony uther perteing to me persewis his Lordshipis cuntre or ony part thairof that fra this furth he will wirk all the wreke he can or may on my hous and me only allegeand that it wilbe my dracht that will bring scayth upoun his cuntre gif ony cumis. As to that ye sall wit that my Lord in ane part desiris that thing of me quhilk I haif great occasioun to desyre of hym. For I assure yow gif I get scayth I can wyte³ nay levand man except my Lord. Albeit I may nocht nor will say that I will seik revenge of my Lord as he dois of me. Bot the eternall God quhay is the revenge of all wrangis will wirk according to his plesour. And quhair my Lord supponis that I may stay the force of gret men sik as my Lord of Ergle I pray God that it war in my power to stay all ewill quhilk I haif done sa fer as I mycht hidderto as I tak God and gud nybouris to witnes and hes obtenit small kindnes thairfore agane. Gif my Lord beis avisit and consider quhat is his awin honour and dewite it is nocht at me he suld begin to ...eve ...⁴ the offencis that utheris makis. And gif I haif falit to ony man I will ansuer to the lawis of the realm for I am responsabill. And gif my Lord ... allege that I haif offendit his Lordship in ony sort I am hartlie contentit that he and uther freindis sycht the samyn and gif the fail be with me I sall me ... it gif it lysis in my power my Lord doand siclik to me. And albeit that God wald suffir my Lord to wreke my hous quhom wrekeis he bot his awin ... will never put say kynd ane man in

¹ Clan Cameron were planning a revenge raid on Grey Colin because they had suffered a raid in Rannoch, but Keppoch would keep Grey Colin informed about any Cameron movements. This was probably the background to Cameron of Lochiel's* letter, winter 1565 (78).

² No address but see Grandtully's reply (54).

³ Blame.

⁴ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

my rowm. And gif his Lordship wald haif me it is nocht with ouer gret extremite that I suld be handillit. Als ye sall wit that I persaving the rage of my nyboris of Strathern ... send for sik support of freindis as I mycht haif quhay ar cumand me to swte ony man bot to debait¹ my selff. Thairfore I wald ye tuke the pain to adverteis me gif my Lord will stay the Strathern men as I sall do my deligens to stay this syd. Utherwiss I will nocht put away sik help as I may get. Gif my Lord be myndit to this we will lat friendis travell in ony resonabill thing that my Lord wald haif of me. And as to brute that the Strathern men hes rasis on me that I suld be at the away taking of thair geir I priss God I wes never art nor part of sik crymes. And will debait thair my innocencie thairintill aganis ony man that I may be peregall to ...neth...² wes thair ony that I mycht stop thair. I regard thair boist lychtle swa that my Lord of Athole wald stand the man to me that he suld be quhill he fynd that I mak hym occasioun in the contrar. I haif writin to the Lard of Tulibarden³ freindis to se quhat hes movit his rygor and as I get ansuer ye sall know the samyn. I pray yow adverteis me of my Lordis mynd towartis me with all haist and I sall do in the meyn tyme as ye desyre and the Lord bliss yow. From Killin the penult of October 1565. Youris at power.

54 William Stewart of Grandtully to Colin Campbell of Glenorchy
GD112/39/12/2

c.31 Oct. 1565,⁴ Grandtully Castle (near Aberfeldy)

To the rycht honorabill Lard off Glenorquhay

Rycht honorable Sir eftyr hartle commendatioun. I resavit your last wrytyng and hed spokkyn my Lord of Atholl or than at laith [sic] quhair trewly I hef fundyn werray weil myndit and ye salbe swyr that his Lordship nor nane of his sal molest yow nor cum on yow on nay way off deid. And towart Straythherryn thair wil nocht swit yow nor youris bot be the ordour off law. And I hef spokkyn Duncan MacGregor⁵ and efter lang tyme and talkyng in tyme cumyng he sal nocht molest yow nor nane of youris \quhil ye be comonit uther if now agane/. Sway I onderstand God willing ye salbe abil to leiff at rest of this hand prowdyng always gif the Erl of Argyll or ony of his dois harme to my Lordis of Athollis cunray or

¹ In the sense of defending oneself.

² 'Pegrall' means 'petty, mean or greedy', but the rest of the phrase is unclear.

³ Probably William Murray of Tullibardine*: Memo, Oct. 1565, GD112/1/161/13; 31 Oct. 1565 (55). Tullibardine had been given the escheat of Argyll's fruits of the diocese of Brechin, 28 Sept. 1565, RSS, v, I, 2333.

⁴ This is a reply to Grey Colin's letter of 30 Oct. 1565 (53) which in turn received a reply, 1 Nov. 1565 (58).

⁵ Duncan MacGregor of Roro.

freindis in Straythherrin in tym cumyng than I wil undertak nay forther bot thait at ewil will follow thairefter that mai be done bayth to yow and nychtbouris. I hef wrytin this schortly bot thair wes mair ado and large killyng or it com to this pass heirfor hald weil that is weil. And trewly wer I ...¹ your place gif the Erl of Ardgylle war say abstinat that he will do wikkydnes to nychtbouris quharthrow he wilbe the occasioun of this wrak² I suld adiune³ my slef [sic]⁴ with nychtbouris in thair first defence and tak the part. Do as ye pleis I hef said weil of your name. Haist ane guid wrytyng to me agane as ye haif done affoir and God keip yow. Of Grantulye. Be youris at all powar.

55 Lord Ruthven to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/5/6

31 October 1565,⁵ Ruthven Castle⁶

To his systur the Lady Glenwrquhay

Syster efter maist hartly commendatiounis. I resavit your wretyn this Wodisday at x ouris beyownd Kenrossar. And imediatly thair efter spak with my Lord Athoill and resonyt at lentht with hym. Quhom I belef may be dressyt swa the Lard your hwsband be contenttyt to address all attentytis⁷ done to hym and his frindis and in speciall to the Erl of Arrell, my Lord Drumond, Lard of Tullybarn and sum of the Glengregor⁸ and to reseif the elik⁹ of thame swafar as thai may do. Utherwais I can nocht understand that he will haif ony mellyng with¹⁰ the Lard of his procidens bot will lat the aughtorete be party. And gyf he beis put to the horn the Lard of Tullybarn will nocht fail to get chargis to my Lord Athoill luftenand to seige and tak his houss and destroy his takis and rowmis. For this nycht or the morn thair beis thre hwnderitht

¹ Damage to MS.

² A very explicit warning that Argyll's obstinacy and attacks upon Atholl's country or Strathearn might wreck Grey Colin unless he distances himself from his chief's stance during the Chase-about Raid.

³ Adjoin.

⁴ This spelling of 'self' is characteristic of Grandtully.

⁵ Although this letter and the one from Ruthven* to Grey Colin of the same date (56) do not contain the year, the contents show that they belong to 1565, when 31 Oct. was a Wednesday as mentioned in the first sentence; see also Memo of Oct. 1565 concerning Tullibardine, GD112/1/161/B.

⁶ Huntingtower, Perth.

⁷ Probably attempts, i.e. attacks.

⁸ George Hay, 7th earl of Erroll; David, 2nd Lord Drummond and William Murray, 11th of Tullibardine* along with Clan Gregor, all of whom claimed to have been injured by Grey Colin: *BBT*, 134, MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 355.

⁹ Same.

¹⁰ Dealings with.

hacbuttaris¹ in Sanct Ionsten to awayt and do quhat euer the luftenand commandis thaim. As to the lettres that wes pwrcheit [sic] agains the Lard my broder I wes in the Merss at the tyme thai wer pwrchaisit and hard na word of thaim quhill I resavit your wrettyne. And merwellis ye suld nocht hed wrettyne to me quhat day the Lard was summond to. For as to grit ordinas² cuming to seige his hous thair is nocht sic ane thinge nor it can nocht be seiggyt of reasoun with out he pass to the horn. Thairfor my consall is that he wret to me declaryng that he is contentyt to refer all thingis betuxt hym and the personis forwrettyne tyll resonabill frindis. Forwithout that I can find na gud in it as the hyinstandis³ as I haif wrettyne to the Lard self at mar lenth. And how schon that ye resaif this wrettyne heist word to me quhat day the Lard is summond to or ellis the cobby of the summondis with your apwnthioun⁴ quhat the Lard will do in the premissis. Refarand the rest to your adwirtisement. And Crist preserve you. My bedfallow⁵ makis hir hartly commendatiouns to yow and to all the barns and I in likweis. Wrettyne at Ruthven the last of October. Yowr broder at power.

56 Lord Ruthven to Glenorchy

GD112/39/5/7

31 October 1565, Ruthven Castle

To his broder the Lard of Glenwrquhay

Broder efter maist hartly commendatiouns. This salbe to certifye yow I resavit ane wrettyne this Wodisday beyownd Kenrossar fra my syster your bedfallow⁶ declarynge that ye war chargyt to compeir befor the Kyng and Quenis Maiesteis at ane cartane day nocht specifeing the samyn. And merwellyng I beand in cowrt nor I suld had stayit the sam or at the leist suld had adwirtiast yow. Ye sall understand that gyf ony sic lettres wes purchesyt and wes obtinit quhill I wes in the Merss nor I hard na word thair of quhill this day that I resavit my systeris wrettyne. And imediatly thairefter I spak my Lord Athoill quha schew me that the Lard of Tullybarne had purchest sic lettres efter the first herschipe to charge yow to compeir befor the Kyng and Quenis Majesteis and thair consall within vi dayis under the pane of rebellione. And gyf ye pass to the horn the Lard of Twllybarn will nocht fell to get lettres to charge the Erle of Athoill luftenand to seig and tak your hous. For thair is iii hwndreth hacbutteris cumand

¹ Hagbutters or infantrymen armed with arquebuses.

² Artillery.

³ As it remains at present.

⁴ Opinion.

⁵ Ruthven's wife was Janet Stewart, Lady Methven, Atholl's* aunt: Appendix C.

⁶ See Ruthven's reply to Katherine which contains much of the same information (55).

to Sanctiounstons to reman and to do quhat ever the luftenand commandis thaim. Yit efter lang resoning with my Lord of Athoill I brocht hym to that pwnt that he desyriss nocht to be ane wrakar of your houss without the falt be in your self. And I beleif he may be broicht to this pwnt that gyf ye will wret to me and declair that ye will be contenttyt to tak and gyf ane dress of all thingis betuixt yow and his frindis and in speciall the Erle of Arreill, my Lord Drummond, the Lard of Tullybarn and sum of the Glengregor. And without this he wald lat the law proseid agains yow quhilkis ye can abyd as tym and cowrt standis. Thairfor for my apwngyeoun I will consall yow saifand your awin wysdome to compromit with all men and to gyf redress and tak redress. For uthairwes ye may be at your dubeyt¹ quhilk wilbe werry hard to yow gyf ye know all thingis that I ken quhilkis wor ouer proleixe to wret. For I perseiff ye haif mony fois and few frindis owthir in cowrt or without. Thairfor ye maun temper eiss your self the better and do the likleat and tak tym as God sendis. And adwertiss me of your mynd of the premisses and quhat ye will haif me doand thairinto. Ye sall want na thing that I may do for your weill and the weill of your houss. Refarand the rest to your adwirtisment and Crist preserve yow. Your ant my bedfallow² makis hir hartly commendatiouns to yow. Writtyn at Ruthwen the last of October. Your assuryt broder at his power.

57 William Stewart of Grandtully to Glenorchy GD112/39/6/32
1 November 1565³

To the rycht honorabill Lard off Glenwrquhay

Honorabill Sir efter hartlie commendatiouns. I hef sene and considerit your writyng and as towart the stayng of Straythherry men I onderstand the Lard of Tullebardyn to be in Edynburth and to his returnyng I belieff thair sal nane of Straythherry stai and ar maist abill to swit yow be ordour of law for sic crymes as thai wil lay to your charge rather than forss. Heirfor gif ye do weill I thynk it best that ye lat nane of Argyll conwene and gif thai be conwenit to caus thame skail.⁴ Becaus thai being togiddir and conventioun wilbe occasion of gret conwocatioun in thair partis quhilk can do nay guid to yow at this present gif it beis. As towart my Lord off Athole ...⁵ com to Dunkeld this Wednesday weray lait in the

¹ Dubiety i.e. insecurity.

² Jean Stewart, Lady Methven, who was actually Grey Colin's cousin: Appendix C.

³ See Grandtully's previous letter, c. 31 Oct. 1565 (54). Grey Colin's reply to this letter was written at night, 1 Nov. 1565 (58).

⁴ Disperse. Argyll's forces were making a series of attacks as part of the Chase-about Raid.

⁵ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

nycht¹ so I sal speik his Lordship schortly and thaireftyr sal adverteis yow in writ haistely. To the quhilk I reffer al uther and God conserff yow ... Writyn this first of Nowember be youris at powar.

[PS] Sa ... intelligence be writ ye ... the said Ardgylle men I hest ... yow to do.

58 Glenorchy to William Stewart of Grandtully² (draft)

GD112/39/6/22

1 November 1565, Balloch Castle

[No address]

Honorable Sir, efter hartlie commendatiounis. I haif resavit your writing becaus I chancit to be heir for uther besines at this present and merwalis that ye being with my Lord of Athole send me sik ane deferrand anser of my last writing quhilk as I understand wes veiray resonabill. And quhar ye desyr me to stay or skale my freindis without ony assurans of quietnes to follow thairupoun I can nocht understand quhit that menis. Bot gif ye will asser me that my Lord of Athole will stand my gud freind and swte me nay way bot be iustice I will nocht only stay my freindis at this tyme bot in all tymes cumyng at my uter power utherwiss ye will apardoun me. And as to Strathern men I tak nay thocht of thame my Lord of Athole being the man he suld to me. For I am sibbar³ to his Lordship nor ony of thame gif kyndnes war kepit. And hopis in God to be yit als stedable as sum of thame that braggis maist now. Forder desyris yow to tak the panis to haist anser heiroy to my bedfallo that it may cum to me and the Lord bliss yow. From Balloch the first of November 1565 at nycht. Youris at power.

59 Atholl to William Stewart of Grandtully

GD112/39/14/19

c. 1 November 1565,⁴ 'Garvie'⁵

To his cousing the Laird off Grantully

Cousing efter hertlye commendatiouns. I haif resavit ane wryting of youris frome the berar heiroy at Garvy makand mentioun that the Lady of Glenorquhaye hes meid yow advertissment that the Laird hir housband is chargit to compeir and enter within six daies quhilk he cane nocht

¹ 31 Oct., the previous night.

² This is a reply to 57 and refers to Grandtully's* previous letter of c. 31 Oct. 1565 (54).

³ More closely related.

⁴ See Grantully's to Katherine, c. 2 Nov. 1565 (60), and the mention of this letter to Atholl, 4 Nov. 1565 (62).

⁵ Garvie, or 'rough place', probably close to Blair Atholl, towards which the earl was travelling.

guidly do albeit he wald.¹ And gif that I culd get the saidis chairges continewit thai wald think thaim addetit unto me. Desyrng me thairfoir send that the officer saidis he wil do in that quhat I command him that I will causs continewe the saidis chargis. As to that I cane nocht tell quhow or quhat manner or on quhat heidis the chargis ar gevin. Alwais gif the officer will uiss my counsell bring him now to me with your self to Blair and quhat I cane do resounablie salbe done. Sua refaring the rest of all uther besines to your cumming wil bid yow fair hertly weill. Frome Garvye on horsbeck. Youris.

60 William Stewart of Grandtully to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/12/7

c. 2 Nov. 1565,² Grandtully Castle

To the honorabill Lady off Glenurquhay

Eftir maist hartlie commendatioun. I resavit your writing proporting that thair is ane messengeir to cum on the Laird your housband with chairgis nocht making mentioun quhat maneir chairgis thay be and that ye lwikis nocht ffor sic lyk in respect of my writtingis. As to that I writ ... is I beleiff that the Laird on nay way suld be swittit but be the law quhilke wes his awin desyr in all his writtingis³ ...⁴ I writ to yow quhen the chairgis come that thane ... tyme to desyr delay thairoff. And as to my ryding to My Lord of Atholl I ondirstand him to be in Blair yestreve⁵ and I can nocht ryd till him without I wist quhat maner of chairgis thay ar that I mycht know quhat suld be done ... For giff thay be bot requyr the Laird to find catioun ... sax dayis to undirleie the law to ane langer day I think ye mister nocht bot to causs find catioun. Gif thay will nocht defar and betuix this and the day of law to caus labour freindlie. Always I sall do that quar... that lysis in my powar. And I purpois to be in Perth this nycht God willing bot I sall altir the said purpois giff ye think it expedient or find that I may do guid and giff I pass to Blair your ... rediest way bot I wald ye tuik swir consul ... swa that ye ye [sic] ondirstand weill the Laird to be contentit w... thing ye requyrit I sall remaine for ... quhill tua ... non upoun the messengeir gif it be ... hes purchest the chaarge the messengeir will be ... thing by his awin awin [sic] awysse ... into ... your nixt adverteissment. Committis yow to the protectioun of God. Of

¹ For the summons of Grey Colin, 31 Oct. 1565, see 55-6.

² Grandtully* had received a letter similar to that sent to Ruthven*, 31 Oct. 1565 (55). This letter predates 61 where Grandtully mentions a letter written the previous evening.

³ Grey Colin had written to Grandtully along these lines, 30 Oct. 1565 (53).

⁴ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁵ Yesterday evening.

Grantully be youris at power.

[PS] I think ye mister nocht to tak say gryt thocht quhill ye know quhat chairges thai be and quhai cam forwart ... the nixt best may be tane bot heist word to the ... Laird of the samyn that he may dr...

61 Same to same

GD112/39/12/10

Saturday [3 November 1565],¹ Grandtully Castle

[No address]

Eftyr hartlie commendatioun. I resavit your writyng and quhar ye writ that the Lardis mynd is that al thynngis suld ceiss. As to that I know nay mannis mynd ...² bayth the Lardis writyngis said thair wourdis gif my Lord of Atholl stand guid onto hym and swit hym on nay way bot be justice he wil nocht only stay his freindis at this tyme bot in al tyme cumyng at his wttermaist and that he takkis nay thocht of Straythherryn men my Lord being the man to hym he suld be. And now bayth thair hedis being satisfeit \and nain profite/ ye cum on wyth ane uther weray onressonable desyrand nay justice be swtit of the Lard for ... caus ye hef writyn.³ Quhilk wer tyme to desyre and schaw sic caus quhen he wer callit to justice. Bot it apperis weil that ye onderstand that the guid mynd my Lord of Atholl hes born heirinto is ffor feir of my Lord of Ardgylle and the Lardis freindis. As to that ye salbe assurit the best and maist part heiraway regardis my Lord of Ardgylle and al that wil assist hym in sic cass weray lital and ar desyrous and thynkis weil he dois bot his awyn wrak and thair weil and w... or far mair nor partye to hym at this present cum gif he wil. And quhar ye writ that the Lard adverteisit me of my Lord of Ardgylle ar na ... writis that he send for freindis to his awyn support and to do nay harme to nay man quhilk gif thai wald and mycht do it wer than the Lardis men deid but fail.⁴ Bot ye sal onderstand al thais on this syde of Forth var chargit be opyn proclamatioun and also writyngis to pas fordwartis wyth the Lwtennend wyth xv dayis leyve. And als way ane band of men of wyir quharoff tua hundyr remanis al this wyntir in Perth. And now be labouris of freindis and my Lordis awyn guid mynd for ... and lamentyng the gret trubbil the Lard hes gottin in tyme past is stayit and for his weil differrit to ordour of justice to drywe ... tyme and abil nocht be callit. And as I writ to yow⁵ the streve without the Lard adverteis me

¹ This is the reply which Grey Colin asked Grandtully* to send to Katherine in 58. The next Saturday was 3 Nov.

² Ellipses represent damage to MS.

³ This repeats word for word what Grey Colin had said in 58 but Katherine's lost letter included what Grandtully thought was an unreasonable extra demand that Grey Colin should not have to face any legal proceedings at all.

⁴ Without fail.

⁵ 2 Nov. and probably a reference to 60.

incontenent be writ that he wil stay ony army or gret conwocatioun at this present becaus thai com only for his releiff as he hes promisit to do in bayth his writyngis quhilkis I schew my Lord of Atholl.¹ The tother² is maist abil to cum fordwarttis schortly quhilk wilbe hurtful onto ws nychbouris and the Lardis ovir great hurt for mony ar weray ewil myndit and desyris bot just occatioun to ... caus the Lard writ ressonable in the fair maner as he hes done of that he hes stayit his freindis and thairefter als schortly as ... lat hym caus sum freindis trawel on sik hedis and desyris ... be at gif ony be. And the caus I writ the lital ... yestreive ves that it wes spokkyn to me that at ves ... spak quharthrocht nay honist man ves abil to speik for the ... I ves nocht abil to hef place to speik for hym nor ... As to my spekyng vyth my Lord of Atholl agane I ... nocht quhen the same wilbe becaus he passis to Atholl schortlie ... Albeit I spak with hym I wald nocht schaw hym nane of your latt writingis for I thynk it nocht weil nor neidful rychtsway. Forfrit³ yestre... that sum men hed cumyn down by the Lardis awyiss and wrettyng and albeit thai hed bene weil resistit or mischeiffit ... culd hef excusit me for I doutit nocht albeid that hed b ... bot ye wald adverteist me gif ye hed knawyn ... ony to ... haist the Lardis ansur to me wyth al diligence ... wyth this berar and God conserff yow. Of Grantullye this Satturday. Youris awyn at powar.

62 Same to same

GD112/39/6/30

Sunday [4 November 1565],⁴ Grandtully Castle
To the rycht honorabill Lady off Glenwrquhay

Eftyr hartlie commendatioun. I resavit the Lardis writyng togiddir wyt youris and or thain I writ to my Lord off Atholl⁵ that ye hed writin to me in the Lardis absence that Tullebardyn be veray sinister informacioun hed purchest lettres or chargis and that ye farit the same to be wsit in your husbandis absence say far off⁶ and the dayis be over schort. And that your desyre wes gif his Lordship awys wes hed thairto that the Lard mycht be first freindly requyrit quhat sum ever it becaus ye ... stwyd the Lardis ansur and part suld be say ressonabill that it suld satissfy even onressanabil and rigouris men. And quhair ye writ that the Lard wil wryit w... me

¹ In Grandtully's view it was essential that Grey Colin prevented an influx of troops from Argyll as they would be viewed as a direct threat to Atholl and his neighbours. As he had warned in 54, Grey Colin should distance himself as far as possible from Argyll.

² The other.

³ Possibly a variation on 'fuirday', late in the day, with 'stre' being the beginning of 'streve'.

⁴ Grandtully* mentioned 53, 58. Sunday was 4 Nov.

⁵ See Atholl's* reply, c. 2 Nov. 1565 (59).

⁶ Grey Colin was based in Killin (53).

efterwartis gif he gettis skaiyth. And as to that trwly I ... thet ... salbe ...air ... nor fail in me. And keip my writyngis for gif it is onywi... done I sal lay the wyit to ane wtheris charge befoir guid witnesses. And swyrly I writ nay thyng onto yow bot that quhilk is maist trew presently bot eftyrwarttis purposp may altyr and change as God pleises. And quhair ye writ my last writyng¹ to be onressonabil I beleiff weil the same bot gif ye knew the altrcatioun thair wes or it cam to ... I ... writyn to yow and the Lard ye wald considir the same the ... schortlie. I thynk ye mister nocht to dowt in nay thyng I hef writyn ... of faythfullness thairoff befoir God witnes. Reffarand al uther to ... ye ... protectioun of God. Writyn of Grantullye this Sondag... Youris.

63 Lord Ruthven to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/5/9

5 November 1565, Ruthven Castle²

To his syster the Lady Glenwrquhay

Syster efter maist hartly commendatiouns. This salbe to certifiye yow I wes yeisterday on Dunkeld and fra that raed to Cluny³ with my Lord Athoill quhom with I spak at lenth and findis his Lordship of gud mynd towart your hwsband. And my Lord Athoill promest to me to haif the Lard of Innermarky⁴ this day at me with ane byll to the Lard of Tullybarn to stay hym that he excicut na lettres apoun the Lard in hope of agreans.⁵ And this Monenday at x ouris⁶ Thomas Scott hes schawn me that Andersoun⁷ hes gottyne the lettres to charge the Lard and is rididne this sam day to cherge the Lard. Thairfor it is my consaill that yow do as I send yow word with Thome MacGregor as forder the berar will schaw yow quhom to ye sall gyf credyt. And Crist preserve yow. Wrettyt at Ruthwen the v day of Nowember instant. Yowr broder at power.

[PS] Efter the wreting of this byll the Lord of Innermarke wes passand to Edinburghe to the Lard of Tulybarne fra my Lord of Athoyll to stay the letters and gyf the letters wes execut to stay the horning quhill freindis meyt. And hes desyryt the Lard of Tulybarne to cum owyr to that effect that dres of all thingis may be had as the berar will schew yow at my mynd at lenth.

¹ Probably 60-1.

² Huntingtower, Perth.

³ Probably Clunie Castle belonging to the bishop of Dunkeld, on the Loch of Clunie, about 10 miles east of Dunkeld.

⁴ Robert Innes of Invermarky, who was Atholl's* kinsman.

⁵ For the summons of Grey Colin, see Ruthven's* previous letter (55).

⁶ The day of writing, 5 Nov.

⁷ John Anderson, a royal messenger.

64 Glenorchy to Queen Mary and King Henry (draft)

GD112/39/15/3

c. 6 November 1565,¹ Balloch Castle

[No address]

It will pleis Your Maiesties that I am chargit to comper before Your Maiesties and Secrete Cunsale within sex dayis efter the charge or ellis pas to the horne. And albeit I am willing to cum at Your Maiesties command nocht onelie on my feit bot on my kneis gif it war possible I am swa vexit with disseis of my persoun at this present. And als the sobir rowmis quhilkis ar left me onwaistit and brint be Your Maiesties rebellis thir four yeris bigane being under the lik dangear as yit that I may nocht gudly leif it without it be alluterlie wrekit. Besekand Your Maiesties to accept this my excuiss and creidheyd this berar my spous² quhom I haif send to know Your Maiesties will towart me and quhat I may or can salbe accompleis at the command of Your Maiesties missive as gif my self mycht be present. And this efter my maist hwmill commendatiouns of my service committis Your Maiestie to the eternall God. Wretin at Balloch the

my Lord³ ...65 Gossip (John Campbell of Carrick)⁴ to Glenorchy

GD112/39/5/16

c. 11-16 November 1565⁵

[No address]

Gossape eftir hartly commendatioun. I hayf resawit your lettir and I am glayd that yow is sa weill myndit and qwhar ye say that ye ar chargit ye duid will that send Kait to say the fwrđ afoir yow.⁶ And qwhat answir ye get send me word and do as your wysdwm shawece yow thairefter for ye know my mynd. And quhan ye heir ane brwt that my Lord of Argyll swld

¹ Grey Colin had been summoned to appear before the council at the end of Oct. 1565 when he was still in Killin. He returned to Balloch to write this letter of apology, but was in Strathfillan on 7 Nov. 1565, GD112/1/161. The council had issued a proclamation forbidding supplies from Glenorchy going to Argyll, 3 Nov. 1565: *RPC*, i, 188-9.

² Katherine went to Court to plead Grey Colin's case and to mobilise their friends: Introduction, 52.

³ This is at the bottom right hand corner of the page and has been torn through.

⁴ For identification: Introduction, 19.

⁵ The letter refers to the earl of Argyll coming to Dunoon next Saturday so was written in the week preceding Saturday, 17 Nov., because Argyll was then in Dunoon and wrote to Adam Loftus, archbishop of Armagh on 18 Nov. 1565, Public Record Office, SP63/15, fo. 172. There is also a reference to the return of Young MacLean from Ireland which was after 17 Oct. 1565, GD112/39/5/3.

⁶ Carrick* commented that Grey Colin did well to send his wife to plead his case. Katherine probably went to Court sometime after 6 Nov.: 64 and Introduction, 52.

cawss bwrn and destroy the corness of the Apyn¹ as for me I woldd be waray sory and my Lord doid the samin and I promiss yow it sall not be doin wyt my will or cwnsall. I thank yow of your nowallis² and send me ma qwhan ye get thaim. Thair is na nowallis heir bot Archibald Makconall cwmis to Dwnnwn to spek wyt my Lord Argyll on Saterdag next and yowng Maklain is cwmin haim and part of Maklainis fryndis and ald Makclain is cwm and and tha ar all weill.³ Gyf I get ony nowallis ye sall hayf thaim wyt ...⁴ And sa fair ye weill.

66 William Stewart of Grandtully to Glenorchy

GD112/39/6/23

25 November 1565, Grandtully Castle

To the rycht honorabill Laird off Glenwrquhay

Rycht honourable Sir eftir maist hartlie comendationis. This present is to lat yow wit that my Lord off Attholl at his departing of Dunde to Edinbruche commandit me to writ to yow desyrand yow that ye wald mak nay onsettis nor causs nane be maid nor molest nor troble Duncan MacGregor of Rorow on nay way till his Lordship returnyng in the countray in the countray [sic] agan. And giff ye did uthervayis that he wald nocht be contentit thairwithe nor ye wald nocht hef his kyndnes thairthrow. For he hes inhybite and commandit the saidis Duncan nocht till trowble nor molest nan of youris quhilk the saidis Duncan will do as he promeissit of befor as I writ to yow⁵ and desyrit me to hef your ansure in writ agan. And that your ansures be nocht indifferent bot that thingis quhilk may be cleir and swir quhilk will pleis yow advertesse me of in writ with this berar. Say committis yow to the protectioun of God. From Grantully this Sondag the xxiiii⁶ of November 1565 be your awyn at powar.

67 Glenorchy to William Stewart of Grandtully

GD112/39/6/24

c. 26 November 1565⁷

[No address]

Rycht honorable Schir and trayst freynd efter maist hartlie commendatiouns. I haif sene your writin makand mentioun that my Lord of Athole departtin at Dundie to Edinburght commandand yow to writ

¹ John Stewart of Appin* had raided goods on 11 May 1565, AT, vi, 82, and Argyll was planning a revenge raid. Appin is also mentioned on 23 Dec. 1565 (74).

² News.

³ Probably Archibald MacDonald of Dunivaig. Hector Og MacLean of Duart had returned from Ireland and his father, Hector Mòr MacLean had come to speak to Argyll concerning the feud with the MacDonalds of Islay.

⁴ Ellipsis represents damage to MS.

⁵ c. 31 Oct. 1565 (54).

⁶ Grandtully has made a mistake: Sunday was 25 Nov.

⁷ Reply to Grandtully's* letter of 25 Nov. 1565 (66).

to me in his Lordshipis behuyff to mak na onsettis nor caus nan to be maid molest nor truble Duncan Macgregor of Rorow quhill his Lordshipis returnyng out of Edinburcht and gif I did utherwyss that I culd nocht haiff his Lordshipis kyndnes thairthrocht. As to that quhowbeit that my Lord wald nocht ways prepar on me bot wald caus yoe to wret I will except the same in ane gude part for I beleive ye haif wretin na thing bot it that wes commandit yow.¹ Bot I merwaill of my Lord of Athole that he weyis nocht my cace mayr hawy of the great skatycht that Duncan of Rorow hes done to me beresoun that I am cum of his Lordshipis hous and may mak him mayr steid² and plesure nor the said Duncan and mony of the rest of his freyndis may mak. And quhair ye desyre that my ansure be nocht indefferantlie bot that thing quhilk may be cleir and suyr I assure yow of my honestie. For my Lord of Atholis request I sall nocht truble Duncan of Rorow nor mak na onsettis on him quhill my Lord of Athols returnyng. For I assure yoe I haid rather haif recompans of my geyr that is tane wranguslie fra my pur folkis nor to haif Duncan of Rorow lyf albeyt I mycht comprehend³ him. And as to the skaycht that Duncan wald do on me your writtin is sufficient for that quhill my Lord returnyng.

68 Gossip (John Campbell of Carrick) to Glenorchy

GD112/39/5/19

c. 30 November 1565⁴

[No address]

Gossap I commend me to yow. I rassawit your wrytting and thankis yow of your adwartyssment and quhar ye hayf gottyng lyf to pass and repass to cwr⁵ and desyris my cwnsall thairintyll and to kyp it quhyat. I sall kyp it waray quhyat for I hayf lytyll ado wyt the matar. Bot this is my cwnsall to yow to behald⁶ for auht dayis for safare as I can get intellegence my Lord of Argyll is lyk to get ane dress at the King and Quinis handis qwhilk I sall adwartyss yow of sortly. For suposs I lwf not my Lord of Argyll yeit I think it best gyf he gat ane apwntment that it serwit for yow and hym bayth and gyf he getis not ane apwntment sortly I sall adwartyss tharof wyt sped.⁷ As for nowallis ye sall onderstand that Archibald

¹ Grey Colin was insulted that Atholl* had not written himself but used Grandtully to convey his views.

² Profit or use.

³ Seize.

⁴ The letter refers to the penultimate and last days of this month, after 65 and before 69.

⁵ When she visited Court, Katherine obtained permission for Grey Colin to move freely: Introduction, 52.

⁶ Wait.

⁷ Grey Colin was advised that because he would be included in any settlement which Argyll made with the king and queen, he should wait for eight days before making a move himself: Introduction, 53.

Makconall¹ hess bein wyt my Lord of Argyll this penult and last dayis of this mwneith and hess partyt gowd fryndis insafar as we that is nocht of cwnsall ondirstandis. And Makclain meitis my Lord Argyll sortly² and as for the men of the Nort Illis that ar all gowd fryndis to the Erle of Argyll bot the Clanranald.³ Fardar I can nocht se ane better cwnsall as the mater gangis bot all men to do for tham selfis and gyf may hayf ane gowd dress I will tak the sam swposs I be bot sobir.⁴

[PS]⁵ Fardar I belyf that gyf my Lord of Argyll may hayf ane dress that may hayf his consence and honour fre he will exsep the samin.

[PPS]⁶ Tharis twa or tre sypiss cwmin to Air wyt wyin bot I heir nocht that it is gowd and gyf it be ye sal be adwartyst tharof.⁷

69 Same to same

GD112/39/5/18

c. 2-10 December 1565⁸

[No address]

Gossap efter hartly comendatiounis. I hayf rassawit your wrything and thankis yow of your nowallis and prosydingis. And as for my Lord of Argyll he wald ye wair weill and thinkis to do for hym self gyf he may not geit wder dress nor he hess hard as yit. Bot he will as I belywe sek all the gowd wayis he may or he do ony thing that may desplease the Quinis Majestie bot will fynd the best wayis he may to mak hym self freyndis. And swposs I be of my Lord of Argyllis kyn I am nocht of his consall bot swa ...⁹ wtis and I am swir that ye ar ane of the men in the world that he wald war weill. And because I am sortly to wryt to yow¹⁰ I will not hald yow langer bot sall send ane to Gregoir Mac...ane¹¹ and send me word as

¹ Archibald MacDonald, eldest son of James MacDonald of Dunivaig and the Glens* and Agnes Campbell*: 65.

² Hector Mòr MacLean of Duart who was at feud with the MacDonalds over the Rhinns of Islay: 69.

³ Argyll made sure that his relations with all the Hebridean chiefs were good, with the exception of MacDonald of Clanranald.

⁴ Carrick, despite his protestation that he was of humble degree, was denounced rebel along with Argyll. He was included in Argyll's remission, when it was finally agreed, 21 Mar. 1566, *RSS*, v, 2702.

⁵ Written down the side of the page.

⁶ In brackets at the side of the page.

⁷ There was a preoccupation with obtaining good wine supplies, so news of shipments arriving in Ayr was eagerly sought.

⁸ This letter was written at the start of Dec. 1565, after 68 and before 71.

⁹ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

¹⁰ This was probably 71 which has a more official tone than most of the chatty letters from Carrick.

¹¹ Probably Gregor MacAne* or his 'boy': 70.

ye think ... As for Makclain he hess promist to send his son Hectwr and his broderis son Hectwr Allan son to my Lord of Argyll¹ and sayis he will go as my Lord ...ra... and quhow soin tha cwm I sall advertise yow of all at I know. Fardar I comend me hartly to your bedfallow and your son commendis his serwece to yow and his ffoster fadir² qwha spak with me yesterday.

70 Same to same

GD112/39/5/23

c. 7-10 December 1565³

To my gossap gyf this

Eftir hartly commendatiounis. I hayf rasavit your wrytting and qwhar ye marwaill that I send yow na word of my Lord of Argyllis prosydingis ye sall wyt I wryt to yow wyt Grygwr Makaneis boy qwhilk I parsawe ye hayf nocht as yet gotyne.⁴ Thairfor I am nocht in the falt and I hayf spokin wyt my Lord of Argyll qwhom I fynd waray weill myndit to agre wyt the Quinis Majestie sa it may be wyt his honwr and secwrete of his lyf and landis and rwmis wyt the lebarty of his consience. And think nocht that my Lord of Argyll thinkis to pwt his howss or fryndis in dangeir gyf he may hayf apwntment. For I aswr yow it is aganis his will that thair is samykill harm doing be ewill men bot he will nocht stance thame qwhill he se swme goud hoyp of concord nor swposs he wald he may nocht fardar. This day thair is ane serwand cum fra my Lord of Kylyoning⁵ to my Lord of Argyll and thair is lyklynness that my Lord Dwk⁶ sall agry and be hym self wyt out ony of his brodir. For the Quinis Majestie will nocht apwnt wyt the haill Lordis bot wyt ewire ane in partecwlar. And gyf my Lord of Argyll gettis ony dress I sall adwartyss yow that ye may hayf the same dress for ye ar ane of his speciall fryndis and ye will be onder his dress gyf he getis ony.

[PS] Fardar ye sall wyt that I parsawe my Lord Argyll wyll wryt for yow sortly gyf he getis answr of agreance. Thairfor I think ye suld be redy to cwme to hym.

¹ Hector Mòr MacLean of Duart was sending to the earl of Argyll his son Hector Og, and the son of Allan MacLean (known as Ailean nan Sop), Hector Mòr's brother, called Hector Allanson, later of Ardlung; N. Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests: The History of Clan Maclean, 1300-1570* (Edinburgh, 1995), 173-80.

² Black Duncan*, Grey Colin's eldest son, sent his greetings to his father and Duncan Campbell*, 6th Laird of Duntrune, his foster father.

³ This was written after 69 and before 71 which was a more formal letter coming, in effect, from the earl of Argyll.

⁴ In 69 Carrick* wrote of sending a letter via Gregor MacAne, or his 'boy', but it had not been received by Grey Colin.

⁵ Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning.

⁶ The duke of Châtelherault*, who came to a private settlement with the queen.

71 Same to same¹

GD112/39/5/11

11 December 1565, Carrick Castle

[No address]

Eftir commendatioun. Ye sall wit eftir that I had dispasschit your servand Dowgall I haif spokin with my Lord Boyd² and thaireftir hes thocht it necessar to send to our freindis of court to se gif ane licience may be had at the Quenis hand that we may send sum of our freindis to Hir Grace to mak ane dress for ws and our freindis quhilk is to all our weillis and quietnis.³ And we haif nominat yow ane tobe [sic] in the commissioun gif the samen beis granttit. Quhairfor I wald ye drew your self neir thir parttis and maid your self into redines in the mentyme and advertiss ws quhair ye will meit ws that we may commoun with yow at lenth in all our neidfull besines. For I beleif gif the commissioun beis granttit it wilbe schortle at hame. Alss gif MacGregor be neir yow ye sall send to him and forbyd him that he mak ony oppin herschippis quhill eftir wart that we se farthair. Bot I knaw it is unpossibill to stop theiffis thairfor I will nocht trubbill me with the matter. I beleif to haif ansuer of curt fyve or sax dayis befor yowill⁴ thairfor advertiss me howsone ye wilbe neirhand that I may speik yow. This committis yow to God. Off the Kerryk the xi day of December 1565.

[PS] Comend me to Kayt gyf swe be cwmin haim⁵ and hest me answr.

72 Same to same

GD112/39/5/17

c. 12-24 December 1565⁶

[No address]

Gossip I comend me to yow and I hayf spokyn wyth my Lord of Argyll quhom I fynd weill myndit to hayf ane apwntment wyt the actorety bot he is of that mynd that he haid rathar tak his cwintwr nor that he haid down to his broder as swm of thaim hess down to hym.⁷ Fardar ye sall

¹ Although signed 'your gossip', this reads as if it were from the earl of Argyll and was probably the 'official' letter which Carrick had been instructed to write: 69.

² Robert, 5th Lord Boyd, one of the lords who rebelled in the Chase-about Raid.

³ Argyll was trying to negotiate a settlement with the king and queen which included all his kinsmen and supporters, though he had already given permission for Glenorchy, Glenlyon* and Lawers* to settle separately, 7 Nov. 1565, GD112/1/161. Grey Colin was to be part of the negotiating team sent to Court.

⁴ The answer from Court was expected around 19 or 20 Dec., five or six days before Christmas.

⁵ Katherine was at Court, but had left by 23 Dec. 1565 (74).

⁶ This letter was written after 71 and before 75.

⁷ Probably a reference to the individual settlements made by some of the rebel Lords, notably Châtelherault*.

ondirstand that my Lord is sekly thes viii dayis bygon and may nocht weill trawall bot I belywe this berar will lat yow ondirstand mykyll of his mynd thairfor ye sall belywe hym. And as for the horss ye desyr of trwly I am nocht weill staikit¹ at this tym bot qwhow soin I gang owir the lohce [sic]² ye sall hayf ane of the best I may geit. Thairfor send ane serwand wyth this berar and I sall send hym to yow. And I thank yow of your nowallis and God be wyt yow. Yours ye know.

73 John Carswell to Glenorchy

GD112/39/5/10

17 December 1565, Carnasserie Castle (Argyll)

To the rycht honorable Colyne Campbell of Glenurquhay

Rycht honorable eftir hartlie commendatiounes. Becaus the berar Master George schew me he wes to visie yow I thocht gude to know of your welefair and nowellis in thai partis. And seing that the hale cuntreis ar trublus presentlie and that ye ar ane man of gude fame and reputatioune of honour prayis yow that ye first setting the glory of God above do that thing that may serve for the avancement and wele of my Lord your cheif and your awyn hous to your power. Lyk as I dout nocht bot ye will continew in favouris thairof in tymes cuming as ye have done hitherto.³ Gif ony novellis occurris in thai partis that ye pleis to certife me of I pray yow mak me participant thairof. Thus with commendatiounis to the Lady your bedfellow. Committis yow to the protectioun of the eternal God. Of Carnastie this xvii of December 1565. Youris to command in all godlines.

74 Lord Ruthven to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/5/12

23 December 1565, Edinburgh

To hes syster the Lady Glenwrquhay

Syster efter maist hartly commendationis. This salbe to certifye yow I haif resavit your wrettyn and hes thankyt my lord Athoill and my Lord Bodweill of the gudness thai writ to yow in your affairis.⁴ I haif nocht spokkyn with the Quenis Majesteie as yit bot how schone I se Hir Majestie

¹ Not in a good position.

² If Carrick was with the earl of Argyll at Inveraray this would probably refer to crossing Loch Fyne into Cowal, but if Argyll was at Dunoon then the Holy Loch would be meant. On Christmas Day, Carrick was in Cowal at Toward (75), and was in the process of getting the horses.

³ A reference to the need for Grey Colin's support in the Chase-about Raid.

⁴ This is the first indication that Katherine had enlisted the help of James Hepburn, 4th earl of Bothwell, as well as that of Atholl*.

I sall thank Hir Grace in your name for I haif bying ay sen my cuming heir. And quhar ye wret that I haif nocht sendis yow the ansuer of sic heidis as ye wret to me ye sal understand I culd nocht quhill now that I spak with my Lord Athoill. Quhom I find of gud mynd towart the Lard your hwsband quha hes wrettyn to John Stewart of Appyne that he ...¹ molest nor truble nan of the Lardis bwndis of Lorn and Glenwrchy ... uncondissonaly swa that nan of the Lardis servandis in thai boundis was at the herschipe of the said John² quhilk we... sall resaif and send it as the Lardis thinkis caus. And als ye sall wyt that my Lord of Athoill declaryt ... this day that sen I and my bedfallow³ spaik to hym in faweris of the Lard that he hes stand his gud ... will do with out the fell be in hyme self. And counsaillis hyme that quhen he cumis in thir partiss that he cum... hym self quhill he be heir and efter he cuming ordor salbe tain sufficiand for his weile. And gyf he syuld nocht perf...lef to hym he wald nocht gyf hym his counsall. He desyris yow to bring the wrettyn with yow that ye per...hym and forbyd the Lard to haf ony melynge with the Erle of Argillis affaris in cowrt for gyf ... his awn besynes will speid the wer.⁴ As I haif ordand Androw Quhyt to wret yow and hym I haif ben ewill at eiss this lang quhill⁵ lik as I am yit. Nothwithstanding gyf I conwoless and beis better I intend to be in Pertht or that day quhar we sall commoun on all thingis at lentht. And quhar ye desyr ane charge of the Kynge and Quenis Majesties to Jhone Stewart I thought it nocht nesysar for mony cawsis quhilk nocht I will na wret as ye sall ken efterwert. As to my Lord Gracis gudnes and the Lady Tullybarnes⁶ towart the Lard it is werry welcum gyf it cumis. Bot as ane honest man said to me this day the wrettyn wald helpe mekell. Bot always I haif said gyf I get your ... in this stown.⁷ I welbe leyck that ony rakkyng salbe amang yow that ar frindis.⁸ Forder ye sall undirstand that the Erll of Argill will get na pwntment⁹ sa sen I can parseff. Thairfor ye sall resaif hes wrytting agayn. I think best ye cum to Sanctionstoun to this end quhen he cumis quhat we sall cont... of an ald thing. Refarand the rest to that tyme ... yow with the Lard your hwsband

¹ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

² Atholl was trying to stop John Stewart of Appin* from raiding in the west in revenge for the raids he had suffered (65).

³ Jean Stewart, Atholl's aunt.

⁴ This suggests that Katherine would be returning to court with Grey Colin and that she was to help to ensure that Grey Colin kept clear of any involvement in affairs relating to the earl of Argyll.

⁵ Ruthven* had been ill since he had reached Edinburgh.

⁶ Ruthven is sceptical about the value of the goodwill of the dowager Lady Tullibardine, Katherine Campbell, Grey Colin's aunt, and the duke of Châtelherault, who had just made his own settlement with the queen.

⁷ Possible as in 'stown someone down' or ruin by secret means.

⁸ He would be loath that any vengeance should be taken among friends.

⁹ An appointment or settlement with the king and queen.

and your barnis. Wrettyen at Edinburgh the xxiii of Desember ... Your brother at power.

75 Gossip (John Campbell of Carrick) to Glenorchy

GD112/39/5/13

25 December 1565, Toward Castle

[No address]

Efter my maist hartlye commendatiounis. I will nocht wryit on to you bot efter my acqustomit maner quhilkis mor to subscriue. Bot this present is to aidvertiis yow that MacGregor hes informit me that ye gaif him lesence to cum and speik with me. And thairfoir I thynk that gif sa beis that cumir is abill to ramane in the realume that sik men as he salbe neidfull for my service quhilkis man be with your lesence and thynk ye nocht that the saymin maye be preiuditiall on to your service. And thairfoir I praye you effectiuslye that ye will send ane tikat with your ayn hand writ to Makgregor to lesent [sic] him to serve me quhen I sall haif to do and the saymin nocht be in ony wayiss hurtfull on to your service of him quhen euer ye sall haif to do thairwith.¹ And the saymin with this berrare or ellis sum oderis of your awyn servandis. And this I commit you to God. Of Towart the xxv daye off Desember 1565.

[PS] Gyf ye will nocht send your hand wryt wyt my boy send it wyt ane of your awin to me and commend me to your wyf. I hayf haldin your serwand quhill I send your horses qwhilk wilbe wytin thri dayis.

76 James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton² to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/5/14

26 December 1565, Burleigh Castle³

To the rycht honorabill Lady and his verray gude and speciall freind the Lady of Glenurquhart

¹ Carrick* wanted handwritten authorisation from Grey Colin that MacGregor could serve him in a military capacity and that this would not be in any way be prejudicial to Grey Colin's service.

² The only part of the signature which remains on the letter is a slight tail of a possible crossed T which has similarities to Morton's* signature on 19 Sept. 1570 (157). The address on this letter is also similar to those found on Morton's letters to Grey Colin, particularly 19 Sept. 1570 (157). Morton knew Katherine well and had discussed matters of policy with her (16). Although he had sympathies and previous ties with the Chase-about Raiders he had remained at Court and was in Edinburgh attending the council in the middle of Dec. 1565: *RPC*, i, 383. Queen Mary was sufficiently suspicious of his loyalty to demand that Morton hand over Tantallon Castle, 7 Jan. 1566: *RPC*, i, 417. A couple of months later it was Morton and Ruthven* who were primarily involved in the murder of Riccio: G. Hewitt, *Scotland under Morton, 1572-1580* (Edinburgh, 1982), 5-7.

³ Kinross-shire. Morton was probably staying with Michael Balfour of Burleigh.

Madam efter my hertlie recommendatiounis. I resavit your writting and understandis be the samyn the Laird your husbandis gude mynde towart me of the quhilk I thank yow hertlie. And als I persave sum inpedimentis apperand till occur quhairby ye desyre the day appointit in Edinburgh to the Lairdis thaircuming till be continewit. I think ye do know the unfreindis that ye haif in court quha will be glayd to find ony occasioun to put your husband in the Quenis disfavouris giff thay may lyk as thay haif gayn aboute till do the samyn sen your parting. Quhairfor my counsall is that the Laird faill nocht till keip the said day giff it be possible.¹ For I trest swrelie he may repair to the courte and do his besnes without danger of warding or ony uther inconuenient for he may be assurit he sall want na gude will nor favour that lysis in my power like as God willing he sall rather knaw be experience nor wordis. For instantle I knaw swrelie the Quenis Majeste hes na uder nor ane gude opinioun of him. Referand all uder thingis till meting desiring your Ladyship in the mene tyme till mak my maist hertlie commendatioun till him. And thus committis till the protectioun of the Almychty. At Burly the xxvi of December 1565. Be your Ladyshipis verray gude and loving freind at powar.

77 William Maitland of Lethington to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/5/15

27 December 1565, Edinburgh

...² Lady the ... wrquhay

Maistres efter maist hartlie commendatioun. I resavit your wryting frome the bearer your servand and hes commonit with hym in all thingis. And quheras ye wryte unto me to desyr my counsale quether gif your husband may come in saiflie or not to the Quenes Majestie I think that he may weill aneuch come without ony danger and I traist he sall find the Quenes Majestie accept him thankfullie.³ And best it is that he faill not to be heir at the appoyntit day and sa referring all other thingis to meting. I commit yow to God. Frome Edinburch the xxvii day of December 1565. Youris cousin at all powar to command.

¹ There was an attempt to get the date for Grey Colin's summons before the council postponed but the strong advice here is to come for the due date. It is assumed that Katherine will also come to Court.

² Ellipses represent damage to MS.

³ This was the same advice as that given by Morton* to Katherine, 26 Dec. 1565 (76).

78 Donald Dubh Cameron of Lochiel¹ to Glenorchy

GD112/39/3/12

c. January 1566, Lochaber

To ane rycht honorabill man and my speciale frend Collyne Campbell off
Glenorquhay

Rycht honorable Sir I recommend me hartlie to you. Forsamekele as I am informit that ye art suir displeit at me marweling heirof becauis I knaw nocht in quhat punctis I have offendit yow in ony promeis at ewir I promest. Thairfoir I wald youw advertesit me in wret the cauis of your displesser that I ma amend the samin to my wtermost power. And gif your Mastership will nocht wret the cauis ye sall advertesit gif ye will have me passand quhair ewir ye treist me and I salbe reddy heirto as ye chearge. I have advertest freindis that thair wes ane band betuix you and me of guid nychtborsschepe² quhairthrow gif ye had ocht ado that I suld be reddy with all my mycht tow do yow guid service as I sall ewir do salang as ye will accept the samin, ye supportand me in lik maner. The rest of my mynd wer langsum to wrett bot as ye advertesit me with the berar sall do in that effaris to quhome ye pleis gif credens in lesummes³ for I have scheawin him part of my mynd. Refferring the rest to your answer and Jesu be your Mastershipis keiper. Of Lochaber be yours at power.

79 Glenorchy to Gossip (John Campbell Captain of Carrick)

GD112/39/6/2

13 February 1566

[No address]

Goschep efter commendatioun. Ye sal wit that I ame cumon hame owt of Edinbrocht and sa lang as I wess thair I had bot letle credence bot it that I maid with hard wyre⁴ and that wess nocht anelye for my awyn cawss as ye may consider. I wes callit affor the Cunsall and billis of

¹ Donald Cameron of Lochiel* was recognised as heir, 6 Mar. 1564, *RMS*, iv, 1512, and was murdered in 1569, *RSS*, vi, 1067. The possibility of a Cameron raid in Rannoch was mentioned by MacDonald of Keppoch*, 52, and this might have been the cause of Grey Colin's displeasure mentioned in the letter. Lochiel was in Edinburgh in Jan. or early Feb. 1566 with other West Highland chiefs possibly trying to benefit from the disgrace of Argyll and Grey Colin, which might also have provoked Grey Colin's anger, 79.

² The bond of friendship mentioned here is not known, though in 1591 and 1596 Alan Cameron of Lochiel made bonds of friendship with Black Duncan*, the latter specifically mentioning the MacGregors, so there might have been an earlier version: *BBT*, 247-8, 252-3.

³ Probably in the sense of legitimate ['lesum'] things.

⁴ Effort.

complant gewin in upone me be my Lord of Awthell, my Lord Drummond and the Lard of Twllebardin allegene with ane woce that all the skaith that thay sustenit be my Lord of Argyll that it was downe be my adwyss and assistance. Quhylk God knawis are contreit and my Lord of Argyll hyme self quhen ewir his Lordship hes pliesit to speik for hyme self quhylk I hop in God he sall haif swa that he serwe his God and seik his help with ane penitent hart. My answer wes to the Lordis of the Cunsall that I maid na falis to the forsaidis personis and gyf I did ony that I had landis and heritage and wald suffer the lawis of the realme. And as to ony offence that I maid to my Ponces I wes contentit that Hir Maieste and the Secretit Cunsall swld tak my tryakill¹ and gyf I haif offendit in ony sort to suffer pwnishment at Hir Maiesteis wyll and cunsall. And upoun that heid efter the conswltatioun of the lordis thay fyndand me that I offendit nocht to the Quenis Maiestie. Thay thocht gwd to send fowr of the Cunsall to speik the Quenis Maiestie and to schawe my innoſſence that is to say my Lord of Hwntlye, my Lord Boydwell, my Lord Eskyn, my Lord Methven and the Secretar² for his awin hand and schew to the Quenis Maieste that thay cwld nocht persawe that I offendit in ony sort toward Hir Maieste bot as to ony cewell actiounis that ony mycht contemplate to call be ressonne that I wes responsible. The Quenis Maiesteis answer wes that thay bragit or my cummyng affor Hir Maiestie, and gif the compleneris had na thing to say that Hir Maieste had nathing to lay to my charge bot to be ane gwd serwand and hir swbiect in tymes cuming quhilk I promised to Hir Maieste at my departing. My Lord of Argylls wyf is in Edinbrocht and I assur yow sa far as cwld persawe sche is weill myndit to set forward my lordis honour and f...lie³ so into resonable credit. And had sche geir to beir hir fwrth I belewe sche sall do well anewche conforme to hir hwsbandis honour. It is belewit that sche sall get the rowmes that ar adjacent to Campbell⁴ bot wteris that ...nivtharis stoppis that and biddis bot gyf hir hir awin sustentatioun at the Quenis awin bwrđ quhilk I belewe sche wyll with ...trats accept. Thar is na apoyntment to be had to my Lord of Argyll and be this resson that the Quenis Maieste apoyntit with my Lord Duk⁵ at hir awin hand and now the King and wtheris hes gottin ane promeiss that Hir Maieste do nocht the lyk to nay wtheris and in speciall

¹ Trial.

² The earls of Huntly and Bothwell, Lords Erskine and Methven and Maitland of Lethington*.

³ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁴ Castle Campbell by Dollar. These lands went to Jean Stewart, countess of Argyll,* when her husband was put to the horn on 12 Feb. 1566. The countess had been estranged from Argyll for several years, preferring life at the Court as one of the queen's (her half-sister) companions. This gave her the privilege of eating at the queen's table, as she was doing the night Rizzio was murdered.

⁵ James Hamilton, duke of Châtellherault*.

to my Lord of Argyll and this made sayis of the Fysch merkat.¹ Johne Stewart and the capitane of Clanchamrone and MacRynold ar in Edinbrocht and MacLanis imbassadour² quha is cum wyth credence to the Quenis Maieste and with ane propyne³ to my Lord of Awtholl (wiz. ane hacbut, ane sword and ane dager of the Erland fassioun). Johnn Stewart belewis gyf he beis rewardit at this tyme and gettis recumpace of the skaith that is downe to hyme he will gar the Quene onsterstand [sic] that the Quene wyll get all the men of the Ylis to tak part with hir in contrar my Lord of Argyll. Bot I wat that my Lord is nocht that onwyss bot he is makand all the freindis that he may for his awin releif. The brwt is heir that he is makand mony heland gaylais quhylk is weray necessar to saif his awin lyf quhill God send better. As for nowellis I wat ye hard tell of the schip that come out of Spaine and perrischit in Ingland thair wess mekl mony in hir to haif bein send to Scotland to erect wp the Mess agane bot God of his gwdness hes spairit ws at this present. The inbassidour of France hes brocht in ane ordor of the Cokle⁴ and the Kingis Maiestie hes resavit with ane gret solempnite at the hye Mess (quhylk he mom ...⁵ and stanerris at).⁶ There is ane Mylis inbassidour⁷ to cum in schortlye quhylk it is belewit that he cummes in for to se quhat gwd wayis that the bannist may haif that ar in Ingland ... borderaris one bayth the sydis wald haif war bot ... skaith that is downe yit ovr Scottis borderaris hes gottin na war and na recumpance to be maid thairfore. Thar is ane inhibition put to me that I send na fwrnishing to Argyll⁸ nor na ... traist that may do thaim gwd bot always I haif powar to fech my awin sustentatioun owt of Argyll sa far as pertenis to me quhilk is weray hard to me to get without that my Lord of Argyll wer favorable to me. And I schew the sammyn to the Quenis Maiestie and hir answer wess that gyf I keppit ony skaith that Hir Maiestie wald recumpance me. I lamentit my ... lordis perticularye be thame selfis quhow Johnn Stewart keipit the landis apartenyng to me in Lessmor⁹ bot I can persawe na recumpence of that quhyll God send better efterward. My Lord of Argyll hes mony gwd wyllaris bot thair is fewe that dar to tak the enterpryss in hand to common far in the cawss. Bot the lowing God may help it quhen he pless. I wyll nocht writ fordar to yow at this present

¹ Presumably a phrase indicating that it was common knowledge.

² John Stewart of Appin*, Donald Cameron of Lochiel*, John MacDonald, captain of Clanranald and the ambassador of Hector MacLean of Duart.
Gift.

³ The French Order of St Michael had a cockleshell as its badge.

⁴ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁵ Probably Darnley mumbling and stammering his way through the Mass.

⁶ Possibly Thomas Milles, who was ambassador in Scotland in 1586 and may have been on an earlier mission.

⁷ Order made 30 Jan. 1566: *RPC*, i, 424.

⁸ John Stewart of Appin holding Grey Colin's lands in Lismore.

bot desyris yow to adverteis my servand Gregor MacEne¹ of ony besnes ye haif ado with me or with ony uther nowellis that is in thay partis and swa fare ye weill wiyh God at ...² the xiii of Februar 1565 yeris.

80 John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl to Glenorchy GD112/39/6/5
13 March 1566

To his rycht traist cousing the Laird of Glenorquhaye

Rycht traist cousing efter hertlye commendatione. I haif resavit your wryting and hes considerit the contentis thair of. And as to your disseis of your byill that stoipis yowe to trawell the best remeid is ane plaister quhilk ye pleiss resaif.³ The Quenis Maiestie is at hir libertie with the King in Dunbar⁴ And now sene the natour of plaisteris is to soft and mollefe the windis, I think trawell sall do na ewill gif the plaister hes guid operatioun and wrikis weill. Ye maye persaif be this wryt that I ame lytill war schirurgene nor the Laird of Granttullye. And nowe becauss that in all disseis the consultasione of dyweris medicineris or schirurgenis is necessair or best I sall sendis the Laird of Granttullye to yowe gif he be not at yowe all redye or the wryting of this bill. And sua I commendis yowe to the protectioun of God. Of ...⁵ this Wednissdaye at nycht the xiii of Merche 1565. Yours assured cussin.

[PS] I pray yow lat this wryting commend me to my ewil tennent Keit.⁶

81 William Stewart of Grandtully to Glenorchy GD112/39/12/8
c.13 March 1566⁷

[No address]

Honorabill Sir eftyr hartle commendatioun. Ye sal resaiff ane wryting of my Lord of Athollis conform to the desyr of your wryting send to me. I expoint and schew your guid mynd towart his Lordship as I fand it ever trewly be your awyn declaratioun to me. And I wil assur yow faythfully as he declaris to me he hes ane special favour to your slef [sic] and lykwyiss to your hous and wald be weray glaid that ye wald frequent his Lordshipis company. He hes biddyn me schaw yow that clane Ewyn WcEwyn⁸ hes

¹ Gregor MacAne*.

² Space left in manuscript for place.

³ Atholl* sent his own recipe for a poultice to help Glenorchy's bowel problem.

⁴ After Rizzio's murder: cf. Grandtully's* letters (81-82).

⁵ Ellipsis represents damage to MS.

⁶ Atholl had jokingly nicknamed Katherine, his 'evil tenant': Introduction, 27.

⁷ See 80, 82.

⁸ A sept of Clan Cameron, led by Donald MacEwan Cameron*.

send to hym to caus desyr the men quhilkis ye hef in handis and he sayis he man request. Bot Sir for your awyn weil quhiddy my Lord request slycht or utherwayis I wald thynk best sawand your wysdome that ye rather gef thaim meit or than releffit thame on guid caution quhill ye saw greter trubil pacefeit. And gif it wald pleiss yow ye mycht be at quyatnes as ane agit herit man quhill thair kna ... ane end I wald extein¹ yow happy. As for nowellis the ... Quene ar mirry and weill in hail in Dunbar² wyth thaim Bothw... the rest of thai quharteris drawand fast to thaim and the Dwk... is at thair uyther diligens as my Lord of Huntly writtis. The Quen he... the nobilite of Scotland mackand ane hewy odin... ..tywer declarand hir natyfaiss³ and desyrane ... to hir wyth thair forss to Dunbar quharfra scho dar nocht cum without ... Thairis xii scoir of special writingis fynd on this syid Forth ... besydis werray strait proclamatiounis ... be in Perth this nyxt Fryday with xx dayis lo... ..flad and guid to meit the Lwtennend⁴ and pas with hym ... Argyll for caus sal nocht stir haistly his brotheris ... as ... hym. I beleiff my Lord of Mar⁵ and the Secretar salbe ... that this tak nocht sum dres it is abil to be ... daly to the Quene ressarably and I trow the con ... uyther librtye of consience. Adverteiss me in writing ... my Lord of Weem his man that ye hef in handis⁶ ... quhat ye desyre ... may hef hym relewit. I hef comissioun to gif ... in Garth⁷ gif ye vilbe guid for hym and desyre hym I pray yow ... this writyng quhen ye hef red it adverteiss sic as ye hef hard ... gif ye pass not to Dunkeld your slef [sic].

82 Same to same

GD112/39/12/6

Thursday [14 March 1566]⁸

To the rycht honorabill Lard off Glenwrquhay

Rycht honorabill Sir eftyr hartliest commendatioun. Ye sal wit I hef resavit ane writing fra my Lord of Atholl this Wednesday lait at ewyn⁹ desyrand me becaus he wes to be in Dunkeld and nocht abil to speik yow haistlye hym slef [sic] that I suld pass unto yow schawand that sen ye wer becum in kyndnes and familiarite wyth his Lordship besydis the bluyd

¹ Esteem.² After Rizzio's murder on 9 Mar. 1566, the king and queen went to Dunbar from 12-18 March. Queen Mary was pregnant so the state of her health was especially noted.³ Expected time of birth.⁴ Atholl* was authorised to gather troops to go against Argyll, but he assured Grey Colin that he was excused because of his illness (84).⁵ John Erskine, earl of Mar.⁶ It is not clear which of Menzies of Weem's servants Grey Colin had in custody, but Weem wanted him freed.⁷ Garth Castle, a few miles north of Balloch.⁸ See Grey Colin's reply of the same day (83).⁹ Wednesday, 13 Mar., Atholl's* letter to Grey Colin of the same day (80).

amangis yow¹ that he culd do nay less for your awyn weill nor to desyre yow to hef nay thyng ado wyth my Lord of Ardgylle nor my Lord Ruthwen towart this mater that is chansit presently.² Ant [sic] to get your wtter mynd heirintil and to be at hym thairwyth in Dunkeld this Thursday at ewyn but fail and to gif yow and schaw yow his cunsal thairintil. Thir ar the contentis of his writ bot he hes nocht hard at the makyng of this writyng of the Quenis way passyng to Dunbar and nonetheless I beleiff wes myndit to pass forwarttis ...³ he mycht be ony folkis. And now ye may onderstand ... ye wilbe myndit fordwarttis towarttis the Quene ... hym now Catnes Swthirland the Cumtrollis⁴ ... v... beleiff thair sall mony may meit thair in Dunkeld this ... is abil to cum to ane gret extremite veray schortly. Heirfor haiffand your wysdom I thynk best ye mak me ane guid substantis ... afoir declaring your guid mynd and service ever towarttis ... ony body and that trewly ye wer ever his Lordshipis guid ... persewet and that ye thankit hym of his guid ... suld wyss your slef [sic] to the Quenis Majestie contentatioun ... ye ken I culd nocht hef bene at yow this ... mynd and at hym agang at ewyin in Dunkeld ... this writing desyrand your ansur of the contenis ... my Lordshipis part thairof incontenent wyth this berar I causit yow ... s to yow out of Weme quhowschone I hard of the Quene ... to Dunbar. Ye hef feindit hard tua say schort th ... men the doaris thairof be your awyn this Thuresday.⁵

83 Glenorchy to William Stewart of Grandtully (draft)

GD112/39/6/6

14 March 1566, Balloch Castle

[No address]

Rycht honorable Sir efter maist hartlie commendatioun. I haif resavit your writin⁶ and as to the fyrst heyd contenit in it I can nocht gif anere thairof in writ for syndre resonable casses bot quhowsone ye may cum and spek with me ye sall haif anere thairof will God to my Lord of Atholis contentment. Bot as towart the Quene Maieste I wes ever ane trew faychtfull subiect to Hir Maieste and sall contenew in the same with

¹ For the blood ties between Grey Colin and Atholl, see Appendix C.

² This was probably a reference to the murder of Riccio on 9 Mar., in which Ruthven* was deeply involved and Argyll was present.

³ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁴ George Sinclair, 4th earl of Caithness, John Gordon, 10th earl of Sutherland and Tullibardine*, the comptroller.

⁵ As he did here, Grandtully* sometimes signed his letters to Grey Colin with his initials 'W S'.

⁶ Grandtully's letter of 14 Mar. 1566 (82).

the help of God to my lyffis end and sall keip my kyndnes to my Lord of Athole as ane faythfull freynd cum of his hous. For I tak God and nychtbouris to witnes that I wes never uther wayss myndit to his Lordship. I pray you solist his Lordship to hauld all chargis of me be resoun his Lordship knawis that I am nocht able for trawaill for I haif nothair men nor substans as I wes woynnt to haiff be resoun of the gret trublis that I haif sestenit this four yeiris bygane. His Lordship doand this I hoip in God to accumplyce his desyre in the tothair mater the better. And perchance will do mayr gude at hame nor my trawaill can do afeild.¹ The rest reffaris to your wisdome and nixt adverteisment and sua committis you to the protextoun of God. From Balloch the xiiii of Merche 1565.

84 Atholl to Glenorchy

GD112/39/6/7

15 March 1566, Dunkeld

To his traist cousing the Lard of Glenwrquhay

Traist cousing efter maist hartlie commendatioun. I have sene your writting send to the Lard of Grantullie² and hes considerit the sammyn and your gud mynd be him utherwaiss nor afoir. Quhairthrow I ondirstand your disaise and bile trewlie be his narracion to be of sic maneir as he hes declarit to me at lenth. And as to the halding of chargis of yow I sall do my gud will and dewite thairintill lik as at this present. Althocht all maneir of man within my lewtenency be chargit werray scharplie to pass fordwart to our soverains lik as ye will heir of. Yit nochtwythstanding hawing consideracion of sic as the Lard of Grantullie hes schawn me I will tak you in my awin hand suay that ye may remane at hame. Albeit I wald have bene glaid to have spokin with you and maid mirrie becauss nowis is gud quhilis amang ...³ st and beleiffis for your gud consall in sic caiss as ye will heir of ... ll tymis. And suay committis yow to the protectioun of God. From Dunkeld the xv day of Merche 1565 yeirs. Be.

[PS] Ye wil wit my commendatiounis to your bedfallow and sen ye remane at hame I commit our vyfis barnis and the rest to yow that is ane agit freind to our returnyng. And gif ye mycht cum downin and drink wyth me or my departing I wald be glaid thairof and ye salbe hartlie welcum. Ye vil adverteiss me gif ye thynk the plaister I writ of onto yow wirkis weill.⁴ Youris ... cussing.

1 Grey Colin was excused attendance at the convocation of troops (84).

2 Grey Colin's letter of 14 Mar. 1566 (83).

3 Ellipses represent damage to MS.

4 The poultice which Atholl* sent (80).

85 William Maitland of Lethington to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/6/10

Tuesday [9 April 1566],¹ Dunkeld

[No address]

Ant² eftar hartly commendatiouns. The renduvee quhat I promist yow at departing according thaironto I was off purpos to be at yow this nycht but I mon on force ryde secretely to speke with my Lord off Athoill.³ I sall nocht fail God willing to be at yow within four dayis. In the menetyme I haiff direct thir beararis my servandis to awaite thayr upoun my cumming. All other thingis I refer to meting. Commed me hartly to the Lard and God be your keper. At Dunkeld this Tysday in the morning. Youris always to command.

86 Same to same

GD112/39/6/11

18 April 1566, Callander

To the rycht honorabill my assurit frend the Lady Glenurquhay

Efter hartly commendatioun. I ressavit your lettre fra the bearar and by his report understoode partly the occasion off the wryting thairoff. I suppose the wrytingis that ar thayr ar bot the ansuer off letres I wrait out off Dunkeld.⁴ Always I beleiff sen the directing off thame I haiff hard word fra thaimselfis for on Saterdag last⁵ was my Lord off Athoill come to this place and spake with me at lasure. Immediately efter his returning to Edinburgh I directed ane servand off myne to my Lord off Murray, quha fand hym in Dunnoun in Argyle and brocht me his ansuer on Tuysday.⁶ I onderstand that the Lard your husband is send for to mete my Lord off Argyle in Striueling tomorow giff sa be I will perchance se hym. I may tary heyr yit this twa or thre dayis quhill I get finall ansuer off my besines furth off Edinburgh. The first voyage I take out off this place I trust salbe towardis yow. In the midirtyme⁷ I pray yow hald me excusit off my braik off promis. All comreidis ar blyth and mery as ye wissed. I pray yow commend me hartly to the Lard. Becaus I hope God willing to se

¹ In Maitland's* next letter of 18 Apr. 1566 (86) he referred to replies to the letters he had sent from Dunkeld, including this letter. This letter was probably written on Tuesday, 9 Apr. rather than 16 Apr.

² Maitland was not Katherine's nephew but used the term 'aunt' as a mark of respect and affection: Introduction, 28-9.

³ With the political situation still unstable after Rizzio's murder, secret negotiations were being conducted.

⁴ See 9 Apr. 1566 (85).

⁵ 13 Apr.

⁶ 16 Apr.

⁷ Meantime.

yow shortly I will not troubl yow with longar lettre bot committis yow to God. At the Calender the xviii off Aprill. Youris always to command.

87 William Douglas of Lochleven to Glenorchy GD112/39/2/24

Tuesday [20 August 1566],¹ Loch Leven

To the rycht honorable the Lard of Glenurquhay

Eftir hartlie commendatioun. Plais yow resawe ane wretting fra my Lord of Argill within this quhilk was the fardast I culd optaine for the present. His Lordship wilbe narly content conforme to the last communing that was betuix yow and me on the gryn of the Belloch bot this man be kept secret betuix us. His Lordship hes aponttit to send for the man to spik with him quherin to that ye wald ahad his Lordship wretting. His Lordship hes declarit to me that ye wilbe at the hunttin with the Quene His Majeste and than ye [sic] will comune fordar with yow ther anentis. Quhar for becaws the bill hes refferit all to me I wald wit giff that I mycht myt with yow in ony place nar Sanct Joniston or giff thet ye mycht cum to Rewen or ther about. And I suld myt yow eftir yowr advertisement and that afor the hunttin and giff that ther may nocht be oportunate that we may myt afor that.² I sall send ane serwand of myne to the hunting to remembre his Lordship to spik yow ther anentis. For it was his Lordship's desyre that I suld sa do quharfor giff that he brekis nocht the perpos to yow he man begin it conforme to this wretting. Quhilk perpos I promisit that thay suld na body knaw therof bot ye and I and his Lordship for I fynd him of that mynd as my oponyen was of him quhilk may do mekle guid and am nocht begylit of him as yeit. Mak my hartle commendatiouns to yowr bedfallow with the rest of yowr gud company. And sawe for this present commytis yow to the protection of God this Tuysday at Lochlewen be yowr awine.

¹ Encloses the note from Argyll to Grey Colin, 19 Aug. 1566 which was written from Lochleven, GD112/39/6/15, and cf. William Douglas of Lochleven's* quick note to Atholl, 20 Aug. 1566, GD112/39/2/19.

² The careful and convoluted attempts to set up a meeting with Grey Colin in Perth or at Ruthven Castle before the royal hunt suggest that the business was pressing as well as needing to be kept secret, but it is not known what it concerned.

88 William Maitland of Lethington to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/6/19

2-4 February 1567,¹ Callander

To the rycht honorabill and his assurit freind the Lady Glenwrquhaid

Eftir my hartlie commendatioun. I ressavit ane writting of youris and ane uther of the Lairdis be the quhilkis I persawe ye desyre me to employ yow. Ye may be assurit that thair is nane sib nor freindis in Scotland that I will cherge mair hamelie nor yow. Quhidder I depart yitt or nocht I am nocht resolute. My Lorde of Athiole is cumit heir this last Wodnisday and I am rydand this day with him to Cumirnal² to pas our tyme. Gif I gang nocht away as it may weill chance I sall nocht fail to vesie yow and tare quhill ye be tyrit. For I intend nocht schortlie quhatsumevir purpois I tak to pas sone to the courte for ye may schaw the Laird that I lyke nathing the sair of the men of weiris luntis that kepis the castell hill.³ Ye desyrt me to feill my Lorde of Athioles mynde in the besines ye know.⁴ I have felt his mynde and assuris yow that ye ar na better myndit your self nor he is willing that purpois. I traist that tyme that [sic] dryve all thingis to a gude end. I will nocht cummer yow with langer writting at this present and sua committis yow to God. Off Calendar this ...⁵ ii of Februar 1566. Your cousing ... command.

[PS] Mak my hartlie comendatioun to the Laird of [sic] your bedfallow.

89 [Atholl⁶] William Stewart of Grandtully to Glenorchy

GD112/39/6/20

1 June 1567, Edinburgh

¹ The number of the date on this letter is obscured by fading but includes 'ii'. Maitland* was in Edinburgh on 8 Feb. 1567, *CSP Scot.*, ii, 312, and remained there at least until Darnley's murder on 10 Feb. He was at Seton House, East Lothian, on 23 Feb. and back in Edinburgh on 8 Mar., *CSP Scot.*, ii, 315, 317. The light tone of the letter with no mention of Darnley's murder suggest that the letter was written on 2-4 Feb.

² 'Last Wednesday' was probably 29 Jan. Cumbemald was the seat of John, 5th Lord Fleming who was the brother-in-law of both Maitland and Atholl*. On 6 Jan. 1567, Maitland had married Fleming's sister, Mary, one of the queen's 'four Maries'.

³ Obviously a derogatory remark about Court and its political complexion, possibly meaning that Maitland did not like the smell ('sair') of the men of war camps ('luntis') which occupied the Castle Hill in Edinburgh.

⁴ This is probably the proposal for a marriage alliance between the houses of Atholl and Glenorchy: Introduction, 30.

⁵ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁶ The signature is unlike any other of John, 4th earl of Atholl.* William Stewart of Grandtully* acted as a 'man of business' for Atholl, and this letter contains his characteristic 'slef' for 'self' so it was almost certainly written, and probably signed, by Grandtully on Atholl's behalf.

To the rycht honorabill Lard off Glenwrquhay

Rycht traist freind and cousing efter hartliest commendatioun. I resavit your wrytyng and quhair ye merwell I maid nocht my Lord of Ardgylle participant of that last procedyngis be assurit gif I hed knawyn of thame afoir my cumyng to Stirling last ye suld hef bene maid participant of thame bot than it com say suddanly and onfreindis manifestly pretendand our wrak that thair culd nay advertisment be maid.¹ Quhair ye writ that vtheris ar nocht slepand on the vest hand and that my Lord off Ardgylle hes resavit nay vour fra vs heir afoir the dait off your writ. Trew it is that sen my cumyng to Stirling last thair wes fyf syndry lettres drectit to my Lord of Ardgylle be ws heir present. And quhair ye writ that ye salbe willing to set fordwarttis sic as salbe the comoun weill of this realme I dout nocht the same trewly. Thairfor I wald wyss yow heir to wesye the fwyrd and gif ye find the grund guid ye may ryid the watr [sic] utherways nocht.² I wald nocht my Lord of Ardgylle nor ye twyk it in nay ewil part that ye ver nocht advertisit affoir becauss the same culd nocht be for schortnes of tyme and that is nay occasioun to my Lord to byid abak for we advertisit hym diverst tymis to hef cum down lang affoir that consultatioun mycht be tane and he cam nocht. As for your ky I wil writ yyt [sic] as of befoir that thairwes nor salbe nay wyte in me thairintil. And dowtis nocht as your slef [sic] writtis bot ye regard your awyn honour or myne althocht I wer ongrait mair nor ane gret part of geir besidis that this caus ryindis³ unto yow as to me. Inspeccer he that is past wes nerer of blwyd to yow for this is only our intention to punyss the merthur of the King (quhairoff we hef manifest and suir tryall to schaw) and to presereff the Prince and comowun welth of this realm we sal never meyne nay vtherways God willing.⁴ And dowtis nocht bot first God and syne al guid Scottis man vil set fordwarttis and assist the saim caus and ye inspecial for your part we sal do at my Lordship that may be done. Always I wil lyppyn assuritly for your guid will and mynd now lyik as it wes at the begynnyng of this caus. Gif ye cum to Belloch schortly as ye writ I sal caus speik yow at lenth bot is maist desyrus of ony thying that ye vald cum heir your slef [sic]. And say committis yow to the protectioun of the eternal God.

¹ Darnley was murdered 10 Feb. 1567 and Queen Mary married Bothwell on 15 May. Atholl and Argyll and others had made a bond at Stirling, 1 May 1567: AT, vi, 102; Wormald, *Lords and Men*, 406. Atholl is explaining how difficult it had been to keep Argyll informed of developments.

² A metaphor relating to the political situation about coming to the ford and testing the water's depth.

³ Pertains to.

⁴ The 'manifesto' of the confederate Lords who opposed Mary and Bothwell at Carberry on 15 June 1567, concerning Darnley's murder. Grey Colin was a second cousin of Darnley: Appendix C.

From Edinburgh this Tyisday the first of Iunii 1567 be youris veray luffing and guid freind.

90 Glenorchy to Argyll (draft)

GD112/39/12/17

11 November 1567,¹ Balloch Castle

[No address]

My Lord eftir hartle commendatiouns of service. Pleis your Lordship to wit that thir tua puir beraris ar servandis of myne and duellis in Glentrewining and is far fra nyctbouris to suppolie thaim gif thai mestirit.² And now thai informett me that Johne Campbell of Loychnaell hes summond thame befor your Lordship to ane serreff court quhilk your Lordship haldis in Inverrary for the ressett off James the Glen sone³ quhilk thai deny all utirlic. Thairfor prayis your Lordship to consider the rowin that thir puir men duellis in till and far fra help off nyctbouris and albeit that James the Glen had commett to thame and teyne meitt of thame \as he did nocht/ considering the place that thai duell in. Your Lordshipis cousing⁴ hes down mair manefest fals to me in the resseit of the Clangregor and off my propir geir that wes eitten in his hous and als rasavit be his tenenttis to ane grett quantite quhilk quhan God plasse and your Lordship I thynk to seik justice.⁵ And as for thir tua puir men to your Lordship to heir thair selfis furst and do thame justice as your Lordship quancience thynkis guid. I tak God to witness that I luif nayne that oppresses the puir. Haifand na forder occasioun at this present bot God presarwe your Lordship. Frome Balloch the xi of November. Be your Lordshipis kinnisman at power.

[PS] Attour I pray your Lordship to be sa gud as to contenuw thir tua puir men upon takis the quhilk your Lordship might do. And quhan ewir your Lordship makis yow for to punneis ressettaris with the awice of me and your Lordshipis frendis and dissyris ane quyatness to be in your Lordshipis rowmis I assur your Lordship your Lordship ma haif tua thowsand crounis and newir to offend to your God and that all honest men ma be satesfeit to and I sall wait my trawell quhat ewir your Lordship

¹ Argyll held a justice court at Ardchatten on 30 Nov. 1567, GD112/1/169, so probably the Inverrary court was held before that. The content of this letter does not seem to fit with those of November 1568 and John Campbell of Lochnell was killed at Langside 13 May 1568, though succeeded by his son, also named John.

² Probably mistrive or do badly.

³ James of the Glen, possibly a MacGregor, was mentioned in Dougal MacDougall's letter, 29 June 1570, GD112/39/7/25, when it was clear that Grey Colin had helped him and might be acting as cautioner for him.

⁴ Meaning Lochnell.

⁵ Grey Colin was rehearsing his counter-charge that the Campbells of Lochnell reset the MacGregors and at their own table had eaten beef stolen from him!

is myndit thairto.

91 Archibald (MacDonchy) Campbell of Inverawe to Glenorchy
GD112/39/6/26

5 March 1569, Inverawe (Taynuilt)

To the honorabill man Collin Campbell of Glennurquhay

Rycht honorabill Schir efter hartlie commendationis of my humill service. Ye sall wit that the Pryour of Ardchattan¹ hes requestit and optenit ane precept fra my Lord² to Donald Oig MacAne to follow and perschew your servand and tenent Molcallam MacAne Duiiffe in Acharyrae³ for ane allegeance that he wes at the taking of certain ky fra the saidis Donald Oigis fader quhan Donald Dowffe MacDouill wes conwoyt and laid out of Inverraray, quhilk wes fals. And thairfoir quhan thai wald spolye your ground and wplift all the said Malcallumis gudis and geir be the crauvare⁴ and my Lordis caittoun I held the samyn to your cuming to the cuntre on the ground and fand sourities that the said Molcallum suld underly the law for the said allegeance. Bot becaus this wes wrocht be the said Pryour gif ye think it guid or necessar ye sall writ to the said Pryour to be nocht sa sair on your servandis in your awin absens and speciallie on your man or ellis he may nocht manure your ground. And that he put na fardar at him thairanens quhill your awin cuming to thir partis and that ye adverteis me gif ye will requyr of the said Molcallum to cum to spek with your self thairanent or quhane he sall meite yow. Fardar I pray yow affecteuslie to send suim attentik⁵ servand of your awin to resaiff the rest of my sylver fra Neill MacAllester viz ane hunderethe merkis becaus I haiff send my discharge to this affecte quhilk ye sall send thame and gett your awin discharge⁶ agane. And caus keipe the said monie quhill I cum thair my selff or quhill ye se suim suere servand of your awin betuix. Fardar pleis gif credens to the berar. And committis yow to the protectioun of allmychty God. Off Inverraw the fyft of Merche 1568. Yours awin werray assuret to power.

¹ John Campbell.

² The earl of Argyll.

³ Probably Acharra in Appin, Lorn.

⁴ Possibly derived from 'crave', a legal demand.

⁵ Authentic or reliable.

⁶ Discharge by Archibald MacDonchy (Campbell) of Inverawe* to Laird of Gardelie and Neil Stewart of Fassycht in name of John, earl of Atholl*, of 200 merks, 24 Feb. 1569, GD112/23/1/14.

92 Patrick (Duncansone) MacGregor and his kin¹ to Lady Glenorchy
GD112/39/5/22

after 2 August 1569,² Glen Lednock (Perthshire)

To ane honorabill woman Ladye of Glenowrquhaye

Maistres efter maist humyll and hartlie commendatioun of service. Prayis yow to think on of your first speiking that quhair ye bald ws labour in this caise quhill we wald bring thir ill men to sum speiking now we tane sa grit travell wn ws quhill we have brot hym to this pass. And thairfoir we pray your Ladyschip ye labour in now and to gait the four mark land fra the Laird or ellis thai will nocht agrie four the oiss³ sayis that thai have nathing of the Laird bot yown four merk land. And gif thai gett nocht yown four merk land thai will nocht agrie.⁴ Thairfoir we pray your Ladyschip to labour on the Laird quhill he gif yown four merk land and gif he gefit nocht to thame all our labour is in wane and thai will brak owt and but ill betuix ws and the Laird. Thairfoir we pray yow ye [sic] for to do the best for your houss and your bairnis and ffor the prowde of ws and your houss and your bairnis. This your Ladyschip will do as our trest is in yow. Nocht ellis bot the eternal God have yow in his keiping. Be your freindis and servandis.

93 Argyll to Glenorchy GD112/39/7/3

5 May 1570, Strathlachlan⁵

To our trest cosing the Lord of Glenwrquhaye gyf this

Cosing efter hartly commendatiounis. I hayf rassavit your lettir and thankis yow of your honourabill cwnsall quhylk I hayf followit for I hayf wrytten the Lord Grayme, the Lord Drummwnd and Twllibardine for that affek.⁶ And I hayf send ane lettir to my Lord of Mar⁷ to know his

¹ Patrick and his kin had given their bond of manrent to Grey Colin, 9 Mar. 1560, GD112/24/1/2, fos. 16-17; *BBT*, 202. For this sept of the MacGregors, see MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 96-8.

² There was a bond made at Perth on 2 Aug. 1569 between Atholl*, Grey Colin and Patrick MacGregor* alias Duncan Donaldson in Glenlednock and his kin which involved a promise 'to sute and persew be way of deid to the deth at the utermost of thair poweris the wickit mene of thair surname', GD112/2/117/1/34. The previous day, Gregor MacGregor of Glenstrae had been captured: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 370-1.

³ Host, meaning the whole of the Glenlednock kin.

⁴ Probably the lands of Invergeldie (Innerzellie) in Glen Lednock, north of Comrie.

⁵ Probably Castle Lachlan, Cowal.

⁶ Argyll had written to Lord Graham, probably the young William Graham, 5th earl of Menteith, David, 2nd Lord Drummond* and William Murray of Tullibardine*.

⁷ John Erskine, 6th Lord Erskine and earl of Mar.

mynd and to lat hym wyt I wald not hayf belyf it that he wald parswe ony of my freindis. And I hayf stentit ane ost this day to pass ...¹ forward and to be in Glenfalloch the x day of this instant. The stent of this ost is ane man out of ilk mark land for viii or x dayis. All wayis I pray yow to send fyf or sayx skoir of youris to Glenfalloch the sayd day wyt swm honast men to be thair captens and gyf neid be I can send warnyt all the rest of my cwntry to be in redyness to pass wyt my self gyf neid be.² Gyf ye get ony newis lat me know the sam and I sall do the lyk. I will send my broder Collin ... byt that mein gyf he may kyp tryst for he is in Knapdeill.³ All wayis I will do all at I may. This fair weill. Fra Stralachan this v day of May 1570. Your asswrit cosing.

[PS] Commend me to your bedfallow.

94 Argyll to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/7/5

30 May 1570, Dunoon

To owre aunt the Lady Glenurquhay

Aunt eftir our hertlie commendatiounis. The tyme of the departing of Coleine Leiche fra ws wes sa haistelie that we had na tyme to writt to yow.⁴ Bot we beleif he hes schawin yow sum part of our mynd as we ordanit him. And in safar as we fand in our passage throw the cuntre the place of Glenurquhay⁵ haldin as ane fortres nocht preparit as we wald have belevit to our honour passand with strangearis quhome we wald have thocht the place of Glenurquhay honestilie preparit for ws mair kyndlie nor MacGregors. And sa lang as the samin standis in maner as we fand it we will beir it in mynd. Bot we wald wiss at God that we had na thing in memorie of our freindis bot thair welth quha ar myndit to our honour and nocht agains ws. Ye sall reid your husbandis writing and ye may persaise sum part be the samin.⁶ Farder at this present we will nocht writt bot committis yow to God. Off Denune the pennult day of Maii 1570. Your gowd frynd.

[PS] We regard nocht samekill meit nor drink as the yettis haldin fast of our freindis hous aganis ws.

¹ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

² For the military arrangements: Introduction, 47.

³ Colin Campbell of Boquhan*, the earl of Argyll's half-brother and future 6th earl, who was in Knapdale.

⁴ Colin MacLachlan of Craigenterve* who was involved in the antenuptial contract made between Margaret, Grey Colin's daughter, and Alan MacDougall of Raray, 31 May 1570, GD112/2/116/5.

⁵ Kilchurn Castle at the top of Loch Awe. For this incident: Introduction.

⁶ The letter to Grey Colin is lost.

95 Atholl to Glenorchy

GD112/39/7/6

30 May 1570, Dunkeld

To my rycht traist cousing the Lard of Glenwrquhay

Rycht traist cousing. Hawing resavit your lettir this day be the quhilk ye writt that nocht withstanding the assurance betuix the Erl of Argyll and me quhairinto ye ar comprehendit¹ the Clangregor daylie dois arme within your boundis and now of the lait at your passing wp trought to Glenurquhay thai spoliyait servandis of MacGregoris wiffis² gangand wp to you. Nochtwithstanding the fair wordis and promisses that the Erl of Argyll hes writtin to me oftymis I can nocht lippin giff he wald do as he hes promist thai wald do sic thingis as thai do within your boundis. Alwas thair sall nocht inlaik ony thing on my part for your releiff and parswte of ony of thame that dois yow harme sa lang as ye keipe your part onto me. And to that effect sall nocht fail at my wp gang gyng to Athole quhilk wilbe the hyndir end of this welke to tak ordor and sett furtht sa mony men as ye desyre to witt fourthy men. And sall do diligence heirinto to expande the samyn alss haistilie as may be quhairthrocht ye may knawe my gud will towart yow suppoist I have to do heirwith my self. As for nowellis I ondirstande that the Duke the Albe³ hes landit ane arme in Ingland quhilk wes the caus of the Inglishmen reterning bak from Clydisdaill and ar to pass hame to Ingland for resisting of the said arme. The Franche arme wilbe in schortlie at Dunbartane as is spokin. Thair is feftene schippis sein at Abirdene quhidder thai Franch men or Inglishmen I am oncertane. Als mony of the stane howsses upoun Clyde to the nummer of ane dowsane or xvi are cassin downe and the casell palace and toun of Hammiltoun is brunt and the nixt tyme that ye cum to Hammiltoun ye will nocht gette ane galrie to gang in.⁴ Hawing na fordir at this present committis yow to God. And mak my commendatiouns to my ill tenent and prais yow haist downe silver to me to pay the Dene⁵ for I am sairlic credit to him. Of Dunkeld the penult of May 1570 be youris at powar.

¹ There had been a meeting between Atholl and Argyll at Dalkeith on 25–27 Feb. 1570 and the first agreement was made 26 Feb., GD112/1/181a, with a second agreement on 24 and 29 Mar., AT, vi, 142; GD112/1/182.

² Marion Campbell, daughter of Glenlyon, Gregor MacGregor's widow.

³ Duke of Alba, who was commanding the Spanish Army of Flanders.

⁴ Hamilton Castle was captured and burnt on 13 May: *CSP Scot.*, iii, 198.

⁵ Probably John Barton, dean of Dunkeld, and by 1574 minister at Clunie: *Fasti*, iv, 151.

96 Glenorchy to Argyll

GD112/39/7/8

7 June 1570, Kilchurn Castle (Loch Awe)

[No address]

My Lord efter maist hartlie commendatiouns of service. Pleiss your Lordship that efter I resavit your Lordshipis writing anent the ost desyring me to mak furth fyif or sax scoir of men with ane abill man to be thair capitaine quhilk I acceptit in ane gud part. And thoth I had nocht ane mair ganand¹ man of my houss nor the Lord of Glenlyon² quha acceptit that charge als glaidlie as I culd wiss bayth for your Lordshipis honour and myin. And yesterday efternoin tuk his leif passing hame to have rasis the men sic as I commandit maist ganand for the purpoiss. And I convoyit him agaitward upforang Stronmelochoun³ and returnit agane knawand na thing of the fowll and cowrit disseit⁴ devyssit bayth for me and him. For the neyctht afoir Ewin MacGregor Duncain Glen his broyer Duncain Abrycht⁵ with certaine utheris of thair surname and band com quyatlle and placit thaim selfis in the wod of Stronmelochoun neir the water syid forgang the quosche⁶ and lay in deun thair quhill Glenlyon departit fra me bot ane quyat numer. And followit efter him to the numer of xxxvi men nocht evill provydit of culveringis haberschonis and uthir armour as I wald wiss at God that all your Lordshipis awin servandis war na [sic] wellstakit thai followit upoun with gret deligence and nerit him in Glenlyon in the neyctht. Nocht knawand of thair parsuit quhill thai war parsaut be wemen that rasis the cry and thain he eschapid prysit be God with out harme except ane horss that buir his clayis and twa boyis quhilk thai apprehendit and tuk awa with thaim. My Lord your Lordship sall consider gif this was ane assay⁷ or nocht for thai war furnesit to this onset be your Lordshipis guid serwand MacNachtane⁸ and gat meill of his awin to trish⁹ with thaim and war the neyctht afoir in the bra of Glenfyne¹⁰ with his serwandis quhilk salbe provin unto your Lordship. And gif your Lordship will wye the causse sefficientlie as I think your Lordship suld that

¹ Suitable.

² Duncan Campbell of Glenlyon* who was to take charge of the troops mentioned (94).

³ Along the road up in front of Stronmilchan, at the foot of Glen Strae, about a mile from Kilchurn Castle.

⁴ Foul and cringing or cowardly deceit.

⁵ Ewen MacGregor, tutor of Glenstrae*, Duncan Glen and Duncan Abbroch.

⁶ The 'cosche' (market) of Glenorchy, a hillock above Stonmilchan where a market was held at Martinmas and Michaelmas.

⁷ Attack.

⁸ Alexander MacNaughton of Dunderave, half-brother to the MacGregors: Appendix C.

⁹ Probably tryst.

¹⁰ Glen Fyne.

Maknachtane nor na uther that servis your Lordship suld have conspyrit my dethe nor assistit thairto as he hes doin in furnesing and settinge furth thaim that pretendit the samin suld dress over without conding¹ puneishment. Yit always I will nocht cast in ballance your Lordshipis honour and the gret offence maid to me at this tyme bot will advance sa mony men as your Lordship desyris quha sall keip dyat gif thairbe na stay of your armie als sufficient God willing as wtheris sall. Onder protestatioun gif it pleis your Lordship that or gr...² efferis occur that the offenc maid to me be handlit as becumis unto your Lordshipis honor and my just satisfioun. For gif it standis in furnesinge of throtcuttoris and sic conspiratouris I have als meikle meit to spair as MacNachtane hes. Bot I tak God to witness that I was nevir for sic practesses bot onlie for the zeill of justice. Bot sen thai have walkommit that thinge that I suspectit nocht in huntinge efter my lyf I can do na less nor to renconter³ bayth the devysois and interpryssoris of the samin as God will grant me grace your Lordship standand my gudly freind and cheif as your predicissouris was to myin. Pleiss your Lordship to credeit the berar quha knawis of the proceedingis be ane man was thair cumpane. Haist the berar to me with advertesment of your armie. Committing your Lordship to God from Glenurquhay the vii of Junii 1570.

97 Argyll to Glenorchy

GD112/39/7/9

8 June 1570, Carrick Castle (Cowal)

...⁴ Campbel of Glenwrquhay

Cousyng efter maist hertlie commendatiounis. We haif rasavit your letter and parsawng thairby your delegece for my Lorde of Sanctcolmenis⁵ releif quhairof we thank you hertlie. And he hes writtin to us yisterdaye of the contenewatioun of his persuit and hes desyrit us to gif you doubill thankis for your guid will. We writ to you with our brother the provest⁶ of the staye that is cumin of the scheips quhilkis we beleif ye haif rasavit or nowe. Als quhane ye writ to us of the persuit of your cousyng the Laird of Glenlyoun and of the dissait provydit for your self and that be the Clangregour.⁷ As to that ye may maist assurit that we wald esteim and ever will your honour and weill and youris and in speciall lyifis of our speciall kynnismen als weill as the saymin ware devyisit for our self. And

¹ Well-merited.

² Ellipsis represents damage to MS.

³ Encounter.

⁴ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁵ James Stewart, commendator of Inchcolm*.

⁶ John Campbell, Provost of Kilmun, illegitimate son of 4th earl of Argyll and so half-brother to Argyll.

⁷ For details of this 'Glenlyon incident', see 96 and Introduction.

salbe willyng to be thairefter as we your self and the rest of the mast specialis of our kyn sall thynk guid and to put the saymin to exsecutioun. And quhair ye writ that our servitour MacNaughtane¹ hes nocht onlie gif ... meit bot als hes bein ane devyser of the said dissait ... be contrarie. And as the credence of the berrer is to us ... the haif the saymin repoirtit to you be ane callit {MacKewer²}... As to thir we can nocht giff resolut anser for the ... quhill wer caus MacNaughtane be tryit and that in presens of ... conon, Achynbrek MacCoull Ardkynglas Dumtroune Parbrek Inverleiver.³ And that in to Inveraray the xvii or xviii day of this instant gif ye pleiss to cum quhair ... e sall caus MacNaughtane anseir. And the matter beyng that salbe usit as ye ... rest that wilbe with us for the tym sall thynk guid to ... For the revenge of the actioun pretendit to haif bein doin ... as salbe neidfull for all our honouris. For we thynk quhat ever ... you skaycht or youris that thai wald do ... to our self thai mycht thairfoir gif ye pleiss to keip the... And sall caus ye rest to keipit and advertiss us with ... of ye ... heiranentis. And gif your self keipis the ... day... s... d yis orde... to MacCoull⁴ to cum to gidder your awin writting ... your awin wisdom for we sall do our part as becumis ... us honour and weill. And sua committis you to ... of the Almyty. Of the Carrick the viii of Junii 1570. Your assurit freind.

[PS] Comend me to your wyf. Credence to the berrare and haist us your anser that we may advertiss the rest of the lairdis.

98 William Stewart of Grandtully to Glenorchy GD112/39/7/10

10 June 1570

[No address]

Sir, I resavit your writyngis heir on Thurisday last⁵ in the nycht and thaireftyer past with doctor Mil your boy to Blair in Atholl on Fryday quhair my Lord of Atholl and the Secretar war presently quhay ver weray hechlie offendit with Ewyn MacGregoris procedyndis.⁶ I thoctt guid and desyrit the Secretar to writ to my Lord of Ardgylle as ye may parsaiff quhay weray gladly did the same and vald hef done mair gif he mycht.⁷ He hes desyrit me with his hartlie commendatiounis to yow and the

¹ Alexander MacNaughton of Dunderave*.

² Name added from GD50/116/48.

³ MacNaughton to appear for trial at Inveraray before the earl of Argyll, Grey Colin, Dougal Campbell of Auchinbreck*, Dougal MacDougall of Dunollie*, James Campbell of Ardkinglas*, Duncan Campbell of Duntrune*, Colin Campbell of Barbreck and John Campbell of Inverleiver.

⁴ Dougal MacDougall was ordered by both Argyll and Grey Colin to bring troops (108).

⁵ 8 June.

⁶ This is the Glenlyon incident (96).

⁷ Secretary Maitland's* letter to Argyll (99).

Lady bayth. As towart my Lord of Athollis part resaiff his awyn letter¹ quhairbe ye may onderstand his Lordshipis guid mynd towart yow. I assur yow I find nay falt thairinto. He is weray diligent in outputtyng of the men quhilkis I thynk now salbe veray schortly on fut. And the same is deffissil² and veray ewil to do and nocht mony villyng thairto yit he wil nocht fail to hef it done and sendis the best willit he may get thairto. Resaiff the writyng ye desyrit maid at Dalkeyth³ the day thairof now is neir approchyt, this berar wes depossit als schortly as I culd. Ane certan of Clanchamroun⁴ wer in Blair and hes ane gret nummer of guidis in Rannoch of the quhilk the guid Lard is nay thyng contentit bot heichle ofendit thairwith. MacRenald⁵ is now in Blair and syndry utheris ewyn of the auld maner my Lord is spurrand veray fast to and thairis enenocht⁶ promeset I ken nocht quhen it wilbe performit and dowtis thairunto. I hef nay newis to adverteiss yow. Ye hef hard quhow thai left the seig of the dowyn.⁷ The Maister of Grahame⁸ ves this last Fryday in Dunkeld ane ... uther his ... at lenth and convoit his mother agaitwarttis to Blair. The Abot of Dunfarmlyn⁹ is instantly cumyn hame of Ingland his newis ar nocht hard as yit. In t....mekil¹⁰ consistis thairon the Inglis men ar nocht past by Berwyk. As yit I heir nay word of French men nor yit is thair ony utheris landit in Ingland nor aperance thairof. Thair com ane poist fra the Erl of Swsseix of Berwyk to Dunkeld wyt letteris and credit.¹¹ Writ wyt the first boy of youris that cumis down to the Secretar and thankis hym of his guid mynd towart yow quhilk trewly he beris to yow in deid as I can onderstand. Writ to my Lord of Atholl newis and utherwayis as ye thynk guid of the pairtes quhair ye ar and sicklyk that ye wald hef done every tyme. For albeit all thyngis may not be done vyt ane instant yit it is guid to be done as ... may. I neid nocht now to writ to yow as I hef done weray oft bayth to your self and your wyif to be circumspek for God now hes warnit yow mair sufficiently. I wil writ nay farther now bot committis yow to God. Writyn this Satterday the x of Junii in the nycht be your.

¹ Atholl's* letter (100).

² Difficult.

³ Probably the bond at Dalkeith made 26 Feb. 1570 (95).

⁴ Probably the MacEwan sept of Clan Cameron.

⁵ Ranald MacDonald of Keppoch*.

⁶ Enough.

⁷ The siege of Doune Castle in Menteith.

⁸ James Graham, the future 3rd earl of Montrose.

⁹ Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline.

¹⁰ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

¹¹ Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd earl of Sussex, was Queen Elizabeth's lord lieutenant and spent much of the summer of 1570 in negotiations with both the king's party, and Maitland and others of the queen's party: Introduction.

[PS] The Cumpptrollar¹ hes bene in Blair and now is heir quhai writis his hartlie commendatiounis to yow and the Lady your bedfallow.

99 William Maitland of Lethington to Argyll GD112/39/7/11

10 June 1570, Blair Atholl

[No address]

My Lord eftir my maist hairtlie commendatiounis. I dowt nocht not bot your Lordship remembiris of all the commoning that wes tuicheing the Clangregor alsweil at the begynning at Dalkeith as sensyne quhen your Lordship and my Lord of Atholl fynallie appointit.² And that it wes plainlie spokin that in cais the Clangregor maid ony break against the Laird of Glenurquhart that your Lordship nocht only suld expell thaim furth of your cuntrey bot also be enemy to thame. Now I haf hard that MacGregoris brother accompaneit with ane gritt nwmir of men hes lyn in waite neir the place of Glenuwrquhy for the Lard of Glenlyounnis slawchtir and myst him verray narowlie. Quhilk being sua gritt ane offence agains your Lordshipis self I am surlie persuadit that your Lordship will nocht suffir it to pas withoute grevous punisment. And it wer bot for your Lordshipis awin honour that the warld may se and tak example be the handilling of thame quhat it is to mell with the bluid of your Lordshipis hows. For your Lordship knawis the Lard of Glenlyoun is of your Lordshipis surname cumit of your Lordshipis hous and sik ane as na nobill man wald be content being his kynnisman to suffir to be a pray to lymnaris.³ The matir alsua tuicheis your Lordship the mair neir becaus it is brutit that the company that lay for the Lard of Glenlyoun war supportit baith with wictuellis and men be sum of your Lordshipis awin cuntrey quhilk I dowt nocht bot your Lordship will deligentlie inquire and caus be tryit. And suirlye it is verrey apperand that lying sua neir the Lard of Glenuourquhyis hous thair interpryis wes also for his awin lyff. Quhilk is sik ane injury to your Lordshipis as I wait ye will na wyis beir with ...⁴ quhatt inlaik it were to ony noble men in this ile to lose sik ane kynnisman as the Lard of Glenuourquhy is and specialie by the means of a pak of lymnaris. For in guid faith ye aucht of reason to mak gritt acompt of him for mony respectis for I know perfytlie quhat his affectioun is and hes bene towardis the weill of your Lordshipis hous. I writt to your Lordship upon certane knowlege and lang apprerance towekkit be me upon mony conferences hes at divers tymes past betuix him and me tuicheing your Lordship and in guid faith

¹ William Murray, 11th of Tullibardine*.

² The Dalkeith agreement was probably made on 26 Feb. 1570, GD112/1/181a (95).
³ Villains.

⁴ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

I nevir persavit bot he hed als grit ... to the weill of your Lordshipis hous as of his awin. And I am weill assurit besydis your awin particular causes and all the common causes quhilk I hes in hand for the common weill your Lordship may lede him als far as ye pleis for I undirstand samekle of his mynd. Your Lordship knawis his hairt and couraige and how laith he wilbe to sit with sua gret ane injury at thai menis handis. My Lord of Athole be ressoun of his promeis mon tak plain pairt with him. And yit your Lordshipis honour ... als miekle of your Lordshipis concurrence in this caass as of thai baith. I pray your Lordship lat it nocht pas ovir slythlie¹ but use thame with sik regour that utheris may stand aw to mell with the lyffis of your Lordshipis kyn. And that it may be ane example to sik men nocht to abuse heireftir the liberty thai haif had to repair in your Lordshipis boundis and furth of the samyn to cum and tak sik ane interpryss in hand. Albeit I wysche mair gude to the Lard of Glenwrquhy nor thame yit his particular movis me within this caiss to writt sua affectwnatlie to your Lordship at this present. But rather becaus I am cumit of your Lordshipis hous² and hes gude caus to love your self I am compellit of dewty to put your Lordship in remembrance for your honour for the affectioun I beare to sae the samyn adwantit.³ For this caiss tuicheis your Lordship nerare nor perchance every man will tell yow. I loke for the ansuer of the last lettir I writt to my Lord Duke⁴ and your Lordship that thaireftir I may writt resolatlie to the Erle Sussix. In the meintyme gif your Lordship will command me ony uther service I am reddy to obey. And sua I commit your Lordship to the protectioun of God. From Blair in Athole, the tent day of Junii 1570. Your Lordshipis allwyis to command.

100 Atholl to Glenorchy

GD112/39/6/21

10 June 1570⁵

To his traist frende and counssing the Laird of Glenurquhay

Right traist freind and counssing efter hairtlie commendatioun. I haif ressavit your writting the ix day of this instant and thairbie understandis Ewin MacGregouris prosidingis.⁶ I am myscontentit that ye suld be ony way rakless in thai effearis bot is maist glaid that ye ar sa weill now warnit with sa small skaycht. As to my part in that mater ye salbe swir thair is na thing I haif spokin unto yow bot God wulling I sall keip the samyn. As

¹ Slightly.

² It is not clear how Maitland* was related to Argyll.

³ Advanced.

⁴ Châtelherault*. Maitland's reply to Sussex, 14 June 1570, CSP Scot., iii, 221-2.

⁵ The date on this letter is clearly written as 1569 but, as in Atholl's* draft (101), this is a slip of the pen.

⁶ Atholl received a letter similar to 96 in which Grey Colin described the Glenlyon incident.

alsua that quhilk ye haif my wret upoun and suld haif haid furth the men or now wor nocht the cumming of syndre freindis to Dunkeld and heir that I mycht nocht refuiss quhilk hes stayit me langer on cumin heir nor I beleiffit. Now I sall mak sic hest as I may and put thame out with all diligens. As to the executioun of thame that ar in handis at your douncuming, we sall comunicat togidder for the best. And in the mentyme dout ye nocht bot thai salbe veiray swirlie keippit. The Secreter being heir with me I thocht guid to wryt to my Lord of Argyll him self in this mater. And hes causit the Secreter do the lyk quhilkis plesis [sic] yow ressave and send to his Lordship gif ye think the samyn best. Ressave the dowble of the wryttys quhairbie ye may considder gif ye will send thame or nocht.¹ I wald my Lord of Argyll understand na less bot that ye may nocht be left in this causs nor yit na uther your just actioun salang as ye do your awin dewetie as b...² I think best ye suld cum rather to Balloch nor remane quhair ye ar³ ... sa...eris I fynd borne to yow thair. Always tak guid attendance ... yow to ... self and your freindis and ony uthir skaycht tane cum we ... willing gif God pleis to be equall thairwith and bettir gyf ... nocht. Bot I sall do my part God wulling and that deid sall de... ..⁴end I have na newis till advertess yow at this present ... gif ye sall understand thaim. Sua efter my hairtlye commendatiouns to my ewill tenent your bedfallow. Committis you to God fra ... the x day of Iun 1569. Yours at powar.

101 Atholl to Argyll (draft)

GD112/39/4/8

10 June 1570,⁴ Blair Atholl

[No address]

My Lord efter my maist hartlie commendatioun. I dout nocht bot your Lordship heirand in the asswraince haid betuix your Lordship and me at Dalkeyt and siclyk in the last appontment maid betuix us befoir my Lord of Huntlye quhat heddis to ...⁵ your Lordshipis part to do concernyng the Clangregor.⁶ Yit I understand sensyn dyvers tymes that the Lard of Glenurquhayis tennentis and serwandis hes ressavit skayth be thame and now laitlie hes hard quhow Ewin MacGregor and his complicis lay besyd the castell of Glenurquhay and did thai lay in thaim gif God haid sufferat the samyn to haif slaine the Lard of Glenlyoun and supponis na less nor

¹ Secretary Maitland's and Atholl's letters (99, 101).

² Ellipses represent damage to MS.

³ Grey Colin was probably based at the west end of Loch Tay at Ilanran.

⁴ This is the draft of Atholl's* letter mentioned in 100. It also is dated 1569 instead of 1570.

⁵ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁶ The assurances concluded at Dalkeith and before the earl of Huntly at the Haugh of Weem on 26 Feb. and 24 Mar. 1570 (95).

thai intenddit the lyk towarttis the Lard of Glenurquhay him self. Quhilk attempt I think suld be veray onessufferable to yowr Lordship that ony sic odios and wickit men suld presume to mell with sic honest men of your Lordshipis bluid and house. And the mater twchis your Lordship the mair that it is spokin plane heir that thai wer furnessit be men in your awin cuntrey to the saymin effect. Quairof I pray your Lordship maist ernistlie to tak swir tryall and siclyk to mak sic pwnissment heirunto as accords to your Lordshipis awin honour maist weichtlie. For thair is nane that vald put hand on your Lordshipis bluid bot I sall be wulling to rewenge the saymin at all tymes efter ... And thir thingis that ar done is all within your Lordshipis boundis bayth be furnessang mantenance and ressait. Desyring your Lordship effectiousle as of befoir to appone¹ your self herto and to expell the Clangregor out of your boundis and declair your eneme unto thame. For now I think ye haif mekle mair occasioun nor of befoir that I may understand the saymin swirlie be way of deid lyk as I sall nocht feill till do all thingis to your Lordship as wes spokin betuix us and forther as your Lordship will requyir me according to my dewetie. I wret to your Lordship of befoir towarttis the Lard of Glennis besines and ressavit na ansuir thair of.² Thairfoir deseyris your Lordship to lat me understand your mynd heirintill in wryt with this berar. Sua committis your Lordship to God. From Blair in Atholl the x day of Junii 1569 ...

102 Sir William Murray of Tullibardine to Duncan Campbell of Glenlyon
GD112/39/6/13

13 June 1570,³ Dunkeld

To his traist frynd the Lard off Glenlyon

Rycht traist frynd. I dowit nocht bott ye vill remember upoun my goishalk and to send hir to me for I think my selff als assurit off hir as sche woir sittand upoun my hand. Nocht dowlant bott ye vill do heirin as ye think gud as ye sell fynd me villing to do to yow all ye plesoir that I may as knawis God quhil and preserff yow. And nocht omittand my hertle commendatiouns to yow and biddis yow fairwell from Dunkell this xiii off Iune. Be youris at his powar.

[PS] I vois skant off paper at the makin heiroff.

¹ Oppose.

² Possibly John Lyon, 8th Lord Glamis.

³ Tullibardine* was with Grandtully* on 10 June 1570 (98), probably at Dunkeld, and on 20 June he wrote to John Fenton from Blair Atholl, GD112/39/6/14.

103 Argyll to William Maitland of Lethington GD112/39/7/13

14 June 1570,¹ Dunoon

To my Lord Secretar

My Lord eftir maist hertlie commendatious. I ressavit your Lordshipis writting and understandis the same quairof the maist part to anentis the Clangregor. Your Lordship salbie assurit that sen my promeis maid to my Lord of Athole² thai have haid na refuge within my cuntre nor samekill as meit or drink except gif it be as the wolf cumis to scholis over the master and heistis pur ...³ folkis.⁴ For albeit I haid maid na promeis to my Lord of Atholl yit I can niver ... be content that ony quha molestis my cousing the Lard of Glenurquhay ... as he standis faythfullie be me suld have resett within my cuntrae. And God willing I sall convene my freindis and tak sic ordor schortlie anent thame as thai sall nother haif refuge nor assistens within my boundis. And gif thai be assistit be ony within my cuntre I sall mak sic punisment upoun thame as thai quhome to thai have offendit salbe content bayth for my promeis caus maid to my Lord of Athole and for my said cousingis caus. Als anentis the ansuer of your Lordshipis uther writting I have send ane ansuer quhilk I belief your Lordship hes ressavit or now. For the present committis yow to the protectioun off God. Off Dunnune the xiiii day of Junii 1570. Your Lordshipis asswritly.

[PS] Gyf your Lordship wald send part of your nowallis tha suld be wolcwm.

104 William Maitland of Lethington to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/7/15

17 June 1570, Blair Atholl

To my veray assurit gud frend the Lady Glenurquhay

Eftar my maist harty commendationis. I ressavit this day your letters geaving me thankis for my wryting to my Lord off Argyle.⁵ Quhilk wes nocht nesser for it is my dewty to do be yow and youris asuirke⁶ as for ony scho in Scotland and I will do it with as guid will quhayravr I may haiff the moyen.⁷ I beleive ye know quhat puissance⁸ ye haiff owyr me and giff ony thing be negleckit on my part that ye wald haiff me doand it fallit rathar in your defalt that puttis me nocht to charge nor it nather that

¹ Reply to Maitland's* letter of 10 June 1570 (99).

² The Dalkeith agreements: Atholl's* letter, 30 May 1570 (95).

³ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁴ The precise meaning of this proverbial saying is unclear.

⁵ Maitland's* letter to Argyll, 10 June 1570 (99).

⁶ Assuredly.

⁷ Power or means.

⁸ Influence.

salbe willing to obey as ye will command. I hope to see yow before I depart off this country. In the meanetyme I will nocht trouble yow with longer wryting bot commit yow to the protection of God. From the Blayr in Athoill this xvii off Junii 1570. Youris to command to my letle powar.

[PS] My wyfe¹ hes hir hartly recommendit to yow.

105 Atholl to William Stewart of Grandtully² GD112/39/7/16

17 June 1570, Blair Atholl

To his cousing the Lard of Granttulye; To the rycht honorabill Lard of Glenurquhay

Cousing efter hertlye commendatioune. I haif resawit your wryting as in ansuer to the Laird of Glenourquhaye. I haif wrytin to him that I sale heist owt the watches als sone as I maye quhilk God willing I sall nocht omit to do. Makrannald³ is gane hame and hes promiseit to send men to me. And as for the mene that ar to be haid heirawaye I sall not fail to haif thame to gidder this nixt owk. Bot I beleif or the wictuall and silver be clene gadderit and that we get thame owt it salbe Wedsondaye.⁴ I haif resavit na newiss sene my last wryting to yowe. Mary sic wrytingis as I haif resawit fra the Erllis of Huntly and Argyle ye wil resaif thame and keip thame weile. I ame to be God willing at merchis betuix me and the Barroun Cunsone⁵ in Muling⁶ this nixt Wedinsday quhair I wil desyr yowe ernstlye to be for the samin affect suppoiss ye wiss aye to be againis me on sic caissis I wil desyr yowe to be thair. Resaif the copie of the wryting I haif send to the Erle of Argyle⁷ quhilk ye sall keip with the rest and sa fair ye weill. Of Blair the xvii of Junii 1570. Youris.

106 John Campbell of Lawers to Glenorchy GD112/39/12/12

19 June 1570,⁸ Perth

To the rycht honorabill and his fathir⁹ the Laird of Glenwrquhay

¹ Mary Fleming.

² The letter was later readdressed to Colin Campbell of Glenorchy.

³ Ranald MacDonald of Keppoch*.

⁴ 21 June.

⁵ It is not clear who Baron Cunsone might be, or whether this is a son of a baron.

⁶ Probably Moulin, near Pitlochry.

⁷ This is the letter of 10 June 1570 (101).

⁸ Refers to receiving Grey Colin's letter on Saturday, 17 June 1570 (not extant) in which the Glenlyon incident was described: Introduction.

⁹ John* was married to Beatrix, Grey Colin's daughter by his first wife, Margaret Stewart: Appendix C.

Rycht honourable Sir and fathir eftir my maist hertlie commendationis. I have ressavit your wreting thes Settirday the xvii of thes instant makand mentioun that ye wait I haf heard tell quhow the Clangregor wald haif persewit yow and the Laird of Glenlione of your liffis bot it yid¹ againis thame prisit be God. Quhair of I prais God inlik maneir that they come nocht to thair intent bot I heard na suirle of thair persuit quhill the ressait of your wreting. Als that I be rebemberit [sic] thairis ane contract betuix yow and me to tak plaine parte with yow in all your lesome² auctiounis and spetiallie aganis the Clangregor and that now is the tyme.³ Thairfoir promis me to cum and remaine in Laweris and ye sall caus the contre men await wpone me quhane I haif to do or geve ...l...⁴ hed rather pass quhair ye ar ye will send men to convoy me quhat day I will appointt and thair to tak sic parte... the Laird of Glenlioun dois and geve I do moy... nocht lippin in mein tyme cuming. As tuiching the contract betuix ws I have beyne willing to keip the pointtis thairof and geve I can do better I wald sa lif se yow according to reasoun. Bot at thes presente I could nocht assure yow quhaire I ... to remaine in Lawiris nor yit pass quhair ye ar ... quhay as your dessyre was and that be reassone no... of day is appointtit betuix me and the Laird of Cal... making securitie anentis the contract betuix his sone ... sisters. Nochtwithstanding I wilbe ready in thes me... at all tymes to setforthwartis your gued and howes at poware. And quhair ye think schame of the ... rinis wpone me that I am slak in your author... discontentit to here my Lord of Argle and ... freindis tell quhow I have nocht kept ... As to that quhane it sall pleis yow or ony ... to accuse me of promeis breaking befoir thay not... onderstand thay sall nocht find me altogethre in the w... quhow promeisses ar kept on athir syde. I am contentit to abi... the jugement of honest freindis. Your wreting beris ... but it is nocht at the point as I am informit nor is able to be haestalie. Thair is na informatioun gevin me that sall st... from setforthwartis your lesome auctiounis as affeiris geve ye wald accept the samyn ar that and tak the samen to procede of gud will. Wtherwyiss I dessyre nocht ye burding me... Hawing no further occasioun to wreit at thes presente as for newis thairis nane bot the Lordis of the Kingis fauctioun ... venis in Strueling on Mononday the xix and sall chese ane Regent. And God bless yow. From Perth the xix day of this instant. Yowris sone at his poware.

¹ Went.

² Lawful.

³ This was the general bond made for mutual assistance against the MacGregors, 6 May 1569, GD112/1/176-7; BBT, 213-14, and the specific agreement between Grey Colin and John of Lawers of 9 May 1569, GD112/65/1/3.

⁴ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

107 William Stewart of Grandtully to Glenorchy GD112/39/12/11

Wednesday, 21 June 1570,¹ Grandtully

To the rycht honorabill Lard off Glenwrquhay

Sir I hef hard of the lait trubbil don to yow quharof I am ewyn als sory as your slef [sic]. Gif I mycht remeid the samyn I hef writyn to my Lord of Atholl the maner thairof and I am rycht swyr he wilbe weray miscontentit thairwyth. I sal adverteis yow as I get wourd fra hym againe bot he is presently huntand and lyand out in the far Munthis.² Sir I pray yow maist ernstly as ane that luffis bayth your weill and honour as deid sal declair eftyr my powar to be merry and tak als litil thocht of that materis as ye may for in wyris the chance succedis as ples God quhay I am swyr will releiff yow. Trewly I thynk ewyn to se yow offtymes als myrry eftyr mony guid chans as ye ar now sory eftyr this. The help that sum freindis may do efter thair powar in al places sal never inlak³ thair wilbe yit tymes and dayis eftyr al this. For newis I hef nayne to writ to yow bot that the Regent is presently takand the Doun of Munteith and it is said thairis ane gret army of England cumand in with gret mwntioun to sege the castell of Edynburth and the Abay is preparrand for my Lady Regent quha is to cum out of England to it writ the rest to yow of befor. I pray yow adverteiss me that ye ar merry and blyith. This efter my hartliest commendatioun committis yow to the protectioun of God. Writyn from Grantullye this Wednesday be youris awyn.

[PS] I pray yow Sir be nocht rass in followyng and lychtly ...⁴ armeis over far bot exteme thame men of wyir.

108 Dougal MacDougall of Dunollie to Glenorchy GD112/39/7/18

27 June 1570, Dunollie Castle

To his maist speciall frend and eme Collyn Campbell off Glenwrquhar

Rycht honourable Sir and assurit eme efter maist hertlyest commendatiounis. I haif ressavit yow [sic] wretyng and considerit the samyn towart the setting furth off my men conforme to my Lordis dissyre and yowris.⁵ Ye salbe assurit that thai salbe at yow in Glenwrquhar upon

¹ The letter refers to the Glenlyon incident and to Regent Lennox besieging the Doune of Menteith on 19 June 1570: *CSP Scot.*, iii, 219. The next Wednesday was 21 June and a week later (Wednesday, 28 June) Grandtully* wrote a letter to Grey Colin, GD112/39/7/22.

² Atholl* was hunting in the Grampians.

³ Fall short.

⁴ Ellipsis represents damage to MS.

⁵ Argyll's letter, 8 June 1570 (109).

Satterday¹ at ewyn with the chifteinis as I spak to yow of the quhilk ye wilbe content. Alss I sall send the namis of my men in wrete to yow and thaim that cumis nocht bayth ye and I sall towart thaim quhen tyme occuris and remember on thaim. Alss quhar ye wrete that this byssynes ryndis to² yowr honour ye salbe assurit that quhat I may do under God sayfand my Lord of Argyllis honour is and salbe reddy at your command and the rather for your adwertisment off the samyn ondowdy. Alss quhar ye bad me spek Gillespik MacEan MacKallen I hayf done the samyn alreddy as I had commissioun of yow. Towart that byssynes ye sall wit that sayfand my Lordis honour and ye getand his leyf and als ye knawand how my Lord of Atholl and his serwandis ar myndit to him and his fader and frendis and the hoyll men off Bray Coaldych. That beand appoyntit he wilbe at command and will not mak nay sure promiss unto the tyme that I cum and talk yow in forder byssness towart him. And toward MacIanis attour ye sall wit assuritly that it is trewly spokyn to me and tald me effecteously that the Klan Dondochy³ hes promistit faythfully to tak MacIanis and deliver him to Johne Campell⁴ and his sonis as ane contract maid betuix thaim beiris. Thairfor I pray yow and assure yow that ye stay him fray cuming to thaim in ony wyss or ellis he wilbe in handis for he wes lattly in talkyn with thaim. Thairfor do efter your wisdoun to sayf him as I dowt not bot ye will. Attour becauss thare is sum secretis in this wretyng I pray yow efter the redyng and consideryng off the samyn that ye ryf⁵ the samyn that nane unfrendis get the samyn nor rede it. As I dout nocht bot ye will the rather for this my request. Hayfand na forder occasioun at this present bot referis the rest to yowr nyxt adwertisment and the eternall hayf yow in his protexioun. At Dunollycht the 27 June 1570. Be youris gud frend and eme at all power to command as knawis God reddy.

[PS] The wreter heiroyf Jhone Salmond⁶ makis his hertlyest recommendatouns and serwyss to your Maister and to Andro Quhite and Jamis Ruthwen and all serwandis.

¹ 1 July.

² Touches upon.

³ Probably the Campbells of Inverawe.

⁴ Possibly Lochnell.

⁵ Tear up.

⁶ John Salmond was a notary public and a burgess of Perth, 23 Oct. 1572, AT, vi, 193c; Introduction.

109 John Stewart of Appin¹ to Glenorchy GD112/39/7/19

27 June 1570, Castle Stalker, Appin²

To the rycht honorabill man and his maister Colin Campbell of Glenwrquhay gyf this

Rycht honourable Syr efter maist hartly commendatiounis. I haive sein your Mastershipis writting desyring me to send xviii men to yow with Donald Na Nord and with Donald Oig. The quhilk men salbe in redines God willyng the day that your Mastership affixit with als abill men of sa mony as beis in the cuntray. And so committs your Mastership to the protectioun of God. From Ellanstalkir the xxvii day of Junii 1570. Be your Mastershipis assurit freind and serwant at power.

110 Atholl to Glenorchy GD112/39/7/21

28 June 1570,³ Blair Atholl

To his rycht traist cousing the Laird off Glenorquhaye

Rycht traist cousing efter meist hertlye commendatiounes. Hes resawit your writing in the quhilk is contenit the ordour quhilk is tane at this last conwocation of my Lord of Argylls in Inweiraraye was towartis the Clangregor. And that it was concludit that the said Clane suld cum and submit thaim selfis to my Lord of Argyll or ellis pass in exyill out the tyme that I and ye war satefiet with thame. As for thair submitting thaim selfis to my Lord of Argyll I wilbe glaid thairwith prowying alwaies promeiss be keipit to me. As for thair passing in exyill sua thai keip the samin as ye wryt that sall nocht be the warst to ws becauss the releifin of thame is in our handis gif thai outgang in ...⁴ Quhair ye wryt that in caice thai do nen of the promesseis thair is viii^{xx} prowdyt to persew thame of my Lord of Argylls and his freindis agane the penult daye of this moneth. Thairfoir ye desyr me to haif my folkis in redines again the day foir said. I ame glaid of my Lord of Argylls gud mynd and wit he schawis to persewe the Clangregor and prais to God it continew quhilk wilbe for the commonne weill gif sa bies. And as for my men I haif bein doand diligence for thair ow [sic] putting and sall expect ... the haistier in respect of the causes foirsaid ...

¹ On 23 June 1570 Appin* had given his bond of caution for two captives held by Grey Colin, GD112/1/183a. On 4 Dec. 1570, he entered into a bond of manrent with Grey Colin at Balloch Castle, GD112/1/192; *BBT*, 215.

² Stewart must have satisfied the contract of 13 Mar. 1568 when he promised to bring to law Duncan MacGregor of Roro *et al.* in return for which Argyll would restore to him Castle Stalker, GD112/1/172.

³ Grandtully* and Maitland* also wrote letters to Grey Colin on 28 June 1570, GD112/39/7/22, 7/24.

⁴ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

the men to send furthe owt of my cuntre ... be ... wate tharfoir I haif send to Lochabir for men o ... Lyon quhilkis I beleif salbe at me or this w... at ye sall nocht be ferit for my part for God willing the deids salbe sufficient pruf thairof. Thairfoir w... mayr concerning this purpoiss till forder occasiounes. ... wryting to Erle of of [sic] Lennox to desyr him nocht to haif to do ... Clangregor ... I sall find sum waye for to haif ye samin ... him ... the lyk for your part. As towartis the mater wryting to ... my Lord of Argyle and his wyf¹ quhilk ye sayd is ane great bardene onto him. And that ye haif latin him to onderstand² thairis na better waye to releif him thairof nor be my means sua I wald labour thairin quhairof he is partlye rowsit³ hoiping that I will provyde my self freindly to that affect. For ansuer thairto to safar this ... may extend to at his wywis hand ye maye schaw this ... the samin salbe bestowit to his affect I wald be ... gevand this labororis and trawell thairinto tuk sic factes as mycht content his Lordship first and scho to be satefiet to accord to his Lordship plesour. And for getting of hir ansuer heiranent I haif derekit this samin daye ane serwand to hir. I will nocht tak wpone me I haif sic credit at hir hands bot yit it that I haif salbe usit in the causs foirsaidis. As for the purpoiss that Johane Steuart of the Appin hes schawin yowe concerning the Clan Ewin WikEwin⁴ I pray yow desyr him to trawell thairintill and to spur thame to that affect and gif thai do ony thing that is wirthe reward ye salbe juge thairintill. For my part I haif send to thaim my self quho gifis me guid wordis heiranentt I wat nocht quhat thai will do. As for newiss ye sall onderstand that wpone the Abbat of Dunfermlingis and Maister Randwelsis⁵ cuming owt of Ingland it was supponit that matteris suld haif bein takin wp that ar in differ. Quhilk I trowe suld haif bein gif a lytill suspitioune haid nocht resin in Ingland amangis thaim selfis be the speiking of the Bischope of Ross⁶ with sum Englishmane in ane quyet maner. The Lord Leweistowne was cumand hame frome owour Quen and is stait in Annikis⁷ for the causs aboue wryting. Quhat sal cum of the matter yit I knawe nocht. Bot I cane not persaisf bot yit materis salbe takin up quhilk war guid gif sa war for the common weill. Thair bies ane conwensione in Edinburtht the xii day of this nixt monethe quhair the heill lordis of the Kingis factione were thai ar all wrytin for be thair that war in Streweling at this last conwensione. I ame wrytin for amangis the rest I wat ... I wilbe

¹ The long estrangement between Argyll and the countess* which finally ended in divorce in 1573; see the countess's letter to Atholl, 2 July 1570 (111).

² Let him understand.

³ Stirred to action.

⁴ Cameron sept led by Donald MacEwan Cameron*.

⁵ Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline, and Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador.

⁶ John Leslie, bishop of Ross and supporter of Queen Mary.

⁷ William, 6th Lord Livingston, kept at Alnwick in Northumberland.

thair. I heir saye the weir continewis yit in France ... men ar in redines in Flanders to cum in Scotland. This is all I haif ...lye to adverteiss yowe of. As onye forder sall occur yowre ... the samin. I praye yowe that ye will prowid me half ... of merleonis in steid of utheris halkis for I will nocht ... to charge with nen uther harkis this yeir samony as ye ... be fee males and nocht tarsales.¹ Ye will mak my hartlie commendatione to my ewill tennent. And God preserwe yow. Of Blair in Athoill the xxviii daye of Juni 1570. Youris at powir.

[PS] Thair is ane serwand of my Lord of ... derekit to my Lord off Argyle ... I praye yow to causs conwoy to him. I wald desyr yowe affecteouslye to ... conform of the crying of the ... quha dailly empeschis² me for his silwer.

111 Jean Stewart, countess of Argyll to Atholl GD112/39/8/1
2 July 1570,³ Stirling

To my Lord the Erle of Atholl

My Lord eftir my maist hartlie commendatiounis. I haif rasawit yowre Lordshipis lettir and be that undirstand ye tr...k⁴ gud mynd and remembrece that ye haif hed ... qwhair in I think me addettit to yow als weill as it hes tane effect bot I lwikit nocht for na bettir at that ongrait manis hand.⁵ And in the main tyme I man tak the best of it qwhill God send bettir. For is my mynd thairuntil that yowre Lordship dissyris to know ye selbe esswrit that indwren⁶ my dayis I will nawir altir my mynd wther wayis nor it was of befoir. And thinkis that na freind hes ony occatioun to me to do wther wayis. Nocht willing to truble yow with langer lettir bot commitis yow to the protectioun of God. Fra Stirling this sacund day of Jwlie. Your Lordshipis mest loving and asuret cusing.

112 Atholl to Glenorchy GD112/39/8/4
8 July 1570, Blair Atholl

To his rycht trest cussing the Lard of Glenurquhay

Rycht trest cussing efter my hartly commendatiouns. Ye sall onderstand

¹ Atholl wanted merlins, not other types of hawk, and only female hawks, no tercel (males).

² Bothers or hinders.

³ See Atholl's letter of 28 June 1570 (110) which indicates that the countess of Argyll had already been in correspondence with Atholl over her marital problems: Introduction.

⁴ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁵ Presumably her husband, Argyll.

⁶ During or throughout.

that the Clanewin¹ hes promussit now to fulfyll that quhilk lang abeffor that quhilk thair condesioun² was quhilk is to persew the Clangregor to the wttermaist quhilk I thocht goud to mak yow adwertisement. Yit thay feir that in cuming throcht your boundis for this affek that your serwandis and the Erlls off Argyllis quha ar now put furthe sall do thaim harme. Thair for wald haiff your assurranche that thay may freily pass throcht your cuntray for doing off the caussis forsaid quhilkis I think ye can nocht refuis.³ Asalsua [sic] thinkis best that ye gat thaim onderstand be soum way frome yow that ye will be thair freind gyff thai keip thair promeiss towart the persewing off the Clangregor and that thay sall haiff fre passage throw your cuntray they keipand thair condesioun. In the primyss gif ye think ony wayis this purpoiss no goud adverteiss me again wtherwayis send me the assurranche to ...⁴ forsaid. Sua nocht willing to troubill yow ony forder at this present. Committis yow to God. From Blare in Atholl this viii day of July be your ...

[PS] I haiff bein trewelland with my Lady Argyle tuiting the purpoiss⁵ ye knaw ye sall resaiff hir ansur again to me in wreit quhair be ye may persaiff hir mynd.⁶ I haiff writtin to my Lord Drummond and soum wtheris in Stratherne anent the Clengregor as ye may persaiff be the coppeis thairof quhilk ye sall resaiff fra this berrar.⁷

113 Patrick Murray of Tibbermuir to Lady Glenorchy GD112/39/7/1

10 July 1570,⁸ Perth

To the rycht honorabill and hes special ant my Lady Glenurquhay

Maistres efter maist hertly commendaciouns of service. This salbe to certefie your Ladyship that I rasavit your wreiting direct fra your Ladyship at midsomer with William Ruthven my cousing to rasave fra your Ladyship be hym ane tarsell of goshalk⁹ quhilk I did quhair of I thank your Ladyship maist hertfullie. Bot the berar heid brokyn hes bac quarthrouch he culd do me na plesour. Bot I am informit that your Ladyship heis ane goshalk

¹ Donald MacEwan Cameron* was serving Grey Colin (127), but his 'help' caused problems: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 380.

² Agreement.

³ Grey Colin gave this assurance on 13 July 1570, GD112/43/2/3.

⁴ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁵ Presumably, touching the purpose.

⁶ The marital problems between Argyll and Countess of Argyll*, probably enclosing (111).

⁷ There are draft letters dated 11 July 1570 from Atholl* to David, 2nd Lord Drummond*, John Comrie of Comrie, Robert Murray of Abercairney and William Reidheugh of Cultybraggan, GD112/39/8/7-8.

⁸ Tibbermuir* refers to receiving a letter from Katherine at Midsummer, 21 June, and to the choosing of Regent Lennox in July 1570.

⁹ A tercel or male goshawk.

albeit it be halkyn baid¹ gyf it pleses your Ladyship to bestow hir on me sic as ye do to uther of your Ladyshipis freindis I salbe als willing to recompance as I may with my gude mynd as plessis you to command me. For I knaw and is informit of your Ladyship hes meikle to do with gude fallowis and gude bowmen bot quhenewer it ples you to command me ...ane² bow or may to a gude fallow that will schaw for a ladies saik and in special thaim that ar ennemeis bayth to God and man. I sall as plessis your Ladyship to advertess me send your Ladyship sic as I hawe. And nocht only to send you ony armour that I hawe bot also at your Ladyshipis command to gyf my body with it sua the actoun be nocht agans God nor his glore the commonewelth of this pure cuntrey. Bot allace I fear ye have schakyn handis with Egypt and I never luikit for your punyschment utorly quhill now. And that becaus I se you enterit in leig and covenant with the Babilonians in ather of your handis.³ Bot becaus ye ar ane waik veschell and ane woman God strenthen yow in your afflicciounis as he did to trew Juda. Bot to impesche your Ladyship with saidis wreit I will nocht bot I will never be resolut of ye Lard your Ladyshipis husband in my conscience als I heir of your defecciounis frome God and hym that restis with God⁴ unto the tyme I speik with yow face to face quhilk salbe als plessis your Ladyship to command me. Na maruellin thir dayis thot ladeis be onconstant to God and the varld becaus I se it is na new thing for I fand lordis and all lesser subiectis to the samyn without the speciale assistance of the spirit of God. ... Ye man tak my hamelie and scincir wwriting in the best part becaus the greif of my herte is sua dolouris to heir of your gryt defeccioun frome God. God grant it may be uthervayis. As for newis yowr Ladyship desyrit me in your last letter wryt me nocht that send yow nane. For the berar come in to me to onsave ansuer and that becaus he saw the halkis bac brokyn quhilk your Ladyship sentten belevand I suld hawe bene crabit thairat quhilk I vess. And I vyst your Ladyship heid ane uther in your handis to send me quhen your Ladyship plesis. As for newis now thairis nane heir bot the Kyngis counsall convenis in Edinburg the xii of this instant to choysa regent to Hes Maieste quhilk I belewe salbe His Graceis gudscher my Lord of Lennox.⁵ As uther newis occurris in ther partis I sall advertteis your Ladyship with the nixt that cumis betuixis. Bot your faccioun now laikis for France and as for England God grant with hes hevynly will and plessour we quyl efter that vay. Reffarris the rest to your Ladyship and advertisement. And the spreit of the Lord Jesus rest with your Ladyship

¹ A bold or fierce female hawk.

² Ellipses represent damage to MS.

³ These biblical references to Egypt and Babylon were his descriptions of Katherine's and Grey Colin's links with the queen's party in the civil war: Introduction.

⁴ A reference to Regent Moray.

⁵ Matthew Stewart, 4th earl of Lennox, the king's grandfather.

for ever. Of Perth the x of this instant. Be your Ladyship awn cousing at command.

[PS] Sen the dait of this wreiting I am adverteising that the present Kyng of France hess slenkyn ane feild and the protestantis victore blessit be the Lord our God of ... and ... slauchter on the Kyngis syde.

114 Ranald MacDonald of Keppoch to Atholl GD112/39/8/6

10 July 1570, Keppoch, Lochaber

To my Lord and meister the Erll of Atholl

Jesus.¹

My Lord and Maister I commend my service hartlie to yow. Your Lordships serwand Neill hest schavyn me your Lordships mynd anentis the Clangregor and also that your Lordship wess nocht content that I send nocht men to yow.² As to that my Lord I am in redinese beith my self and my men quhon evir your Lordship plasis to dissayr me. I haiff ne gydis that keness the cuntrais³ that thai viss instantle nocht the less your Lordship salbe assouerit gif I gett one way to cum be thaim I sall do dilligence. And now instantle my Lord I and my men is redde giff your Lordship will desayr me to your self. Bot I heir that the Campbellis and the Clancameron is ebill to pass furth instande. Quhairfor my Lord I wald that thai heid thair awyn tym and your Lordships men and I our awin tym abovith. And so I refer this to your Lordships plesour for I heiff ne will that we and the Lord Argylls men or the Clancameron suld meith wder.⁴ Refaring the rest to your advertisiment and God kipe yowr Lordship. At the Keppoch the x day off Jule 1570. Be your Lordships servand at puar.⁵

115 William Stewart of Grandtully to Glenorchy GD112/39/8/10

13 July 1570,⁶ Grandtully Castle

To the rycht honorabill Lard of Glenwrquhay

Sir I hef resavit your writyn heir this day be xi houris afoir noyne bot ye know my Lord of Athollis ansur culd nocht be hed say schortlye as ye desyre for that wer onpossebil. And I marwell that ye suld desyre sic an

¹ This single word invocation is placed centrally above the rest of the letter.

² See 17 June 1570 (105).

³ There was a need for guides even over relatively short distances.

⁴ The hazard of three feuding clans, the Campbells, the Camerons and the MacDonalds of Keppoch, meeting at the same muster!

⁵ The signature is in the same hand as the letter, so Keppoch probably could not sign his name.

⁶ Grey Colin's assurance for the Clan Cameron was completed at Ilanran on 13 July 1570, GD112/43/2/3.

wrytyng of my Lord of Atholl for the Clanchamron desyris your assurance to the effect thai may do yow plesuir and nay ewil as we onderstand. And quhair ye desyre my wrytyng that the Clanchamron suld do yow nay skayth gif my Lord of Athollis mycht nocht be schortlye hed I wait wiel ye hed rather hef ane uther warrand for your skayth nor me consaderyng that ye ar never abil to get skayth nor disspleseir nowther quhair I may help it. And I marwell quhairfor ye thynk that the Clanchameron suld do yow ony skayth at this present. Always gif ye pleiss to send ane assurance accordyn to the desyre of my Lord of Athollis wrytyng I sal haist it to hym quhow schoyne it cumis heir. As towart the men my Lord of Atholl suld put furth be assurit he derekkit thaim to yow on Sunday last¹ and as he schew me bald thaim pass to yow and quhat ever ye commandit thaim to vise thair slefis [sic] thairefter. Bot sen thai ar nocht cumyn to yow I can nocht byd yow lypyn nay guid to thame nor yit writ ony forther to my Lord for thaim, bot I sal haist wourd to his Lordship instantly of thair doying lat hym do thairefyr as he pleiss. Yon man aperandly hes litil wil of the matr get wtheris gif he wil. Say refferis al uther to your nixt ansair and committis yow to God. From Grantullye this xiii of July be xii horis or thair by your awyn.

116 Annabella Murray, countess of Mar to Glenorchy GD112/39/13/7

Friday, 14 July 1570,² Stirling Castle

To my eme the Lard Gleinorchar

Eme efter my werie hartlie commendatiounes. I wes commandit be my Lord³ to make yow this adverteisment be ressonne of his awin haistie departure with my Lord Regentis Grace hering that the Capitanes suddartis wer wschit,⁴ and being advertesit be my Lord of Mortoun that a viixx of the principallis of thame wer on the sie mynding to persew Capitane Wemis men being on this other side of the watter in Fyif. My Lord of Mortoun is on this side with a xii or xii^c men and in thair boitting hes tane xxvi of thame. Sua my Lord prayis yow to excuis him that he may nocht keip his tryist with yow at Tullibardin⁵ and desiris yow that ye will

¹ 9 July.

² Captain Wemyss and his troops were being chased by Lords Lindsay, Ruthven* and Methven who travelled across the Forth on Friday, 14 July 1570 according to Randolph's report to Sussex, 16 July 1570: *CSP Scot.*, iii, 265. Wemyss and about 120 of his men surrendered a few weeks later: Randolph to Sussex, 14 Aug. 1570, *CSP Scot.*, iii, 316-17.

³ John Erskine, earl of Mar.

⁴ Soldiers had sallied forth.

⁵ This seems to have been an attempt at reconciliation between the king's and queen's parties, 28 July 1570 (123).

schaw this to my Lord of Argile and pray him to remaine ane tua or thre dayis langer and he sall nocht fail to be at yow as I doupt nocht he sall mak your self adverteisment schortlie. Remitting the rest thairto sua I commit yow to the protectioun of the eternall. Fra Stirling Castell this Fryday. Your ant at powar.

[PS] My Lord biddis yow cum nocht to Tullibardin quhill he mak yow adverteisment for he hoipis to haif ane at yow and to be thair himself rycht schortlie. And thairfor pray my Lord of Argile to remane ane tua or thre dayis to quhom ye will haif me rycht hartlie recommendit. The Kingis Majestie is rycht blyth (praise to God). The Merschell of Berwick¹ departit this day with thame and ye sall nocht fail to mak ane ernist witting your self to my Lord and direct my brother Alexander² or fail thame of him ane servand of your awin to my Lord the nerreist that he may haif occatioun to refer him self the schoner agane.

117 William Stewart of Grandtully³ to Glenorchy GD112/39/8/11

16 July 1570

[No address]

Sir I resavit your wrytyng and blank and writ ane assurance hard about your subscription and cuttit away the rest ye sal resaiff the copy of the same.⁴ I beleiff it salbe at thame schortly. Ye sal resaiff this wther wrytyng sone be MacRennald to my Lord of Atholl keip it to your slef [sic] only and start nocht thairat.⁵ Ye may persaiff my Lord of Atholl besye rownd about hym anent the Clangregor. Thairfor writ hartly to him and thank hym for the same bot lat hym nocht know that ye onderstand ony thyng anent MacRenald for I send that to yow bot of my slef [sic]. McGillechallumis lasses as thai allege chasit Duncan MacAne Dow in Brai of Rannoche and twyk ane young fallow of his and brocht hym to Blair. Bot my Lord refust hym becaus he ves nocht worrth and bald thaim get better accordyng to thair promiseis gif thai vald hef thair pledgis relewit. I hard my Lord of Athollis men wer in Inchaddyn⁶ on Satterday. Thai ar threttye that guid and culd do veil gif thai plesit thai hed beine xx man ver nocht bydand on MacRennaldis men. Buchquhannan and MacPharlan wer in Stirling with my Lord of Lennox and Master Andrew

¹ Sir William Drury.

² Alexander Murray of Drumfin and Aberlednock.

³ The signature and the placename have been carefully cut out of the manuscript, but the letter contains the characteristic 'slef' of Grandtully*.

⁴ Grey Colin sent a blank or incomplete assurance to which Grandtully added details, destroyed the unused section and returned a copy to Grey Colin, GD112/43/2/3.

⁵ 10 July 1570 (114), Grey Colin was not to be startled or disturbed by its contents.

⁶ Inchadney, the old settlement just east of Kenmore, where Balloch Castle was built.

Abircrummy¹ spak thame quhay said thai suld do that weil and that the Clangregor wer nocht in thair boundis sen thai did yow the last skayth and suld nocht be in tyme cumyng gif thai mycht. I beleiff my Lord of Lennox beis chosen regent. He ves offendit that my Lord of Atholl kept nocht tryist and said gif my Lord of Atholl wald do his dwetye he suld schoyne put ordor to the Clangregor. Ye hef hard the newis of France. It is allegit that thairis xx thowsand men slayne and the Admiral and kyingis brother² bayth deid and mony of the principalis on bayth the sydis. Alwaysis quhw ...³ giff be I trow thai hef met lat and with gret curage. I hef hard nay forther to adverteiss yow of presentlye bot as ye know your slef [sic]. This efter my hartliest commendatiouns. Committis yow to the protectioun of God. From ... this Sunday, the xvi of July 1570. Be.

[PS] I vait quhow thair writyng gettis passage lat thaim tak thair advenntur.

118 Glenorchy to Argyll

GD112/39/8/13

23 July 1570, Kilchurn Castle (Loch Awe)

To my speciall Lord my Lord Earl of Argyll

My Lord efter maist hartlie commendatioun of service. Your Lordship knowis that becaus the water was over the Quoche my riddin horss was put to Croquhan⁴ as your Lordship self sawe. And this last Fryday⁵ I beand at my dennar Duncan Glen and Alexander Pudroch⁶ to the nummer of xxiii men draif the horss out of the coreis towardis Glensthray.⁷ And quhen the cry raiss efter thaim my servandis eschit out of this place in following thaim quhilk quhen thai persavit thai slew the haill horss to the numer of xi gret horss and thairefter entirit thaim selfis in the woddis of Glensthray sua that my servandis culd nocht apprehend thaim. Thai war that neycht in the bra of Glenurquhay⁸ and spuilyeit housses and tuk the spuilye on the morn with thaim to Glenfallocht⁹ quhilk your Lordship knawis is thair daylie refuge. Prayinge your Lordship caus Ewir Campbell¹⁰ put sum remeid thairto. Your Lordship lippennit that Duncan Glen wald

¹ George Buchanan of that ilk* and MacFarlane in discussion with Master Andrew Abercrombie of that ilk.

² Admiral Coligny and Henry, duke of Anjou, neither of whom were killed.

³ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁴ Ben Cruachan.

⁵ 21 July

⁶ Two brothers of Gregor MacGregor of Glenstrae* who were also involved in the raid against Gregor MacAne: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 378-9.

⁷ Glen Strae.

⁸ The Brae of Glen Orchy, towards Glen Strae.

⁹ Glen Falloch.

¹⁰ Ewir Campbell of Strachur who held lands in Glen Falloch.

have maid better service. I regard lytill the slachter of the horss ...¹ the dyspyt is abhominable. My servandis that aucht the horss culd nocht be struchit fra passage to the Fawnis² to have tane efter the said Duncanis horss and geir for recompence of thair awin. Bot I wald nocht suffir thaim quhill your Lordship war first adverteisit. I can nocht suffir my onfreindis to have thair geir sa peceable and myin daylie destroyit and slain. Prayinge your Lordship aperdoun me and my serwandis to tak of thair geir quhill we ma get it. For I am suirlye persuadit that Duncan Glen hes his awin geir in the Fawnis and takis upoun deweties and furnesit be the tennentis thairof daylie. Attouris your Lordship rememberis of sum namis I gaif in tikat³ to your Lordship quhat war participand of the skayths I have gottin thir yeres bygane. And hes hed thair residence this haill yeir bygane with geir wyfis and bairnis within your Lordshipis boundis. Notwithstandinge seing I gaif your Lordship thair namis thai have gottin adverteisment and hes removit thair selfis out of the boundis thai war in. My Lord it hed bein better to me to have haldin my tounge and that thai hed remanit still as thai war nor to have thaim now with the rest of my enimeis usand fyir and sueird agane me and thair wyfis and geir remanand as yit within your Lordshipis boundis. Prayand your Lordship to put remeid thairto as your Lordship thinkis gud. I derectit your Lordshipis writinge to Blair and hes gottin na ansuer thairof as yit and quhowsoun I get ansuer your Lordship salbe advertesit with deligence.⁴

Atour your Lordship sall wit that Malcom Gar MacKinacard hes ane concupein in Glenfyin and sum geir of his awin quha was first and last at my skayth. I beseik your Lordship for your awin honour to expell thair wyfis and bairnis out of your Lordshipis boundis and caus tak up thair geir to your Lordshipis awin behaif. For uther wyss thai wilbe evir resettand my geir and furnesand my enemeis quhilk wilbe ane gret sklandir to your Lordship. Thairis na newis cum to me as yit. Prayinge your Lordship gif your Lordship hes gottin ony to mak me participand sa far as your Lordship

¹ Ellipsis represents damage to MS.

² Strike or fight meaning that Glenorchy's servants could not be prevented from trying to retaliate by raiding Duncan Glen, probably at the ford across the River Awe at Fanans.

³ There are a number of lists of names in the Breadalbane collection but it is not known which one is meant here.

⁴ The following section has been crossed through: 'Atour your Lordship rememberis that I gaif ane tikat to your Lordship to reid contenand the namis of thaim that reset Ewin MacGregor bayth in your Lordshipis boundis and myin sen my couminge in this cuntre and I rememberit nocht to tak it againe fra your Lordship. I wat your Lordship hes gevin it to sum servand in kepinge or thain your Lordshipis brother the Maister hes it quha was redand it with your Lordship. Thairfor prayis your Lordship caus get it and send it to me with this berar.' And the marginal note with no indication of where it should be inserted: 'This tikat was found in the bed quhair your Lordship lugit'.

thinkis gud. The rest referris to your Lordshipis ansuer and sua committis your Lordship to the protectioun of the almechtie God. From Glenurquhay the xxiii of Julii 1570. Be your Lordshipis kynnisman at powar.

119 Argyll to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/8/21

24 July 1570¹

To our ant the Ladye of Glenurquhay

Ant eftir hertlie commendatiouns. We ressavit your lettir and thankis yow hertlie of your novellis. And as to the Clangregor we haif writtin to the Larde your housband² owr....d³ to than of and sall do our utir dilegens thairin for his ... like as ye may persave be the samen. We pray ... letlie to adverteis us how sone ye gett ony intelligens fra ... Lord of Levingstoun⁴ and to awayit upoun his cumming ... of ... thank yow of your gud will thairin fra ... and als thankis yow hertly of tre... umit to our serwand gif we miser m... yow and God villing ye salbe rel... we may do. Thus referring to ... And so committis yow to the protectioun of God. Off ... this ... day of July 1570.

120 John Carswell to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/8/15

26 July 1570, Inishail (top of Loch Awe)

To the rycht honorable the Lady Glenurquhay

Maistres eftir my maist hartlie commendationis. I haif ressavit youre writing and thankis yow maist hartlie of youre adverttismen and I haif writtin to the man ye wat of⁵ and belevis sone eftir the ressaveng of my ansuer to haif conference with him and quhat thairin salhappin tobe performit betuix ws I sall mak your Ladyship participant thairof ather in the Balloch or quhair ye salbe for the tyme with ony uther plessour that lvis in me. I wes past of Inchald yesterday and becaus ane litill young lass of myne wes seik I wes constranit to returne thairinto. And I pray your Ladyship mak myne my bedfallows⁶ commendatiounis to the Lard the young lard and all youre familie. And swa committis youre Ladyship to the protectioun of God. Off Inchald the xxvi day of this instant of July

¹ Day supplied from note on letter in GD50/116/63.

² Argyll as Justice-General signed a commission for Grey Colin and Colin Campbell of Barbreck against the MacGregors, 20 July 1570, GD112/2/117/3/43. Argyll wrote two letters to Grey Colin on 24 July 1570, GD112/39/6/28 and 8/14.

³ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁴ On Lord Livingston's movements among the queen's party, see Maitland's* letter to Huntly, *CSP Scot.*, iii, 278-80.

⁵ Know of.

⁶ Margaret, sister of James Campbell of Ardkinglas*.

1570. Your Ladyshipis awin assurite to command.

121 Duncan Campbell of Duntrune to Glenorchy GD112/39/8/16

27 July 1570, Duntrune Castle¹

To the rycht honorable Collin Campbell of Glenurquhay

Rycht honorable Sir efter hertlie commendationis. Forsamekill as I haif resawit your writting fra this berair desyrand me to send unto yow of my frendis sax abill men to be in houshald with yow and my fostersone.² And as to that I am to pass the morne with certane freindis of myne to my bruther soneis mariaige to Buit and culd nocht guidlie send sik ane nummer of honest men with sik ane sort warnyng becaus the maist part of my freindis that ar abill men gangis with my self at this present. And I sall nocht fail God willing to speik waray sortlie with my Lord of Ergyll and sall luik waray effectuslie gif I may obtein leif fra his Lordship fra all maneir of oisting. And gif I may obteyne leif I sall nocht fail God willing to cum unto yow waray sortlie with sik nummer of honest men as I sall think resonable to wait upon your service and my fostoris. Nocht ellis bot God haif yow in his keiping. Of Duntrune the xxvii day of July threscoir ten yeres. Youris with service to command.

122 Duncan Campbell of Duntrune to Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy³
GD112/39/8/17

27 July 1570, Duntrune Castle

To my foster Duncane Campbell fear off Glenurquhay delyvir this

Rycht honorable Sir and foster efter hertlie commendationis. Forsamekill as I haif resawit your writyne desyrand me to send vi honest men to your faderis service in houshald and youris. And as to that I am to pass waray sortlie to speik with my Lord and gif I may obteyne leif I sall nocht fail to gang thair my self with sik honest cumpny as ye and the Lard salbe plesit of. Bot as for the vi men he desyrit of me instantlie I culd nocht haif thame in reddines now becaus I am to pas to Buit to my bruthoris sonis mariaige. And quhowsonne I speik with my Lord I sall send ane boy with hest to the Lard and to yow. And sall gang waray sortlie thairefter my self efter the word that the Lard sendis me gif I get leif and gif nocht I can nocht send without leif. Nocht ellis, bot God haif yow in his keping. Of

¹ Loch Crinan, Argyll.

² Black Duncan* was the fosterson of Duntrune* (122). The 'old kindness' between the two families was mentioned in the bond of friendship, 23 Dec. 1564; 24 Feb. 1565, GD112/1/156-7; *BBT*, 210.

³ Black Duncan* was Duntrune's* fosterson (121).

Duntroune the xxvii day of July thirscoir tene yeris. Your fostar fader to command.

123 William Stewart of Grandtully to Glenorchy GD112/39/8/19

28 July 1570, Grandtully Castle

[No address]

Rycht honorable Sir efir hartlie commendatioun. I resavit your writting heir this Fryday the xxviii of Julii be ten houris affeir none. And immediatlie resavit ane writting from my Lord of Atholl desyring me maist ernstlie to meit his Lordship this nycht in Dunkell to pass withe him to Tullibarne or fordwarttis to Stirling as occasioun wald serwe. I suppone it be to speik my Lord Regent or ellis my Lordis of Mar and Lyndesay quhay hes send waray ernstlie for that effect.¹ And wald hef cumyne to him quhair he is gif he wald nocht hef trawellit fordwart wnto thame. The Regent hes writtin to us all heirawayis barronis to meit him the secund day of August in Lythquhow in maist substancyowis and wyralyk maneir withe ane lamentable narratywe and proclamatiounis ar past thairupone. I heir the Maistir of Erroll and sundry utheris ar past to him all redy. Mony barronis ar able till obey the proclamatioun uthervayis thayis that lysis laiche wilbe wrachrit.² As to my Lord of Huntleis owir cummyng I can nocht assure yow trewly of the tyme thairof but I heir thair is certaine horssmen and hagbuttaris of his cummyne to Breichin. And for that effect my Lord Ruthwen is past to Dundy and Arbroithe withe his freindis quhair my Lord of Bwichquhane Glames and the Prowest of Dundy³ with all thair freindis ar and siclyk hes sax scoir hagbutteris of the Regenttis and ane certane horssmen. I beleif thay think to sey my Lord of Huntleis men and put thaim abak gif thay may. The brwit is siclyk that the Regent suld be this nycht in Perth. And that Mortowin is cummyne owir the watter and thinkis to mak ane suddane reid in Auguss affoir the Parliament. As we heir for swir thair is ane thowsand Inglissmen to keip the day in Lythquhow for it hes bene at the Quene of Inglandis ardent desyre that my Lord of Lennox hes accepit say weichty ane chaigr and upone hir fortificatioun and maintynance besyd the help that his awin freindis may do to him. The watteris ar varay gryt heir instantly thairfoir ye knaw quhow defissill and cumirsum it is to my Lord of Huntly to bring ane army fordwarttis as all standis. Bot I beleif trewly he sall do his diligence quhill force put him abak. And this proclamatioun siclyk will stop mony barronis quhow weil

¹ For the suggested conference at Tullibardine (Perthshire) to negotiate between the king's and queen's parties in the civil war, see 116.

² Those lying low will be destroyed.

³ Probably Robert Douglas, earl of Buchan; John, 8th Lord Glamis; and James Haliburton of Pitcur, Provost of Dundee.

that ewir thay loviff him. Quho farther of thir procedingis fallis out ye salbe adverteissit. We heiff hard heir quhow the Clanchamroun hes tane up the Laird of Lawaris geir withe sum of his serwandis and slane ane in Straythfillanen.¹ I wat nocht gif my Lord of Atholl will accept you for guid services or yit gif landis for the doing thairof except mekle bettir service nour you be done. And the Laird of Lawaris reparit according to his skaith and honour as becumis ...² Farther I am swir ye hest hard of this maist unhappy chance³ betuix my Lord of Atthollis muster and your serwandis quhow thay ar all maist mischewit stepand be wnhap and mysgyding⁴ for I ame swir thay war fowrty as able as ony hieland men in Scotland. Besyd MacWalchallum Glassis thair wer sevin ... extra ordaner. Bot thay that gais to thair turnes racleislie hefving owir meikle pryd in thair awin ability will fall as God plesis to lait thamme knaw thair awin strenthe. And now within thir aucht dayis my Lord of Attholl send for thame and spak thame say ernstly and despytewslly⁵ that thay promesit or thay suld sie him agane that thay suld owther do him plesand service or thame resaiff gryt skaithe. And upon this he gaif every ane of thame out of his awin bag xxx shilling pecis and xx shilling pecis as he thocht tham worthe. Yit it hes pleisit God to be uthervayis. My Lord of Attholl hes hard nay word thairof att this present. Bot quhat can be thairof bot the nixt best to becaus and the caris of this wariand warld to be handelit the best that men may with the grace of God. I think best ye heist yow eist at the leist to the west end of the loche⁶ and convoy your sleff [sic] varay swirly for I am swir onfreindis wilbe the mair bald of this mischance. We salbe als walcryff⁷ heir as we ... And in my absens sall leif my brother⁸ to await heir for I hef ewin neid as ony uther hes accepp yow. Say refeiris all uther to your nixt adverteisand and God conserve yow. From Grantully this xxviii of Julii 1570 be your awyn.

[PS] I thynk God willyng to be heir at hame agayne on Wednesday or Thuresday nixt⁹ at the forrest. I hef wrytin to Johne MacDois to be waray walkryf now in thir dayis.

¹ This was probably the group led by Duncan MacEwin Cameron* (110).

² Ellipses represent damage to MS.

³ For details of the 'unhappy chance' between Atholl's* and Grey Colin's men: Introduction.

⁴ Mischievously or injuriously prevented by misfortune and mismanagement.

⁵ Contemptuously.

⁶ Grey Colin was probably at Ilanran and was being advised to come east at least as far as Balloch Castle.

⁷ Watchful or vigilant.

⁸ Grantully's* brother Alexander Stewart (124).

⁹ 2-3 Aug.

124 Atholl to Glenorchy

GD112/39/8/22

31 July 1570, Dunkeld

To his traist cousing the Laird of Glenorquhay

Traist cousing efter hertlye commendatiounes. I haif resawit your letters makand mentioun thair came ane serwand to yowe owt of Balloche schawand that my serwandis came to your land of Arttollanek¹ on the nycht quhan your men hes hurt and slane sum of thame beleifing thair haid bein the Clangregor quhair of ye ar sorye and lamentis moir that mischance suld fall betuix my serwandis and youris nor ony uther skeith ye haif resait of. As to that I truist weill ye be sorye for the mater bot gif sa be I wil knawe it be died utherwaies I wil superseid² the hurt my serwandis hes resawit quhill I se fourdour \of your mynd/. Quhair ye wryt that gif your men hes doine the skeith wpoune ony p...³ feir bot of negligence onlye ye wil delyver the ... complices of thame to my jugement to be puneist according to thair demerites. I cane nocht tell quhat thair demerites is bot at this tyme ... the skeithes I wat nocht quhat your serwandis pretens was. Becaus ye saye ye ar to cum schortlye down and that ye wald nocht that the dewillis seid suld be sawin betuix me and you be sic occationis as this. Ye desyre me to tak the seid of God in part ...ing it that is Goddis wil salbe myne. Bot I sall do guid will with Godds helpe to acquyt ... and ... as thair do to me. I wil saye na forder at this instant ... meting and sa fair ye hertlye weill. Of Dunkeld the last of July 1570. Youris at powar.

125 William Stewart of Grandtully to Glenorchy

GD112/39/9/1

1 August 1570,⁴ Grandtully Castle

To the honorabill Lard off Glenwrquhay

Sir ye sal wit I wes departit of Dunkeld fra my Lord of Atholl affair Thomme Mwry⁵ com to hym wyth your wrytyng. Now I resavit your wrytyng to my slef [sic] quhilk I thynk weray guid. And hes disclosit my Lordis writing derect onto yow quhilk I thynk hard nochtwythstandyng at your awyn metyngis I dowl nocht bot the mater may be better handlit. As towart the burdenyng of parteis wyth that mischance thair can nay

¹ Ardtalnaig on the south side of Loch Tay. For details of this 'mischance', Introduction.

² Postpone or defer.

³ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁴ Continuation of news given in 123 concerning the 'mischance' and enclosing Atholl's* letter, 31 July 1570 (124).

⁵ Thomas Murray; it is not known whether he was in the service of Atholl or Grey Colin.

man excwys the mischandness¹ of my Lord of Athollis men nocht usand thame sleffis [sic] lyik men of wyir nor as ony sic men suld hef doyne. And on the uther part it is thocht als strange that your men in fayr day lycht strikkand thame wyth swerdis and knywyss suld nocht hef knawyn thame albeit thai ver slepand. Now the nixt best man be tayne. Thairfor I thynk best ye writ agayne to my Lord of Atholl and desyre to wit quhat tyme his Lordship wilbe in Dunkeld that ye may cum thair and speik hym. Becaus ye heir thairis nay boytis on Tymmele that men may pass weil to Blair and siclyk.² That ye vald hef bene at hym schonar wer nocht ye heir the Clangregor ar in Straytherryn veray ...soun³ to yow as in deid thai ar. Thairfor attend thairto as ye thynk guid and get sic intelligence as ye may thairoff and quhair ever ye trawell attend to your slef [sic] as ye vilbe serwit. I hef writyn to yow of befoir al sic as I onderstoyd for the maist part and siclyk caussit Allexander my brother speik the Lard of Glemis and Allester MacGregor of hymself [sic] quhen I departit to ye Lawland as I thocht guid.⁴ I reffer al uther now to your nixt advertismet and God conserf yow. From Grantullye this Tyisday the fyrst of August be youris.

[PS] Yit hes thocht presently it suld be bettyr ye spak my Lord of Atholl in Blair becaus the Secretar⁵ wilbe thair to reson the mater. And gif Tymmele be great ye man pass be Porttyn Crayg⁶ quhair thairis ane vray guid boit and fra thair furth thairis nay uther vattyr. And gif the armeis cumis fordwardtis I suppoine swyrly the Secretar salbe in Dunkeld wytin fif or sex days. My Lord of Atholl beis the morn in Coupar and metis syndry lordis thair and I can nocht assur yow quhowschone he passes to Blair bot I beleiff on Thurisday or Fryday at the fares.⁷ I beleiff trewly he salbe on Thurisday at ewyn in Blair. Writ to the Secretar to confer wyth my Lord in the mater.

126 William Maitland of Lethington to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/9/4

2 August 1570, Blair Atholl

To the Lady Glenwrquhay

Eftar hartly commendatioun. I ressavit your wryting with the trew

¹ Worthlessness or ill-fatedness.

² If there were no ferryboats available it was impossible to get across the River Tummel, probably at Logierait/Ballinluig, in order to reach Blair Atholl.

³ Ellipsis represents damage to MS.

⁴ Alexander Stewart, Grandtully's* brother, in discussion with Lord Glamis and Alastair MacGregor.

⁵ Maitland of Lethington*.

⁶ Port-na-Craig at Pitlochry.

⁷ Atholl was in Coupar Angus on Tuesday, 1 Aug. and was expected back on 3 or 4 Aug.

informatioun off the mischance¹ happinnit betuix the Lardis servandis and my Lord off Athollis quhilk as I beleave my selff to be trew sa I wald be glad my Lord off Athoill war persuadit to credit in lykemaner. For at the first he tuke the mater veary ewill and the men that wer on his wache send hym word off it in the werst maner quhilk ...² know will move ony man to anger on the suddayn gif thayr awin servandis quhome thay credit reportis the harm odiously. Sensyne I haiff nocht spoken with hym for he s... off this place within a quartar off an hour efter the word come. At his returning quhilk I trust salbe this nycht I sall deale with hym in the mater. Praying yow to caus the Lard send some to hym with the trew informatioun and offer to lat hym selff try the offence and to reforme it at his awin sicht. And giff the falt ...is ... the Lardis servandis that he sall deliver thaym to my Lord ... to be punist. I caus the Lord off Grantuly ... and he sall concur with hym to help to mitigate ... I am sa far behaldin to yow bayth I wald ... thair war ony variance betuix yow. I pray yow that I may haiff the falcon alsua with the goisshalk becaus I am now in the hyeland divars freindis hes send to me for halkis and I can nocht get to satisfy the halff off thaym. Quhairin I may do yow pleasor ye haiff power to command me and sa I wisshe yow to fare weill. From Blair in Atholl the secund off August 1570. Yours always to command.

[PS] My Lord Levingstoun³ prayis me to mak his commendatiounis baith to yow and the Lard.

127 Donald MacEwan Cameron⁴ to Glenorchy GD112/39/9/2

2 August 1570,⁵ Lochaber

To the rycht honorable and my trayst frend Collin Campbell of Glenurquhay deliver this

Rycht honorable Sir efter my maiste humlie recommendioun. I have resavit your wrett and quhair your Maister prayis me to contennew in the service that I have begynnyn and that it is my Lord of Atholis and my Lord of Argilis will that the samin be performit and that your Maister sall revard me and my bruther efferand to our service. As to that wil God I sall pas in

¹ For the 'mischance': Introduction.

² Ellipses represent damage to MS.

³ William, 6th Lord Livingstone, had visited Kilchurn Castle in July after his return from England: *CSP Scot.*, iii, 278, and remained at Blair Atholl for several days, 4 Aug. 1570, *CSP Scot.*, iii, 299-300.

⁴ Head of a sept of the Camerons of Lochiel. Donald MacEwan Cameron* had received an assurance from Grey Colin allowing him and his men to pass through his lands in pursuit of the MacGregors, 13 July 1570, GD112/43/2/3.

⁵ See 8 and 28 July 1570 (112, 123).

hest to my Lord of Athoill and witt of his Lordshipis mynd towartis my effaris. And in the mid tyme will send my servand to your Maister with my writt desyring yow to commend me thair. Gif it be possible quhair will God I sal end the mater with him to the effect that his Lordship sall have honour and your Maister gret proffett. For in guid faycht I ending the samen with his Lordship and yow I will nocht desist fra pershewing of the Clangregor quhill we end the mater betux ws in that mater that we sall nocht leiff of the play quhill the tane part sall have ane end.¹ I gettand your Maisteris labouris in performing of my guid erandis at his Lordshipis hand and as I put no dowit bot ye ma do the samen. Thairfoir I pray yow that ye wrett incontinent to my Lord towartis my effaris that I ma knaw of your labouris or I pas thair. For ye knaw I ma nocht guidlie pershew the Clangregor to the rigour quhill tha be sum ordour put betux me and thais of my kyn that ar with Evyn Beg Soune.² The rest of my mynd wer to lang to wrett bot at meting will God we sall end the mater in that maner that it sall cum to your plesour. And so committis your Maister in the protectionoun of God. Of Lochaber the secund off August be your assurit freind with power.³

128 Glenorchy to Argyll (draft)

GD112/39/12/13

c. 3-7 August 1570⁴

[No address]

My Lord efter commendatiounis of service. I hawe resawit ane mas^k of writtingis⁵ this last Waddnisday in the morving [sic] tobe directit to your Lordship fra the Secretar the quhilk is waray difficill to me to send for feir of the mortour of puir servandis be the way. The quhilk God knawis that your Lordship hes the temperale swird in your Lordshipis hand and will nocht wiss the saming according to youris honour and conscience that the puir anes mycht haif aquietnes. Nochtwithstanding I sall tak God to

¹ He promises not to stop until the last part is finished—that is, the pursuit of the MacGregors.

² This probably refers to the internal disputes within the Clan Cameron after the murder of Donald Dubh of Lochiel, in 1569, by his uncles Ewan and John, younger sons of Ewan Allanson.

³ Signed Donald MacEvyn WicEvin in Lochaber by the clerk as Donald could not write.

⁴ Grey Colin refers to the packet of letters which he had received on Wednesday last (probably 2 Aug.) for forwarding. A previous packet from Maitland* had been received by Argyll on Thursday, 27 July GD112/39/8/20. Despite the dangers to the messengers, Grey Colin sent this packet and it was received on 8 Aug. 1570, GD112/39/9/9, and was also mentioned (134). This dates Grey Colin's letter between 3-7 Aug. 1570.

⁵ Packet of letters.

witnes that your Lordship hes the hail wyte of all the skayth that I gat.¹ Bot or I seik ane uther refug or ane fortiefier in my just actioun agains the Clangregor bot your Lordship I sall lat the warld kennit that your Lordship is in the wyte and sall nocht laif your Lordshipis apoyneoun into your honest afferis becaus the matter is wychty and rynis to your Lordshipis gret honour. I hoip in God your Lordship sall know efterwart quhen evir your Lordship wantis my service that your Lordship will haif inlaik of it and it is able to be a memorie efter that I am departit. And in the meyntyme I sall seik freindis efter that I haif spokin with your Lordship the quhilk I dout nocht bot I will get. Haid your Lordship acausit ye Lard of Otter to hawe delyverit the Kottar Dowe and als the Lard of Ardkynglass freindis to hawe delyverit Makilleverchane² and samony as that hous haid under thame that tuik part with the Clangregor thir cummeris wald nocht haif cum upoun me laitlie. And your Lordship mycht haif haid honour thair of and your Lordshipis cuntre to haif haid quietness quhilk wald haif beyne nay wychty matter to your [sic] to hawe done it gif God wald haif plesit it and your Lordship willingly thairto. I pray your Lordship be nocht miscontentit for I assuir your Lordship I salbe ane man of estimatioun that is cumin of your Lordshipis hous that sall byde at your merk³ quhen wtheris will laif yowr Lordship that hes less to tyne nor I hawe the quhilkis hes cauld ewill of unto your Lordship and ar no able to byd at your Lordshipis mark say stedfast as your Lordship beleiffis gif thai war put at. The quhilk I pray God that your Lordship mycht know the faynyeitnes of menis hartis that ye trust unto over mekill. I pray your Lordship to apardone me for writting to your Lordship sa scharply⁴ for of trewthe I tell bot the werety⁵ and lat nocht your Lordship think that I will apply my self till ony uther but unto your Lordship for it is nay...⁶ now considering your [sic] hes mekill ado and it be weill handlit in the meyntyme.

¹ It is not clear whether this was the raid on Grey Colin's horses of 21 July or another raid, but Colin's anger in this letter is immense and he blamed Argyll for not supporting him as a good chief should have done.

² Colin Campbell of Otter who had not brought to justice the Cottar Dowe (or Dubh) and the friends of James Campbell of Ardkinglas* who had also failed to deliver Makilleverchane, both of whom had assisted the MacGregors.

³ Purpose.

⁴ This apology seems a little inadequate for the outpouring of criticism in the rest of the letter and it is not clear if Grey Colin actually sent the full text, of which this is a draft.

⁵ Truth.

⁶ Ellipsis represents damage to MS.

129 William Maitland of Lethington to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/9/8

7 August 1570, Blair Atholl

...¹ the Lady Glenwrquhy

Efter maist hartlie commendatioun. I ressavit your writting with the tua halkis quhilk ye send to me quhairof I thank yow verray hartlie² As towart this other bissenes anentis the myschance quhilk chanceit betuix my Lord of Athollis servandis and the Lardis your husbandis.³ I find my Lord als heiglie commovit⁴ at his awin servandis as ... at the Lardis, sua that he can nocht patentlie speik ony of thame ... nor wald suffar thame yisterday to enter in his houss bot detenit thame at the yett at the begynning. Now it is verray hard to ... bring him oure stayis he is sua in anger, bot I beleve God willing efterwart to bring him to that point that sall satisfie his wrath and renew agane the freindship betuix him and the Lard. The Lard of Garntillie and I trawellit verry ernistlie with my Lord heirin all yesterday as he will schaw yow at meting to quhome I referre the rest heiroyf. Farther as towart the allyance betuix the tua housses⁵ quhilk ye spak to me lang syne of I wald to God that wer completit. For thair is mony that by all meanis dalie sekis to put that mater farthar bak that thairby thai may fardir the inametie⁶ betuix the tua houses. Sua that I think quhill that mater be put to point thair sall evir sik occasiounis as this be maid to hald thame sundry⁷ quhilk gif it had bene lang syne howbeit sik occasiounis as this had fallin yet it wald haif bene na hinder to the freindschip. Thairfore I wald wische with all my hart ... same wer done. And as towart the gentill woman⁸ quhilk ye persavit cume to spy and gett intellegence of I haif be my wyff ... and sundry uther meanes speirrit and inquired at divers ... upoun my honour and credite. I think in deid by the report ... maid to me of hir that sche is abill to be the best bar... that evir my Lord had ather with the first wyff or with this ... hir eldest sister in all good behavingis. And persavis ... be my Lady Atholl her self that scho favouris her in sik sort as scho wer her awin borne dochter and willing to do to her thairefter. Sua that upoun my honour and afoir God I think her sufficient in ... behalffis quhilk gif scho be nocht as eftervart ye will haif experience ye sall wyte me and say that I haif nocht bene the trew spekar

¹ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

² See 126 where Maitland* asked for a falcon and a goshawk.

³ For the 'mischance': Introduction.

⁴ Moved to anger.

⁵ The marriage alliance between Black Duncan* and Atholl's daughter: Introduction.

⁶ Enmity.

⁷ Apart.

⁸ Maitland's report on the prospective bride: Introduction.

to yow. I have at lenth communicat my mynd and conferrit with the said Lard of Garttely¹ heirin quha will schaw yow at grytt lenth my mynd and opynionis thairof. Desyring and praying yow in the meanetyme to forder the same for mony good occasionis. And sua referring the rest to your wisdome committis yow to the protectioun of God. Frome Blair in Atholl the vii of August 1570. Youris always to be commandit.

[PS] I pray yow commend me hartlie to the Lard your husband.

130 Donald MacEwan Cameron to Glenorchy GD112/39/12/15

Thursday, 10th August 1570,² Rannoch

To the rycht honorable and his traist freind Collin Campbell of Glenurquhay deliver this.

Rycht honorable Sir and traist frend efter my hertlie commendatiounes. Pleis your Master be remembrit wpoun my last wretting to yow and vil God I will contennew in furthfillin of the punctis heiroyf sua your Mastership vill do the lik in furthfilling of your part towartis me and my bruther. And now instant I have past to commonid my Lord³ quhair I wald your Mastership ver present gif it be possible for thair in presence of my Lord we mecht end the mater in that manner that it mecht be honour to my Lord and gret proffit to yow. For quhow schwne I enter earnestlie in your bessines⁴ I will nocht desist thair fra quhill the samin be endit to my power. I am informit the Lard of Grant⁵ beis in Blair to furthset my freindis materis in my contrar quhairfor I wald ye ver present that I mecht knaw of your labouris. Bot I heir thairis sum drynes instant betuix my Lord and yow quhilk I traist in God vill nocht contennew forthair.⁶ My Lord hes writin to me that he wes discontent of the deid that my bruther did last bot the samin is contennewit as yett. And without ye cum your self I pray you send me your gud cunsall and mynd or gif ye have wrettin to my Lord as I wret to you in my effaris or quhat wes his ansuer. I will send ane servand of my awyn to commoun you or I pas hame with my mynd. Reffering the rest to your ansuer and God kepe you. Off Rannoch this Turisday be your.

¹ Grandtully*.

² A Thursday in August probably a week after his letter of 2 Aug. (127).

³ Probably Atholl*.

⁴ That is the pursuit of the MacGregors; however, as the rest of this letter reveals this group of Camerons seem to have been raiding rather indiscriminately and were in trouble with Atholl: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 380. A previous raiding incident had been settled by a contract of compensation from Duncan to Grey Colin, 31 July 1570, GD112/1/168.

⁵ Probably John Grant of Freuchy.

⁶ This was the 'mischance': Introduction.

131 William Maitland of Lethington to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/9/14

12 August 1570, Blair Atholl

To the Lady Glenwrquhay

Efter hairtie commendatioun. I haif this day reseaved ane writting fra the Lard of Garnilly schawin me that he hes spokin the Lard your husband and yow anentis the allyance betuix thir tua houses quhilk I writ yow off befor.¹ Heirin at lenth I have writtin to the Lard your husband latting him know quhatt I think best to be done heirintill desyring yow inlyk maner to persuade him thairto and do thairefter as I haif writtin to him. For I think God willing to be a fortherare to bring that mater sone to good propos quhilk I wald gladlie wysche with all my harte alsweill for the weill of the Lard your husbandis hous as for my Lord of Athollis hous quhairin I pray yow alsua to trawell. Farder ...² heir of ... Lard your husband will mak yow participant conforme to my ... him. And sua referring the rest to your discretoun committis your Ladyship to the protectioun of God. Frome Blair in Atholl the xii of August 1570. Yours alwayes to command.

132 William Maitland of Lethington to William Stewart of Grandtully

GD112/39/9/13

12 August 1570, Blair Atholl

To my assured frend the Lard of Grantullie

Schir efter hairtlie commendatiouns. I have reseaved your writting fra the berare. Ye sall witt that my Lord of Atholl as yett is nocht cum hame heir bott is lookit for now schortlie. Quhilk gif he had bene at hame I sould at lenth spokin his Lordship in the first mater ye writt of³ and sua sone as he cumis hame I sall nocht fail to speik him and do all that I may in that mater and in the meanetyme sall alsua labour for the assurance ye writt of. I perseave the Lard makis towart the west end of the loch⁴ quhar fore I wald that ye, anentis the other mater quhilk is the allyance betuix the twa houses⁵ past agane and speik baith the Laird and Lady. Schawin thame lyke as I have writtin to every ane of thame that I think it best thai send ane commissioun subscribed with thair handis to yow and me to propone the mater to my Lord and Lady Atholl. Latting me alsua know

¹ See 132-3 concerning the marriage alliance between Atholl* and Glenorchy: Introduction.

² Ellipses represent damage to MS.

³ This is the 'mischance' between Atholl's* and Glenorchy's men: Introduction.

⁴ Grey Colin going to Balloch Castle.

⁵ The marriage alliance between Atholl and Glenorchy: Introduction.

the maner how thai desyre the mariage and allyance with my Lord Athollis hous quhatt thai will him to do and quhatt to th...¹ with all other sik thingis as thai will specefie and adverteis me off. And thairefter I sall propone the mater desyring that ye having the said commissioun wer heir present for the same effect and that God willing we sall do sua that the freindschip salbe sure knitt betuix the tua houses quhilk sall nocht at every motioun dissolve again. Ye sall ressave heirwith the writingis quhilk I have writtin to ... desyring that ye wer thair to speik farder heiranent to thame. And sua referring the same to your discretioun committis yow to the protection of God. Frome Blair in Atholl the xii of August 1570. Youris assurit to my powar.

133 William Maitland of Lethington to Glenorchy GD112/39/9/18

12 August 1570, Blair Atholl

To my assured freind the Lard of Glenwrquhay

Schir efter hairtlic commendatioun. I have this day reseaved ane bill fra the Lard of Gartillie schawing me that he hes spokin yow sen my last meting with him anentis the allyance betuix my Lord of Athollis hous and youris quhilk in deid I wald als gladlie wische for the weill of your hous as for the weill of my Lord of Athollis hous.² And for this effect iff it pleiss yow I sall speik my Lord and Lady Atholl. Desyring yow for that propos to writt ane bill to me favorable to propone³ the mater to my Lord and Lady Atholl in the quhilk I wald ye schew your self verray desyrous thairof quhilk bill thairefter I will schaw to my Lord and Lady. Wryting in the same alsua quhatt maner ye desyre the mariage and ...⁴ quhatt ye will my Lord and Lady Atholl to do to yow quhatt to thaim and all other sik thingis as ye think maist convenient for that propos. And by this alsua I wald ye and the Lady your wyff subscribed and gaiff over to the Lard of Gartillie and me to propone and bring that mater to effect with my Lord and Lady quhairin conforme thairto we sall travell and God willing haif good succase thairof. Farther wald wische yow to ...eis with sik convenient speid as ye mycht for the weill of baith the housses as said is. And heirin at lenth to instructt the said Lard of Gartillie of all sik thingis as ye think maist neccessarrie that he may mak me participant thairof. Thairefter we may propone the mater and bring it to effect schortlie quhairof I wald be verray glad. Sua referring the rest to your iugement and nixt adverteisment committis yow to the protectioun of God. Frome

¹ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

² Letters (131-2) which deal with the proposed marriage alliance with Atholl*: Introduction.

³ Propose for discussion.

⁴ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

Blair in Atholl the xii day of August 1570. Youris assurit my utir powar.

134 Argyll to Glenorchy

GD112/39/9/12

13 August 1570, Garvie (Glendaruel, Cowal)

To our traist cousing Colene Campbell of Glenurquhay

Cousing eftir hertlie commendatiouns. We ressavit your letter and fyndis it very difficill to send ony boyis be the way be reasoun of thai rebellis that usis sic extremitie and murthour on boyis that travellis. Quhilk is rycht offensive to us bot trewlie we gett small uncuriens¹ of our freindis to puneis the samen altho our mynd be bent thairto alwais God willing sall put remeid to the samen as we best maye. The last mask come fra the Secretar² to us wes tending for to desire ane meting of the nobilitie ewist Dunkell for to gif ansuer to my Lord Levingstoun.³ The quhilk we beleif sall keip be us and the rest on this quarter and wilbe ewist Athole the last day of August agaitwardis to⁴ the said day of tryst quhilk is appointit to be in Dunkeld the first day of September nixt. And becaus we man pass in be your place to the samen and as we haif done afoir so man we now put yow to pains and chargis. Therfoir prayis yow to meit us att Ellanrann the xxix day of this instant for the nycht we pas by the heid of Loch Fyne we ar nocht able to be forder nor Ellanrann.⁵ And the occasioun so cumis on that on force we man haif yow to beir sum pains and chargis in the samen. For wtherways it is onable to us to have the noble men that wilbe with us usit effering to our honour and thairis bayth be reasoun of the distance of the way fra our cuntre the quhilk we doubt nocht but ye will consider in the selff. We haif send your uther boy that come to us afoir to your self and ane boy of our awne with him and gif ony stay cumis of this tryst we sall advertis yow of the samen. We haif writting ane uther mask to my Lord of Huntly and Secretar quhilk we have commandit our awin boye to convey to Athole to the Secretare. Praying yow gif ye gett ony newis to advertis us thairof. So committis yow to the protectioun of God. Off the Garvie this xiii of August 1570. Youris asswritly.

[PS] Commend me hartly to your bedfallow.

¹ Probably 'encouragement'.

² The packet of letters from Maitland*, mentioned in 128.

³ William, 6th Lord Livingstone, had brought instructions from England: *CSP Scot.*, iii, 278-80, 299-300.

⁴ On the road towards.

⁵ The earl of Argyll was planning to travel from the top of Loch Fyne, through Glen Fyne and over the pass into Glen Falloch, down Glen Dochart to Ilanran (Killin) where he would meet Grey Colin.

135 Glenorchy to Argyll

GD112/39/9/15

14 August 1570, Ilanran Castle (Killin)

[No address]

My Lord efter hertlie commendatiounis of service. I have resawit your Lordships writin and quhair your Lordship writtis tonent¹ the Clangregor that your Lordship gettis bot small help of your freindis in the putting of ordour to thame. As to that I am ewill payit consydering the actioun is honest and godlie that thai ar say onobedient to your Lordship considering that your Lordship is say gud to thame. Bot thairis nay man that hes the wyte of it bot your Lordships self and seis that bayth the charge and the dishonour lye on your Lordships conscience albeit that I get the skayth. For the thing that your Lordships baronis and tenentis dois in brakynge of your proclamatiounis quhilk ar bayth godlye and honest thai mak of that bot ane moiking stok and of your Lordships self as ye may persawe be thair doingis. And albeit that I get this skayth for the remaying with your Lordship efter your Lordships commonyng and myne your Lordship will haif me apardonit to seik uther remaindis sene your Lordship may nocht help me the quhilk I am waray sorye thairof gif your Lordship mycht utherwayis do. And quhair your Lordship writtis that your Lordship will cum to thir partis and sum utheris of the nobilitie with your Lordship the xxix day of this instant and that your Lordship passiss to Dunkelne to speik my Lord of Huntlye² and at you man put me to painis and chargis as your Lordship hes done aift tymes afoir. As to that I thank God your Lordship pate me nevir to that panis or expensis bot I wes weill contentit thairwith and siklik salbe presentlye. And your Lordship salbe waray walcum and I sall keip the said day and sall meit your Lordship in \the heid/ Glenfalloch and sall conwoy your Lordship the best at I may. The Clangregor wes newir say pleny into your Lordships boundis as thair ar now. As for newis the bruit is that the castell of Brecheine and the stepeill is wyne and thairis justefeit xxxiiii suddartis and captainis and my Lord of Huntlye is passit out of Abirdene to Strabogye³ quhot cummes of that God knawis. I pray yowr Lordship advertiss me tua or thre dayis afoir your Lordship is cuming that you may fair the better. For als evill as ye ar I am glaid that it is nocht of atrewthe as ye Lard of Gormak writ to me for he assurit me that he wes informed that your Lordship wes ded bot praysit

¹ Probably a variation of 'anent', concerning.

² See 134 about the proposed meeting of the queen's party in Dunkeld and the prior visit to Grey Colin.

³ Randolph reported the surrender of Brechin on 12 Aug. 1570: *CSP Scot.*, iii, 307; and Maitland* commented to John Leslie, bishop of Ross, on Regent Lennox's great cruelty in hanging the soldiers who had surrendered: *CSP Scot.*, iii, 313.

be God it is better as it is.¹ And I get ony uther newis your [sic] salbe advertesit fra tyme to tyme. Haifand nay fardar occatioun bot God preserwe your Lordship. Of Ellane Rane the xiiii day of August threscoir tene yeris. Your Lordshipis kynnisman at powar.

136 John Carswell to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/9/16

14 August 1570, Garvie²

To his speciall frende K. R. deliver this

Freunde eftir my commndatiouns. This is to lat yow wit that sen our last commoning I had na layser to speik with that man with quhom ye suld haif conferrens of orddring of that pece land quherof ane portioun lyis in everilk ane of your handis. Bot I did wryit and rasavit ane weray guid ansuer refeirit to meting of him and me to be resoluit be frendis and speciallye to the guid will of the ower Lord of the landis.³ Scheortlie I purpos to speik the man and then shall haif sufficient occasioun to wryit mair determinitlye nor I do heir. Bot haiving the oportunitie of the berar wald nocht neglect the memorye of our last commoning quherof I know yow to be nocht onmyndfull.⁴ Nouellis occurris nane heir bot as ye ar wtherwayis certifeit. Pleis adverteis me of novellis in thes partis as ye finde occasioun of messengeris this way becaus I remane heir with my maister presentlye.⁵ Commend me to your bedfello and all frendis. My nixt lettir God willing salbe mair speciall and so committis yow to God. From Garwie this 14 of August 1570. Youris and guide frende to power.

137 William Stewart of Grandtully to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/12/9

Monday, 14 August 1570⁶

[No address]

Pleis yow resaiff the Secretaris ansur to me togidder wyth ane writyng fra hym to the Lard and ane uther to your slef [sic]. My boy in his hame cumyng met my Lord of Atholl passand to Blair quhay gef hym nay ansur bot bald my slef [sic] cum to hym. As to this commissioun the Secretar

¹ John Butter of Gormok, whose letter to Grey Colin is lost. This is quite a heavy-handed joke.

² Glendaruel, Cowal.

³ This probably concerns some lands in Lorn.

⁴ Probably a reference to the marriage alliance with Campbell of Ardkinglas*. Introduction.

⁵ The earl of Argyll (134).

⁶ Encloses three letters (131-33).

writis of thair nedis nay thyng bot writ to the Secretar and siklyk to me and desyre ws to propoyne the mariag betuix your son Duncan and Margret his dochtyr quhilc hes bene spokkyn of this lang tyme and now the barnis ar cumyn to perfectioun quhar yowtheid stayd it befor.¹ As for thochir ye may say that Tulleberdynnis son² gat fyf and fourtye hundyt merk and hald yow at four thowsand merk and for coniunct fe ye sal gif accordyng to the custowme of Scotland as is usit amang nobil men. As for cyrcumstans the Secretar can wiss bettyr nor we can and I sal follow his tred³ in this mater to your welis be weray swyr is...⁴ may this is for my opyniown schortly consavit. Quhar he biddis me pas againe to the Lard and yow that nedis nocht for ye Lard declarrit me your myndis al reddy and I hef schawyn my opyniown trewly and wprychtly as I mai ansur to God at the Latter Jugment quhen we vil of litil thoct of this varld nor the vaniteis thairof.⁵ Eik⁶ or payr ony uther thyng that your slef [sic] thynkis guid. Ye may nocht [sic] the naratywe of your writing to the Secretar and me that it is nocht ... to ws that thair hes beine comonyng of alia betuix my Lord of Atholl and ... past and that ye culd entyr nor vald nocht in comonyng vyth ony uther quhill the ... effetis or ver dischargit and now we se the barnis cumyn to perfectioun and dangerus the delay of your sonis mariage is to yow and your barnis thairfor desyre ws to speik the same now to my Lord of Atholl. Ye can do this mekil better nor I can bid yow. As to the men ver sene about Garth it is rehersit to me that Ewyn MacGregor Alaster Pudderycht and Patrik Or wer thair and that thai hef spokyn sum Atholl men and desyrit thame pass in message to my Lord of Atholl.⁷ This aperis weil and gif it be trew I beleiff at the leist to heir the trewth thairof schortly. And the manier the castell of Brechyn is wyn and sum sais syndry of the captainis and soldartis justefeit. The Erl of Huntlye left Abirdene and past to Strathbogy yit I belif my Lord Regent returnis bak and beis this nycht in Perth. It is said to me the Lord Lyndesay is cumyn to Murthlie and hes send to desyre to speik my Lord of Atholl quhat cumis thairof I can nocht tell. It apris now that Ardgylle sall cum

¹ For the negotiations over the marriage of Black Duncan* and Margaret Stewart: Introduction.

² This probably refers to the marriage contract between John Murray, son of William Murray 11th of Tullibardine*, and Katherine, daughter of Lilius Ruthven and David, 2nd Lord Drummond*, who was Katherine's niece and possibly her god-daughter. John and Katherine were married before 20 Dec. 1576, RMS, iv, 2607. Grandtully* was using Katherine's tocher of 4,500 merks as the 'going rate': Introduction.

³ Grandtully will follow Maitland's* advice.

⁴ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁵ A marvellously sententious statement.

⁶ Add.

⁷ This was the beginning of the negotiations for a settlement between Ewin MacGregor, Tutor of Glenstrae,* and his brother, Alastair, who were encountered above Garth Castle, below Schiehallion.

eist throch and meit Huntlye in Dunkeld conforme to the fyrst tryist. The Lard of Glennis and Allester MacGregor past to the Munth the same day Ewyn MacGregour ves thair. I vait nocht quhidder thai be past to Lochabir or nocht. Thai vald revenge I suppayne gyf thai mycht on your pwir men the deid that thair awyn slewthfulnes hes doine. Bot is I schew the Lard and yow I gat xii dayis in presence of the Secretar and Weme and my Lord of Atholl send to thame in lyk maner ane strait charge for the said xii dayis.¹ I writ to the Secretar to get fyf or sex wlkis as ye may persaiiff be his writ to me. I dowt nocht my Lord of Athollis awyn part heirin haistely bot abil you tua vald parswyd the Clangregor heirto thairfor best is the caus ye men be merwelus cyrcumspect day and nycht for that can never hurt bot do mekil guid. Gif ye hef gottyn ony vourd quhat my Lord of Ardgyll his doand or uther newis eist throth it vil pleiss yow adverteis with sic ansuer as ye fynd guid heirinto. And God preserf yow. Writtyn this Monunday be your awyn ...

138 Glenorchy to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/9/19

16 August 1570, Ilanran Castle (Killin)

[No address]

...² in the nycht hest hidder to me the Lard of Grantullyis ansuer about the men of Ardtollonaige.³ I wald have passit doun myself unto yow war nocht that I feir the cuntre and sum of my awin chidder schawis gif I pass doin that I will nocht cwm fastely up. Thairfoir gif ye be into your haill⁴ I wald ye come up for ane nyt or tua at the maist and I suld commuincat my haill unto yow. Quhilk I think it best to be done for thairis nay dangeir in the get ovyer nay vayis. Refferis the rest till our awin meting. Writ to my Lord Ruthven or your upcuming that ye ar desyrouss to speik his Lordship and to know his Lordshipis diat gif ye mycht aprehend him in Santjohnstoun. And God be your keper. Of Ellanrane the xvi day of August threscoir tene yeris.

[PS] As for the matter that ye wait of betuix the Lard of Grantully and ws⁵ the wyte sall nocht be in me bot I sall byde ferme and stebill thairat and the sonnar that it mycht cum to it war the better as I sall schaw yow at meting. Keip thir copyeis that I send to yow of my Lord of Ergylis.

¹ Assurances of 12 days, probably for Alastair MacGregor and John Lyon, 8th Lord Glamis.

² Top lines of the letter cut off.

³ A reference to the 'mischance': Introduction.

⁴ Katherine was probably at the other end of Loch Tay in Balloch Castle, which Grey Colin called her 'hall'.

⁵ This probably refers to the marriage alliance with Atholl*: Introduction.

Weill say fair weill. Fesche nocht litill Margaret¹ with yow becaus of your sorte tareing bot keip hir till ane uther diat. Fesche flacatis of wyne² till ws. I pray yow hest up paper wax and the stampe.

139 Glenorchy to Gregor MacAne MacGregor GD112/39/9/20

18 August 1570³, Ilanran Castle (Killin)

[No address]

Gregor MacAne I commend me hartlie to yow. MacCallan Dow hes schawin [me] quhow the Clangregor hes tain up your geir and your puir tenen[tis geir]. The quhilk I pray yow tak no thought of for albeit I have na ky [to recompeanss] yow instantlie I sall God willinge mak yow and youris suir of rowmis that sall mak yow mair profeit nor the geir that ye [have tint] at this tyme \ye beand ane trew faythfull serwand to me/. And gif the puir men that wantis geir dwelling onder yow be trew to yow tak thaim in to the place⁴ upoun my [ex]penses and gif to thair wyfifis and bairnis sum of my vituall to sustein thaim as ye think expediant. I pray yow have the place weill provydit with sic furnesinge as ye ma get and [spair] nother my geir nor yit your awin for God leuvinge ws [our] heilthis we will get geir enewche. I pray yow and als commandes yow that ye lat nain within the place bot your awin t[raist] servandis albeit I gaif yow ane command to reseve sum utheris at my departing and keip this writing for your warrand. For albeit the geir be awa and the ground waistit I kepannd that auld hous and haldand the rigiss haill as God willinge I sall ye beand ane faythfull servand to me my bairnis and youris sall leif honourable in it will God quhen the plague of God will leycht upoun thaim and thair posteritie out of memorie that molestis [me and] yow at this present. Send word to me gif ye [mister men] or ony othir thinge ye wald have me doand with this berar quha is ane man that I credeit and ye ma schaw to him [your] mynd.⁵ I sall provyid sum scharp boy that can write and reid to yow scho[rtlie] and hald ye him on my expenss sa lange as this enduris becaus credeit ma nocht be gevin to boyis. The rest to your wis[dom] and to t[reit] your self weill and be mirrie and I tak na thought of geir for we will get geir enewche will God quha [mot] have yow in keeping. At Ilanran the xviii of August 1570. Youris.

¹ Probably their daughter, Margaret.

² Flagon of wine.

³ This letter is printed in *BBT*, 429-30, and A. Macgregor, *History of the Clan Gregor*, 2 vols., (Edinburgh 1898-1901), i, 166; those words which are now illegible in the manuscript have been supplied from the *BBT* version and placed in square brackets. For Gregor MacAne's reply: 143.

⁴ Kilchurn Castle at the top of Loch Awe.

⁵ The bearer was John MacCorcadill*: 143.

140 Glenorchy to Argyll (draft)

GD112/39/9/21

18 August 1570, Ilanran Castle (Killin)

[No address]

My Lord efter maist hartlie commendatiounis of service.¹ I am suirle advertesit that MacGregoris thre brethir² comin to Ardtettill³ the nummer of fourtie this last Wodinisday the xvi of this instant at xii houris off the day and tuk awa sex scoir ky with schein and gait. Quhilk Gregor MacAne and sum uther of my servandis put thair eweist to your Lordshipis boundis for saiftie be resoun your Lordship promesit to me in presens of your Lordshipis freindis at our last commoninge that your Lordship wald do deligence to gar keep the boundis of Glenurquhay as the rest of your Lordshipis awin bot now the deid tryis the contrar. For the cry was gevin the space of tua or thre houris and nevir man rais nor assistit to it and the spuillaris of my puir tenentis passit at last throucht Glenfalloch to the Arracher⁴ quhilk is ane gret dishonour to your Lordship and skayth to me. Thairfor I pray your Lordship as ye luif your Lordshipis awin honour caus sum of your Lordshipis speciall freindis and servandis follow and persew the boundis quhair my geir is reset and revenge it according to your Lordshipis awin honour haistalie. That your Lordshipis onfreindis ma knaw that ye can and ma revenge your Lordshipis awin freindis just actioun. And gif your Lordship dois nocht this consideringe I hald the landis of Glenurquhay of your Lordship and takis God to witness I spendit the renttis of thaim yeirle and mair in your Lordshipis fadiris service and youris as the deid declaclaris [sic] your Lordship maun aperdoun me I will seik remeid at the autoriteis hand. Quhilk I dout nocht to obtain gif justice be in Scotland becaus my actioun is bayth godlie and honorable I pryiss God. I am sorie that your Lordship sufferis me to be put to this point. For gif MacNachtane⁵ had tain als gret painis to have commandit the Clangregour to desist fra hereinge of the puir anes of Glenurquhay as he deid in sendinge of messege to thaim to pass of my boundis and leif in waist your Lordship wald nocht have had sic dishonour and my puir aneis

¹ This letter was probably carried by John MacCorcadill* (139, 145).

² The brothers of Gregor MacGregor of Glenstrae*, probably Ewin*, who became Tutor of Glenstrae after Gregor was executed by Grey Colin on 7 Apr. 1570, Alastair Puddroch and Duncan of the Glen, sons of Alastair MacGregor of Glenstrae and Mariota Campbell.

³ Ardeatle, a township just south-west of Dalmally on the old pilgrimage route to Inishail which became the military road from Inveraray to Tyndrum.

⁴ Probably the MacGregors went down the Stran Mor (now Lochan Shira) and the top end of Glen Fyne and through Gleann nan Caorann into Glen Falloch and down Loch Lomond to Tarbet and so to Arrochar. All of this route would be within Argyll's 'country'.

⁵ Alexander MacNaughton of Dunderave*.

sic skayth. For gif your Lordship rememberis rycht an quhen thair was maist familiaritie betuix your Lordship and me and maist plesand promesses maid to me be your Lordship I and my puir aneis soun thairefter sustenit gretest skayth. Prayinge your Lordship haist your Lordshipis ansuer to me quhat ye will do in revenge of this caus that I ma tak the nixt best thairefter as God gevis me grace. It arperis [sic] to me that your Lordshipis freindis ar offendit that thair is kyndness or familiaritie betuix your Lordship and me in sa far as thai suffer my puir aneis to be oppressit and tretis the doaris thairof. And sen sa is I am hartlie content nevir to cum in your Lordshipis cumpane your Lordship beand weill gif that man satisfie your Lordshipis freindis to l...¹ the lat the puir aneis that duellis in my boundis leif in pece. And ... thinkis nocht to fesche² your Lordship with paper and ink mekle mair. Gif your Lordship findis nocht ane haistie remeid of the skayth I and my tenentis of Glenurquhay hes susstenit sen I departit last fra your Lordship, quhilk wald have hurt ane man that ma spead³ mair nor I. Bot yit ... hoip in God to over cum it all. Pleiss your Lordship to creidit the berar to quhoum I have schawin sum of my mynd to be declarit to your Lordship and sa committis your Lordship to the protectioun of God. At Ilanran the xviii of August 1570. Be your Lordshipis kynnisman in his powar.

141 John Campbell of Cawdor to Glenorchy GD112/39/9/22

18 August 1570, Kilchurn Castle (Loch Awe)

To the rycht honorabill and his speciall eyme Lard off Glenurquhy

Rycht honorabill Sir and eyme eftir my hartlie commendatioun. This present is to mak yow forseyne⁴ that my fryndis in the northe ar in ane poer ewill gewin⁵ to me and purpoiss gif they may to handle me extremely off the quhilkis I wes advertist quhilk cawsit me to hast me oure with the mair expeditioun the nerest gait. Praying yow to excuiss me that I mycht nocht cum that gait quhilk gif I mycht wald haif don with glad will. Nochtheles prayis yow effectusly that quhen ye speck with my Lord of Athoill that ye will remembir of my affaris quhilk I shew to yow anent Cowpargrange⁶ and do thairinto as ye thynk expedient quhilk I hoip to

¹ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

² Trouble.

³ Succeed or prosper.

⁴ Give advanced knowledge of.

⁵ 'Evill gevin' means 'inclined to do evil' or 'cause trouble'—in this case powerfully!

⁶ These were lands attached to the abbey of Coupar Angus and were a matter of contention between the earls of Atholl* and Argyll. The last abbot of Coupar was Donald Campbell: see Appendix C. Coupargrange had been feued *en bloc* to John Campbell of Skipnish*: 8 Jan. 1560, RMS, iv, 1535; M.H.B. Sanderson, *Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1982), 127, 196. It is not known when Campbell of Cawdor* became involved with these lands.

be for my wele. And ye sall haif me and that thyng that I may do for your guid will and mynd with the service and plesour I may. And dowttis nocht gif my fryndis beis regeros to me bot ye that ar fryndis will supple me as your awin. As I salbe rady to all fryndis to do that thyng that fryndis thinkis to be don. This hewing na farder to writ bot lat this present mak my hartly commendatioun to your bedfallow and all your barnes quhom with yow the Lord haf in keipin. Off Glenurquhy the xviii day of August 1570 be youris at his uttermaist power. Youris.

142 Glenorchy to Argyll (draft)

GD112/39/9/25

20 August 1570, Ilanran Castle (Killin)

[No address]

My Lord efter maist hartlie commendatiounis of service. Your Lordship sall rescave this mask of wrytingis comen fra the Secretar¹ to me this day desyrand thaim to be haistit to your Lordship with deligence quhilk is difficill to me to do the passagis ar sa dengrous to my serwandis. Nochtwithstanding I can nocht bot hassart thaim quhen I se ony thinge occur that concernis to your Lordshipis pleissuer. Your Lordship rememberis that ye writ to me vi dayis syin² that your Lordship wald be heir the last of this instant for to convein with my Lord of Huntlie and the rest of the Lordis of your factioun³ in Dunkeld the first of September. And now I am informit that thai have desyrit your Lordship to have thair conventioun in Balloch quhilk is ane waray on meit place for sa gret ane nummer of nobill men consideringe thair is na releif of luginge or furnesinge ...roeis to it. And your Lordship knawis that the gret trublis and skathis I have sustenit laitlie that I ma nocht furneis sic ane cumpanie according to your Lordshipis honour and myin as I was wont to do. Thairfor I pray your Lordship caus thaim provyid sum uthair place for thair conventioun bot as for your Lordship and sa mony as your Lordship bringis out of Argyll with yow sall be waray welcum with the best furnesinge that ane man that gaitis daylie herschip⁴ and oppressioun ma mak. I wat your Lordshipis wisdoum will nocht desyer me accept sa gret chargis considerringe the trublis I and myin suferis daylie and albeit your Lordship wald desyir me I will nocht accept it sen I think nocht my self abill

¹ Maitland's* letter to Grey Colin, 20 Aug. 1570, GD112/39/9/24.

² See 134.

³ The proposed gathering of the queen's party to discuss tactics.

⁴ Plundering.

thairfor accordinge to my honour. I dout nocht bot your Lordship will consider this and la [sic] na moir burdinge upoun me nor I ma beir for I se na releif maid to me be your Lordship or ony utheris of my trublis saiffand God onlie. For I am the sairest handlit baroun in Scotland this day consideringe I have nocht ane autorite againe me but be ane pak of common thevis that hes na releif bot be thaim that suld be my freindis and that onlie throcht your Lordshipis overluking God knawis. As for sum newis in thir partis I wat my Lord of Huntlie and the Secretar hes writing to your Lordship at lenthe. The rest referris to your Lordshipis adverteisment and sa committis your Lordship to the protectioun of God. At Ilanran the xx of August 1570 be your Lordshipis kinnisman at his powar.

143 Gregor MacAne MacGregor to Glenorchy GD112/39/15/18

Sunday, 20 August 1570,¹ Kilchurn Castle

To his trest master the Laird off Glenorquhae

Rycht honorable Sir and trest Master efter maist harty commendatioune of serwis. This is to adverteis your Mastersip that I haiffe sene your Mastership wrettingis derectit with Jon MacCorquidill prior of Sthethfillan to me of the quhilk I thank your Mastership grettumle. Quhair at your Mastership biddis me of guide hart hart [sic] and comfort and to tak no susse² of my kye at it was thane fra me instantle. Is [sic] to that is I sall mak my God ane ansuer so at your Mastership and your Mastershipis barnis be weile I susse no mair no kynd of geir mowable at I haiffe in eirde³ nor nevir sall mair nor I susse of ane drinke of watter as lang as your Mastership and your Mastershipis bairnis beis guide to me and conformand to my serwis done to your Mastership and bairnis tymis coming efter my uter power and deligence. And to the werificatioune of the samyn thought I be ane auld man heirof promeiss in presence of God quhat evir your Mastership lippinnis to me to be done of serwis ather within your Mastershipis place or uthow without your Mastershipis place I sall war my selffe and lyfe and guidis or ellis it sall end with me quhat evir your Mastership puttis foranens⁴ me to be done. And as to the rest of my mynd say your Mastership hes schawin me in your Mastershipis wrettingis to giffe credit to Jon MacCorquidill I sall schawe him the rest of my mind attour departing to be schawin to your Mastership. And is [sic] to the nummer of the kye at wes tane wp laytle be the Clangregoris is the nummer

¹ A reply to Grey Colin's letter of 18 Aug. 1570 (139) probably written the next Sunday, 20 Aug.

² Care or trouble, not to be concerned.

³ Earth.

⁴ In front of.

sex scoir of kye and foir scoir kye fra me and fra the thenettis of Ardchaitill. And is to that Clan MacOldonychis bairnis bayth sonis and thair wyffis and other puire menis vyffis at was hereit¹ followe the Clangregor and the herscip in the mene tyme. And thai gatt all thar awin guidis and key and so no guidis restit wn cumm hame bot myn rest of myn thair come hame agane fywe kye and thre styrks.² And so rest wn cum hame of my guidis iixx and fyve. And quhairat your Mastership biddis me haiff your Mastership biddis me haife [sic] your Mastershipis place weile furneist is to that will God it sall nocht want na furneising efter my power. And quhairat your Mastership biddis me latt no mair of men within your your [sic] Mastershipis place bot my fameliar servandis albeid your Mastership bad me at our departing lat in with me swm other. Is to that be God I thocht nevir to lat in none otheris without I sawe ane scherpe command fra your Mastership mair nor I gatt at our departing. Nocht ellis bot comittis your Mastership to the protectioun of God. From Glenorquhaie this last Sundair I be your Mastershipis serwitour at all power.

144 Argyll to Glenorchy

GD112/39/9/26

21 August 1570, Dunoon

To our traist cousing Colene Campbell of Glenurquhaye

Trest cousing eftir hertlie commendatiounis. We ressavit lettiris fra the Secretare tending in effect toward our tryst and conventioun to be had for ansuer geving to my Lord Levingstoun³ and thinkis the place of meting to be mair convenient ewiss your place of Balloch nor in Dunkell. Seing the uther Lordis ar conveint togither and as yit nocht skaltit and yit Dunkell is over neir the Lawland quhilk we have ponderit in the self to be reasonable for our awne ga...⁴ And becaus this mater is chargeable to yow as we writt ... yit we dubt nocht bot ye will prefer our honour to ye ... and we sall consider the samen for my Lord Duik we Flemyng and Kilwynnyng⁵ will campe with yow in Balloch. And ... Huntlie Athole Levingstoun and Secretar wilbe in Weme... and Garthuilie.⁶ And we to meitt ewiss the

¹ Harried or plundered.

² Young bullocks.

³ For the proposed meeting of the queen's party and William, 6th Lord Livingstone's instructions: 134.

⁴ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁵ Grey Colin's camping guests at Balloch were to be James Hamilton, duke of Châtelherault*; Argyll himself; John, 5th Lord Fleming and Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning.

⁶ James Menzies of Weem* and William Stewart of Grandtully* were to have as camping guests George Gordon, 5th earl of Huntly; Atholl*; William, 6th Lord Livingstone and Maitland*.

watterside of Tave.¹ And we beleif the tryst sall nocht last lang becaus syndrie of the noble men that we lukit for to be thair is nocht able to keip the samen. And this fer we thought guid to mak yow foirsene for we knaw your guid will to ws in all thingis tending to our honour and doubtis nocht bot ye will meit ws in Ellanran the last day of this monethe quhan we ...an be on your chargis as we haif done afoir sua that ye may convey us be the way the easiast passage ...Attour becaus we will have sum servandis of our awin ... our conveye to thai partis and for releiff of greter chargis of your cuntreis we will pray yow to caus sic men as of usit with ostlarie² to pas to Perth and bring wyne and aill with uther plenisng to your cuntre for furnesng of our servandis and thai sall have thankfull payment in reddy silver ... this wa... doill nocht bot ye will think reasonable ... committis yow to God. Off Dunnune the xxi day of August 1570. Youris ...

145 Same to same

GD112/39/9/29

23 August 1570 [1st letter], Dalinglongart³

To our traist cousing Collein Campbell of Glenurquhaye

Traist cousing efter maist hertlie commendatiounis. We have resavit your letter and hes haird the credeit of your servand and for the Clangregor that hes of lait hereit and spuilyeit your land and tenentis in Glenurquhay.⁴ And ye burden us of our promess ...⁵ saiftie thair of as to that ye knaw our promess was performit ... for in your awin presence and be your awin desyir we appointit our freindis and servandis the Laird of Parbrek⁶ with sum of the men {of Lorn}⁷ and all Lochhowe⁸ was all ordenit to keip the saidis boundis off Glenurquhay togidder with sum number to haif followit the Clangregor quhilkis was mair nor your awin desyir for the present and ... nochtwithstanding that our self haid our forces at that tyme ... to haif paist to the Lawland. And gif men hes nocht done thair ... we vill mak God juge that the wyit was nocht in this negligent thairfor it is nocht neidfull to blame us of our promess ony farder ... it was spoikin. And als for the revenge ye think guid to ... obtane of the rasetteris of your and

¹ The meeting ground was to be by the River Tay probably just west of Aberfeldy on the Haugh of Weem.

² A version of hostelry, or providing lodging.

³ Near Dunoon.

⁴ This refers to Grey Colin's angry letter of 18 Aug. 1570 (140) not the letter of 20 Aug. (142); also see Argyll's 2nd letter (146).

⁵ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁶ Colin Campbell of Barbreck, the natural son of the 4th earl of Argyll and half-brother to the earl of Argyll.

⁷ Readings from GD50/116/66-7.

⁸ All the men of Lochawe and some of Lorn under Barbreck and others to pursue the MacGregors.

youris guidis and geir. As to that in ... we wilbe maist willing thairto sua that ye send sum speciall heidis man with sum number of your awin men to do the saymen and we sall gif of our men to pass with youris the double number and this als ... shortlie as ye will think neidfull efter our first command ... And als for the remidid ye will saik at the auchtoreteis hand ... for ony ... we know nane bot the Queinis Maieste auchtoritie ... and gif ... be that uther trayittouris auchtoretie we th... may mak you bot auld friendis and kynnismen ... thay be als ... dable seing thay will apply thame thairto. And quhar ... that ye ... our kin and freindis are offendit with familiar ... betuix ws and ... as to that gif it be we neither knowis ... thinkis that thay suld beir mair favour to the Clangregor ... to your ... elkis ... nor never will put your hous in ballance with sic ewil men ... For the knowlaige thair of God willing housone ... returne fra thir pretendit tryist we sall conveyn the haille surname¹ samone as are within us in ane hous and thair sall know thair myndis towarttis yow and quhat delegece and painnis thay will tak for your releif. And than gif thay will think to tyne you in thair defalt ye wilbe the less to blame to seik remeid at uder handis. And as for our awin parte in particuler we will never fail in our constancies towarttis yow bot will conteneu thairin as we haif done never the less of my suspitioun your vilfulnes will moif you to. Als for Maknaithan² we will nocht write lang of that matter bot awayis he sall ever abyid the jugment of your self and our kyn in our presence and gif he hes offendit salbe punissit. Farthair we pray yow to mak us haistie advertisment of your resolut mynd heir anennttis because we and oder nobill men are to pas to that parte to meit with the nobill men that are to be thair of the monethe. The caus of the haistie answer is that your writting is exstreim and except we pas thair upoun our awin garde for the convoy of oder nobill men gif ye be nocht mair satisfieit with your self. Thairis syndrie oder heidis spoikin to us be the beirare as credeit to the quhilkis we think nocht neidfull to gif ansuer to in write and hes schavin our mynd thairanenttis to the beir [sic] to quhome ye sall gif credeit on thayis heidis he hes schawin to us. And sua referring to your nixt advertisment with haist to us. We commit you to God. Off Dellinlangphorte the xxiii daye of August 1570. Youris asswritly.

[PS] Your serwand hes sawyn ws sum credyt gyf we culd belyf wald mak ane mair passyant³ man nor ws angry at the hart all wayis we refer all to metting.

¹ Argyll is offering to convene the whole of Clan Campbell to sort out Grey Colin's MacGregor problem.

² Alexander MacNaughton of Dunderave*.

³ Patient.

146 Same to same

GD112/39/9/27

23 August 1570 [2nd letter], Dalinglongart¹

To our trest cosing the Lard of Glenurquhay

Trest cosing efter hartly commendatiounis. We hayf rasawyt your last lettir this xxiii day of Awgwst and had gyfin answr to your formar letter fra yowr serwand Jhon Makcorkadyll.² I pray yow tak not my wder lettir in ewill part³ qwhyll I and ye meit and I belyf to satyfy yow wyt resoun all wayis. I wylbe at yow the last of this mwnet in Ellanran for the tryst wyl...⁴ hald and for ony body to be wyt yow bot only the nobyll men that passis wyt me⁵ newir menynt wder wayis. For the Secretar wryt to me affoir that bayth Athall and Hwntdy wyt all thar company swld be in thair awin frendis rwmis. As for the men of Lochowe that wold nocht obay the cry⁶ I hayf sawin my mynd to the mynastir of Kyllyn⁷ anserwand I belyf ye mystar nocht to wryt to ... qwhyll our awin mething and this sa committis yow to God. Fra Dallynlongford the xxiii of Awgwst 1570. Youris asswratly.

[PS] I pray beir wyt me becawss I am ay trwbland yow and God wylling I sall reqwhyt it oder be ane main or wder.⁸ Thar passis na nobyll mein with me but the Dwk the Lord Flyming and Abat of Kylzenyng for Boyd⁹ I belyf he sall not cwm at this tym.

¹ Near Dunoon.

² Grey Colin's letter of 20 Aug. (142) arrived on 23 Aug. after Argyll had written his reply to 140.

³ Argyll's first and angry letter (145).

⁴ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁵ For the party: 144.

⁶ This refers back to the raid near Kilchurn Castle (140).

⁷ John MacCorcadill*, who brought the letter, was the exhorter rather than the minister at Killin: *Fasti*, iv, 184.

⁸ Either by one means or another. After the meeting of the Lords, Argyll gave Grey Colin two bonds: the first allowing him, Glenlyon* and Lawers* to make their own settlement with Regent Lennox, 4 Sept. 1570, GD112/1/185a; the other permitting anyone within Argyll to serve Grey Colin, presumably against the MacGregors, 5 Sept. 1570, GD112/1/186.

⁹ Robert, 5th Lord Boyd was unable to attend, but the meeting took place on 2 Sept. 1570 at the ford of Lyon: BBT, 136; Calderwood, *History*, iii, 13.

147 Andrew Leslie, 5th Earl of Rothes,¹ to Duncan Campbell of
Glenorchy GD112/39/9/28

23 August 1570, Perth

...² cosing Duncane Campbell fear of Glenurquhay

Cosing eftir maist hertlie commendatiounis. I ressavit ... and am sorie for the skayth that is done be the Glengregors a... upoun the Laird your faderis rowmes and far sorie... for the Laird your fader cousanis³ thairatt and the Ladie ... alwayis sen thai limnaris hes hed ower guid luik ... \tym may serwe that/ turne at this tyme it maun be tein in patience t... pwnisit for thair demeritis and that evill turne acquit ... rest. According to your desyre I sall informe the Regent and the rest off the Consall off the misbehaviour of the Glenfarlane and uther Lenox folkis⁴ and sall do gret ... tham pwnisit for the sam. As materis fallis out heir efter I pray yow mak me frequent advertysment in caice the Laird and your moder have nocht the laiser to do the samen sua I will nocht spend my travell and labouris in ony thing ... to the weill off your faderis howss. And sua mak hertlie commendatioun to the Laird your fader and moder. For the present committis yow in the protectioun of the eternal. At Perth the xxiii of August 1570 ...

148 Glenorchy to Argyll (draft) GD112/39/9/30

25 August 1570, Ilanran Castle (Killin)

[No address]

My Lord efter maist hartlie commendatioun of service. This sall certefie your Lordship that I haif resavit your Lordships writin fra this berere the xxv of August makand mentioun that your Lordship my Lord Duke Grace with sundre uther noblemen wilbe in Ilanran the last of this instant.⁵ Your Lordship hes alterit purpoissis schortlie for your Lordship wrote to me that this tryst suld be in Dunkeld bot the Lords in the est syde ar mayr circumspect in thair awin partecular nor your Lordship is in haldin in of

¹ The only legible part of the signature is 'R...th...'. Although this letter is attributed to William, 4th Lord Ruthven* in John MacGregor's collection, GD50/116/242, its content and tone reveal that it is from Duncan's cousin Rothes* and not from Ruthven, his godfather.

² Ellipses represent damage to MS.

³ This refers to the raid near Kilchurn Castle and Gregor MacAne's* people: 140-1.

⁴ This was the continuing problem of the MacFarlanes and others in the Lennox resetting the MacGregors: Introduction.

⁵ This refers to 144, though it is not clear if Grey Colin had received 145-6. It is surprising that Grey Colin did not mention the killing of 14 of his men by the MacGregors on 22 Aug. 1570: *BBT*, 136; MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 379.

thair awin geir. Nochtwithstanding the Duke Grace your Lordship with ony uther noble men that cummis with your Lordship salbe weilcum. Bot I am sory that I may nocht tret your Lordship as I mycht haif done in tyme bygaine bot quha hes the weil of it God knawis. And quhar your Lordship biddis me beir with your Lordship at this present I haif borne sa far with your Lordship that it hes hurt your Lordshipis honour and myn bayth and wald to God that we mycht be restorit againe quhilk I sall schaw gude will efter my power and douttis nocht in my God bot he will releiff me with your Lordshipis help. Your Lordship sall resave ane mask of writingis that come fra the Secretar ii dayis syne and I held thaim still quhill your Lordshipis last boy that ye send to the Secretar returnit becaus non of my boyis dar trawaill. I will nocht perturb your Lordship with langer wrete at this present. From Ilanran the xxv of August anno lxx.

149 John Carswell to Glenorchy

GD112/39/9/32

27 August 1570, Kilmalieu (Inveraray)

To the rycht honorable Colin Campbell of Glenurquhay

Rycht honorable eftir my hartle commendatiounis. I haif writtin to my Lady your bedfello as I promesit to do at our last commoning in the purpos spokin befor my Lorde.¹ And becaus I gat nocht present conferens with my brother of Ardkinglas² quhill latye I culd nocht wryit ane resolut ansuer quhill now quhilk petitioun of his ye may parseave be the lettir direkit be me to hir Ladyship quherof I desyre the ansuer. Als be this last truble quherof I am sorie as God knawis. The chantere of Lesmoir³ waikis and thair is ane freinde of myne qualefeit for the samen quha will nocht only gratife yow bot also use your awin counsall concerning the fruittis and rentis thairof conforme to your awin guid plesour and benevolens. And gif it wald pleis you to accept him ye wald do me thairin plesour and your ansuer of this. I haif na novellis to wryit bot prayis yow to haif ane stout hart agains thir trublis and labour be all meinis to stay ferder cummer gif it be possible. And sa committis yow to God from Kilmolewe this 27 of August 1570. Your awin assurit to command at power.

¹ This refers to the marriage negotiations with Ardkinglas*, which were being conducted by Argyll and Carswell*: Introduction.

² James Campbell of Ardkinglas was Carswell's brother-in-law: Appendix C.

³ The chantry of Lismore became vacant on the death of John Clerk (or Campbell): 154, 187.

150 Glenorchy to Dougal MacDougall of Dunollie (draft)

GD112/39/10/1

6 September 1570, Ilanran Castle (Killin)

The copy of the writin send to MacCowle

Rycht honourable Sir and traist freynd efter hartlie commendatioun. It is nocht unknowin to you the cummeris that I haif and I haif few helparis onlie bott God and now sein ye and utheris of your freyndis that hes sum proffit of me nocht movand be you bot be your freyndis will nocht do service thairfoir bot puttis me of with fenyeit¹ flatterand wordis. Samony of your freyndis that hes proffit of me nor ye will pay me my awin dewete of my landis as I schaw you oftymis. Quhairfoir sein ye ar nocht willing to help me nor yit your freyndis in my anster quhilk wor nocht your comoun in partecular.² For I did my dewete to your hous quhen it wes at ane scharp poynt³ and sall do the samen as yit sua the falt be nocht in your self. Thairfoir and ye wor weill myndit to me ye wald caus sum of your awin freyndis and myn tenentis ewise Glenurquhay ains in the xv dayis with ane sobir nomir with ii or iii nychts meit quhilk wur esalie done to thaim. And I lipnit the samen credet to Alane MacConache Roy to shaw you the samen bot I se thair cummis na purpois bot dryving of tyme.⁴ I pray you appardoun me that I write scharplie to you for ye nor your freyndis hes nocht ane excuiss now bot my Lord of Argyle is weill willing thairto. I am ewill content and als varray sory that your freyndis that hes proffit of me dois nocht thair dewete nor yit service to me quhilk is able to cum to thair rewyns schortlie and that throcht thair awin occatioun and falsett⁵ that thai sall never haif ane fut of me albeit I seld gif it to the Clangregor quhilk I wilbe layth to do gif I may git utheris. Nocht haiffand forder ocatioun at this present bot God bles you. From Ilanran the vi of September anno lxx.

¹ Feigned or deceptive.

² Either 'answer' or 'anter' meaning adventure, which was not your particular obligation.

³ Grey Colin had helped John MacDougall of Dunollie* in the 1550s when he was in trouble with the 4th earl of Argyll*: 4.

⁴ Procrastination.

⁵ Falsehood.

151 William Stewart of Grandtully to Lady Glenorchy (draft)¹ GD112/39/12/18

10-15 September 1570²

[No address]

The Jwvice Clark is drecetitt to the Erlr Sussix with ansar to the abstinence is desyrit of ws quhilk in ane maner is a refuse of his desyris. The Regant is detarmynyt to hald the Parliament cum qwat [sic] may and to parsew tha dessobadeant subjectis be the lavis the ralem. The conforince haldys fordard betuix the twa Quenes³ quhat cumis of that I am onsartan bot the Quen of England has writtan dessiring that the Lordyis profassouris of the Kingis atorytie suld entar in na jelosie with hir for schow sall se to the Kingis furce. And the resshow⁴ wrtittis schow was sa ernstly prassit be the ambassaturis of France and Spaine that hir honor scho culd not rafwse to her Qwan. How all the matteris swceedyis we wyll knawe schorly and tharfor I think mait with owt the Lardis bassines reqwir the grattar hast he stay quhill he se how all thangis prosedis for thai all yet in susspak.⁵ The Justes Clark wyll be raturnyt with in v or vi dayis and than mane wyll have suer knowladg quhat cwris⁶ the Qwan of England takis efter quhais cwming I sall mak him adwartesment that he may do tha likliest for his ayn well.

152 Peter Hay of Megginch to Lady Glenorchy GD112/39/10/3

15 September 1570, Edinburgh

To ane rycht honorable Ladie the Ladye of Glenurquhie

Maistres eftur my verraye hurtlie commendatioun. Pleis I spake my Lordis Regenttis Grace conforme to your informatioun quhom I find sa weill myndit to your husband as ye wald desyre. Sua thar he sayis gyve the Clanfarlein will nocht forbeir the company of the Clangregor⁷ he sall put

¹ This is a very rough and incomplete draft. Although it does not have the characteristic 'slef' of Grandtully*, the writing does have a number of similarities with his hand. He refers in the letter to 'the Lardis bassines' so is probably writing to Katherine.

² Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoule, justice clerk, was sent to the earl of Sussex on 10 Sept. 1570, was with Sussex on 15 Sept. and back in Edinburgh on the 19th, to be sent again on 22 Sept.: *CSP Scot.*, iii, 341-2, 345, 353-4, 355.

³ Although Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth never met, this period saw serious negotiations in England concerning Mary's return and the settlement of the civil war in Scotland.

⁴ It is not clear what this word could be.

⁵ Suspicion.

⁶ Probably 'course'.

⁷ The MacFarlanes were accused of resetting the MacGregors: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 386.

tham bayth furth of the Lenox and sall tak sik part with your husband agains his innemeis as sa he sall dewiss at his heir cuming. Quhilk His Grace luikis for tobe within thir few dayis as he hes desyrit him be his wretting quhilk His Grace hes befor my heircuming directe to him.¹ Alvais His Grace denyiyis [sic] that evir he hes hithirtillis grantit ony thing in the favors of the Lardis onfreyndis nor yit is myndit to do. In lyk maner Drumquhassill² standis the Lardes freynd quaharof ...³ sa ... the Lard sall have experiens at meting. And dessyris that the samen be knawin to the Lardis self alannerlyie for rasonable causse he promisst tham the man that hes offenndit ... and sall na langer be his servand. All men heir ar in gud opinion of the Lard and meins his caice in sik maner ... gif it standis in thir mennis handis to releive him ... he mabe assurit thairof. Quhairfor gyve his ... may serve without his skayth I find it guid ... proffit him tobe heir schortlie. I will nocht trubill you with langer wretting at this tyme bot desyring that ye will mak my hartlye commendatioun to the Lard your husband I commit you to the protectioun of almychty God. Of Edinbrugh the xv day of September 1570. Your verray assurit freynd at all power.

153 Patrick Murray of Tibbermuir to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/10/4

17 September 1570,⁴ Perth

To the rycht honorabill and special Lady the Lady of Glenurquhay

...⁵ quhar ye redine⁶ me to rememberance of your last spekyn and myn I sall nocht foryet to do the samyn with diligence and sall pass to that effect this Monday to Edinburcht with my Lord⁷ and sall hest yow ansuer sa sone is possibill for I will nocht neglect that thing that ye lipnit unto me in fear of Godis punishment. And sall remember my Lord of the buk of your bill the Regenttis Grace of the better part of the gossip and sa sone as I have done your besynes in Edinburcth I sall tary na langer bot sal hest yow ansuer of all thingis. For I have na uther besynes ado at this present thair bot to speik my Lord Regentis Grace and the uther maner ye vreit of. Nocht havand forder occatioun to vreit at this present to your Ladyship. I prayand yow to mak me hertly commendatouns to the Lard

¹ Grey Colin was expected to come to Edinburgh to make his peace with the king's party: Introduction.

² John Cunningham of Drumquhassill, who put pressure upon George Buchanan of that ilk* to sort out his differences with Grey Colin (163).

³ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁴ See Ruthven's* letter, 19 Sept. 1570 (155).

⁵ The top of the letter has been cut off.

⁶ In the sense of 'recall'.

⁷ William, 4th Lord Ruthven*, who will travel to Edinburgh on Monday, 18 Sept.

your Ladyshipis bedfallow. And the Spreit of the Lord Jesus rest with your Ladyship. Of Perth the xvii day of September. Be your Ladyshipis awne cousing at command.

[PS] Ass to the Frenche men or uther strangeuris I heir na void of thaim bot all hes loyst.

154 John Carswell to Glenorchy

GD112/39/10/5

18 September 1570, Carnasserie Castle (Argyll)

To the rycht honorabill and his speciall frend Colein Campbell of Glenurquhay delivr this

Rycht honorabill Sir eftir my maist hertlie commendatiounis. I rasavit ane letter of lait drect fra you unsubscrivit neither be your self or yit your bedfallowe nochttheless I knavyng the hand writ and purpoiss hes considerrit the saymin weill and thankis you of your guid ansuer.¹ Now ye sall pleiss wit that my Lord my maister my Lord Erle of Ergyll hes schavin to me that ye haif granttit to his Lordshipis servaitour and paige Neill Campbell the gift of the chantourie of Lismoir and that for his Lordshipis earnest request maid to you thairanenttis.² And his Lordship hes requerit of me to except the said persone and to try his qualificatioun quhilkis I sall do and partlie hes done for he hes alradie sum letteris and salbe put to lernyng as my Lord hes promest. Quhairfoir nochtwithstandyng of my former desyir of you to haif obtenit the said benefeis to ane freind of myne I am werie glaid to haif my Lordis said servand placeit thairin and be this present is content thairwith. And gif ye pleiss to present him to me and the remanent members of the kirk with your gift and guid vill to him thairefter he sall haif institutioun as efferis³ the kirk to gif. And so haifing na farder occatioune to wrytt. With hertlie commendatiounis to your bedfallow committis yow to God. Of Carnastie the xviii day of September 1570. Your assurit frend to commande eftir power.

155 William, 4th Lord Ruthven to Lady Glenorchy GD112/39/10/6

19 September 1570, Edinburgh

To his sister the Lady Glenwrquhey

Sister efter maist hertlye commendatiounis. I haiff wrettin att lenthe to the Laird your husband towart the effaris quhairof ye gaiff me informacioun

¹ The unsigned draft probably refered to the Ardkinglas* marriage negotiations: see Introduction.

² Concerning the appointment to the chantry of Lismore (149, 187).

³ As is appropriate.

sua that I neid nocht to redubill the samen in this letter. Bott always I think werrey meit he hest to com ower seing all thingis is liklye to tak effect to his awin hertis desyr for ther is na thing ressonabill he can desyr for fordering his caus that wilbe refusit and therfor tyme now wald nocht be tint. My Lord Regent {shew me that¹} MacFarland and wthers of his procurment trawelit for {lycence} to resot the Clangregor.² Bott his Grace gaiff plain ansuer that he w{ald} rather persew thaim as rebelis to the ded and giff MacFarland {or his kin} mellit ony way with thaim thai suld incur the sam danger h...³ quhai sall shew me in lyk maner that it wes fals that wes reportit of ... haim \towart the labouring for our syt/ bott he culd nocht stope thaim quha attemptit wrar... deid ... upon him. Bott schorlye the Laird suld haiff apperien... this procedingis quhat affectioun he beir to ...kit ... the credit he hed. He hes augmentit the ticket⁴ ... with ... and sayis giff \ony of/ his men be giltie thei salbe the first ... be offerit to the law. Mak me advertisment befor the Laird ... to the effect giff he think it necessar that it may be present ... at his cuming. Ther is na newis presentlye heir bott the wrettingis quhilkis wer passand fray Monsur Werak⁵ and the Lord Flemyng out of Dumbartoun to Athole ar tain be the gait ... It is manifesit that the King of France will request for the Quein bott he will be lothe to ... to conquest the inemitie of the maist part of Scotland ... considerat freindis to his realm. The pest is warray grett in the north partis of England and speciallye through all Northumberland and the bordoris. As I haiff uther occasioun ye salbe advertisit and sua for the present ceasing to trubill yow with⁶ anger lettir committis yow to the protectioun of the eternall. A{t Edinburgh this} ... xix of September. Commend me to my sone Duncan⁶ ... to cum doun at farrest again my return ... Youris ...

156 William, 4th Lord Ruthven to Glenorchy GD112/39/10/7

19 September 1570, Edinburgh

To the rycht honorabill and his maist special frend the Lard of Glenorquhay

Rycht honerabill Sir efter maist hertlye commendatioune. Sen my cuming to this toun I haif spokin my Lord Regent and the Erll of Mortoun

¹ Readings from GD50/116/241-2.

² MacFarlane and his clan were accused of resetting the MacGregors and signet letters were obtained against them, GD112/1/193: Introduction.

³ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁴ This must refer to Drumquhassill who provided extra names (156).

⁵ The letters of Monsieur Verac (a French soldier and diplomat) to Maitland* were intercepted by the king's party: *CSP Scot.*, iii, 353, 362-3.

⁶ Black Duncan* who was Ruthven's* godson.

in your effaris according to your awin informatioun giffin me be my sister your bedfallow¹ quhome I find werry desyrus to haif your presens heir sa shortlye as ye may to confer with yow baithe in the common effaris as also in your awin particularis. Quharin my Lord Regent is als weill myndit as ye wald wyss and hes assurit me that nochtwithstanding he hes gottin monye persuasiounis to shawe fawour to your enemis thai sall haiff nain of him mair nor thai hed of the Regentis Grace that is with God.² And att your cuming ye satesfiing His Grace ressonable towart the advancement of the Kingis authorytie and your dew obedience \to His Maiestie/ he sall nocht onlye persew the Clangregor as ye desyr bott alsua with his awin persoun will defend yow aganis the grettest within this realm giff thai suld pres to anoy yow or your rewmis.³ As to the punishment of sic of the Clanfarlan as wes att the slawchter of your men ye wilbe satisfeit in that matter. And ordour wilbe tain for the resett of the Clangregor in lyk wys within the boundis off Lennox.⁴ My Lordis Grace thocht nocht necessar to wrett to yow att this tyme becaus it is sa short quhyll sen he wrett of befor \to the sam effec/ bot desyrit me to latt yow test of his gud mynd quhairoff ye suld knaw forder att metting. He fand sum falt that he hed wrettin twyss to yow and that ye wrett nocht again. I excusat the matter that ye thocht to be sa shortlye att His Grace that ye deleyit to wrett quhill be your awin presence ye gaiff ansuer quhilk he wes weill applesit with. Ye sall resaiff ane letter of my Lord of Mortonis⁵ quhom I find conteneu his freindschip towart yow on the auld maner of bye I trust ye will persave als mekle in effect as I wrett. The Laird of Drumquhassill⁶ shawis him werrey freindlie to me in your effaris and sayis ye sall find his guid will in that he may do and hes giffin me many namis of the Clanfarlain that wes in cumpany with the Clangregor nor wes contenit in the ticket I gatt fray your bedfallow. And for the men that dwellis upoun his landis \giff onie off thaim be guiltie thai/ salbe the first that salbe presentit to punishment. Seing the tyme servis weill for yow to gett your hand beyound your enemies I wald ye maid ye gretter hest to cum heir becaus the Erl of Mortoun passis schortlye to the bordor. And sua refarring the rest to your awin wysdoun committis yow in the protectioun of the eternall. At Edinburgh this Tysday lett the xix of

¹ See 155.

² Lord James Stewart, Regent Moray*.

³ Probably a reference to possible reprisals by Argyll if Grey Colin joined the king's party: Introduction.

⁴ These were the two charges that Grey Colin had against the MacFarlanes: Introduction.

⁵ See 157.

⁶ John Cunningham of Drumquhassill had provided names of MacFarlanes resetting the MacGregors and so made it easier to obtain signet letters against them, GD112/1/193. He also put pressure on George Buchanan of that ilk* (163).

September 1570. Youris rycht assurit att power.

157 James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton to Glenorchy GD112/39/10/8

19 September 1570, Edinburgh

...¹ verrey gud and ... freind the Laird of Glenwrquhay

Traist freind eftir my hartlie commendatioun. I understand be my Lord Ruthven² ye ar desyrous to know my Lord Regentis mynd and myne anentis your heircuming for schawing your obedience to the Kingis Maiesteis service.³ I doubt not nor ye sall find your self tobe welcum to the Regent. And as to me ye sall find me your freind as ye haif fund me heirtofoir. It is reportit that your nychtbouris the Clangregor ar begun with yow agane. Ye schawing your obedience to the King and keping your freindschip with your auld freindis heir ye will find men willing to help to releif yow out of cummer bayth with thair counsale and assistance as ye will know farder at your cuming. To the quhilk tyme I refer the rest. And swa committis yow to God. Frome Edinburgh the xix day of September 1570. Your gude freind.

158 Patrick Murray of Tibbermuir to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/12/1

20 September 1570,⁴ Edinburgh

To the ladde Glenourquhay ...⁵

Maistres efter meist hertlie commendatiounis. This salbe to schaw yowe that I fuilfylit yowr commandymnt and hes speikin to the Regent Grais quhay sayis he can writt nay mair ... he hes downye ellis kowis⁶ and heis raysayvit naye ... anssour bot the Layrdis comand in offyrand his service ... Kingis Maygistie and his dyodye⁷ to his Gras. He vill ... cawis meintyne him in his honest and joust acxtionis ... sall giff his awyne bodye thairto to his ...mens ... The schonar the bettyr he cum⁸ allis I spaik d...aissill⁹ quhay assuris me that all his laiiis¹⁰ that is spaik ...him as the Laird and ye sall

¹ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

² See 156.

³ For Grey Colin's careful negotiations concerning his joining Regent Lennox and the king's party: Introduction.

⁴ See 153, 157.

⁵ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁶ Possibly 'before now'.

⁷ Duty.

⁸ The personal appearance of Grey Colin at court was regarded as essential by all his friends there: Introduction.

⁹ This might be the end of Drumquhassill's name (156).

¹⁰ Possibly 'slackness'.

knew at Lythinthie.¹ For he vill do for naye man bot thai that mane byd the Kingis Grace lawis. Writtynne in heist at Edynbroche the xx day of this instand the spreit of the Lord Jasus raist vith yow for evir. Youris ... command.

[PS] I pray fair to my Lord Morttowyn and my Lord Ruthane the raistis.² As for nowis thair is nayne heir bot mony lawboris for tham that is owt.³

159 George Buchanan of that Ilk to Glenorchy GD112/39/10/17

bef. 21 September 1570⁴

To the rycht honorable and his traist freind the Lard of Glenurquhar

Rycht honorable Sir efter hartlie commendatioun. Forsamekle as this present is to advertiys yow that I am informit that ye ar discontentit with sum of my tennentis of my hieland and in specale with Duncan MacCowlkeir and his brother and broder sonis quhilkis ar my tenentis and occupiaris of my landis. And purposis as I am informit to hurt thame and thair bodyis guidis and geir quhilkis is to my gret dishonour and skayth giff sa be that ye intend to do the samyn. Heirfor I pray yow to continew your purpois in thai effaris and gif ony of thair forsaidis personis hes maid ony occasioun or caus to yow to do the samyn I salbe contentit of thare behalff to giff and offer yow that sycht and deliveranis of four Campbellis and four Buchquhannanis my Lord of Argile tobe overman.⁵ And prayis yow to mak me na occasioun of evill mair nor I sall do to yow for I have na will of ineimies. And that ye assure me of yowre perfite and trew ansuer in the premissis. And farder I will nocht writ bot credens to the berar. Nocht ellis bot God have yow in keping. Be youris at power.

160 Glenorchy to Argyll (draft)

GD112/39/10/10

21 September 1570, Balloch Castle

[No address]

My Lord efter maist hartlie commendatiounis of service. I resavit your Lordshipis writing fra MacNakard the xix of this instant and mervellis that your Lordship hes send me na word toward the Clangregor for thai ar daylie doand murthour and spuielye upoun my puir aneis nocht onlie in thir boundis of Braidalbein bot siclyk within your Lordshipis awin boundis

¹ Probably Linlithgow.

² Presumably meaning that their letters (155-6) had covered the rest.

³ Meaning those out of favour; in other words, the queen's party.

⁴ Grey Colin's reply (161). John Cunningham of Drumquhassill had put pressure upon Buchanan* to write this letter (163).

⁵ Buchanan was offering the normal procedure for feud settlement: Introduction.

quhilk is bayth ongodlie and ontollerable. Thairfor I have send Coline Leche¹ to your Lordship with credeit quhilk I dout nocht bot your Lordship will find godlie and ressonable. Praying your Lordship efter declaratioun of Colinis credit to send me ane utir ansuer² quhat is the thinge that I ma lippin for at your Lordshipis hand with your Lordshipis gud consall that I ma tak the nixt best as God will gif me grace. For sein the Clangregor contenewis and as aperis ar myndit to perseveir in all maner of abhominaciouns and wickitnes I dout nocht bot your Lordship with your Lordshipis hail freindis wilbe enimeis to thaim bayth for the gloir of God and your Lordshipis awin honour. For it is nocht onlie my particular skayth thai commit bot opponis thaim selfis againis all the godlie in wsinge abhominacioun and wickitnes and distroyinge the common welthe.³ The rest to your Lordshipis wisdom and ansuer and sa committis your Lordship to the protectioun of the eternall God. At Balloch the xxi of September 1570. Be your Lordshipis kinnisman assurit at his powar.

161 Glenorchy to George Buchanan of that Ilk (draft)⁴

GD112/39/10/11

21 September 1570, Ilanran Castle (Killin)

[No address]

Honorabill Sir efter hartlie commendatiounis. I haf sene your writin and quhair ye wret that ye ar infurmit that sum of your tenentis in your heland lands and speecalle Duncane MacCoulkeir his brother and thair brother sonis quhay ar your tenentis and occupyaris of your landis and that I purposis to hurt thaim in thair bodis guidis and gere to your gret dishonour and skayth. As to that I asser yow I am nocht myndit to hurt na man that partenis to yow nor na uther noble man bot to thaim that I haif ane iust occatioun to be the lawis of the realme nor yit will persew na man bot be the lawis of the realme. Albeit that I be handelit and my pur tenentis utherwyss be nychtbouris quhilk wilbe knawin efterwart. And quhar ye wrete that ye ar contentit to gif me the sycht of four Campbells and four Baquhananis and my Lord of Argyle to be over man of the foirsaidis personis to amend thair faillis efter thair sycht. As to that indeid your offiris is werray gude bot ye haif sum uther tenentis and rowimes quhilk ye aught to anser for be the lawis of the realme that hes offendit to

¹ Colin MacLachlan of Craiginterve*.

² In the sense of 'a final answer'.

³ It is possible that Grey Colin's tone of high moral indignation was partly a smokescreen because he was engaged in negotiations to make his peace with Regent Lennox: Introduction.

⁴ A reply to 159; also see 163.

me as I allege. And gif ye wilbe contenit to submit thai tenentis to the sycht of freyndis I think I suld nocht refuiss it. Thairfoir desyris yoe to adverteis me gif ye will ansuer for the rest of your rowmes that ressettis my tenentis gere that is stollin fra thaim quhilk the law will compell yoe at the lenth. Bot I haif na will of cummeris as ye writ for your awin part bot wald wysche at God that every nychtbour and nobleman wer myndit to punesche trespassouris and lymmaris as I am myndit albeit that I get mayr skayth nor utheris dois for the samen. I am als weill myndit to haif freyndschip of your hous and gude nychtboreit and of all uther honest men to that effect that every ane of us mycht haif ane quyetnes as knawis God and the wyckit man and comoun theiffis to be punist quha extorsis¹ the purr dalie. Reffarand the rest to your nixt advertisment and God blis yoe. From Ilanran the xxi of September anno lxx.

162 William, 4th Lord Ruthven to Lady Glenorchy GD112/39/6/18

21 September 1570,² Edinburgh

To ...³ syster the Ladye Glenorquhay

Sister efter maist hertlye commendatioun. Befor the resait of your last lettre I hed send anser to the Laird towart the contentis of the samyn with my Lord Regentis mynd anent the Lairdis effaris quhilk I omit to wrett onye forder of till his awin cuming. Always I haiff procurit lettres and chairgis to be send to the Clenfarlane and all wtheris dwelling in the Lennox that thei nor nain of them resait the Clengregor under the pain of tressoun and thairwithall hes chairgit MacFarlane to present sic of his surnaim befor my Lord Regent as wes att the slawchter of the Lairdis men within vi dayis efter thai be chairgit under the pain forsaid⁴ And sall do gude will to gett the said chairgis hestit away with sum officer off armis sa soun as is possibill. In the mean tym I sall nocht neid to desyre the Laird to mak hest becaus I knaw he will mak na tarye. Sua makand my hertlye commendationis to him I tak my leiff. Committing yow in the protectioun of the eternal. At Edinburgh the xxi of September. Your assurit broder at power.

[PS] The Abott of Sanctcolmis Inshe⁵ is cumit in this day to tak his appontisment and all thingis concludit att the conventioun in Strathtay⁶ ar turnyt quyit contrarye to ther intentioun.

¹ Subjects to extortion or oppresses.

² See 19 Sept. 1570 (155-56).

³ Ellipsis represents damage to MS.

⁴ Copy of the signet letters against MacFarlane, GD112/1/193.

⁵ James Stewart, commendator of Inchcolm*.

⁶ The big meeting of the queen's party on 2 Sept. 1570 (148).

163 Glenorchy to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/10/16

Friday, 22 September 1570¹, Ilanran Castle (Killin)

[No address]

Maistress efter commendatiounis. Ye sall resave ane writin that come from the Lard of Baqhannan quhilk I think werray ressonable as ye may persave. I gait credeit fra the berare quhilk wes thankfull aneuch as I sall schaw yoe at meiting. Ye may juge be hes wretin that it is cum of the Lard of Drumquhassill² becaus I am able to get court and to persew my awin gere with justice quhilk wyth Gods grace I sall quhen tyme servis. Resave the copy of the ansuer that I send to the Lard of Baquhannan and keip it quhilk is ressonable. I pray yoe spek effectiouslie to Johne Eldar and get the silver to menteines and will God he salbe thankfulle pait. Adverteis me of his ansuer. Send up my pinsaill³ for I haif send furth sum spyis this last Thursday lait. I pray yoe hest me iiii bolls malt quhair ever ye purches it for we haif nane and we leiff thir partis we will tyne all.⁴ Adverteis me of sic newis as ye haif and tret your selff and your barnis for this cummeris will tak ane end schortlie God willing. Send up quhat breyd candlis with ony uther thing ye think gude. And God blis yoe. From Ilanran this Friday be viii houris. Youris husband.

[PS] Fill this flacoun with vyne for we haif na aill but onlie beif bru.⁵

164 John Stewart of Appin to Glenorchy

GD112/39/6/16

24 September 1570,⁶ Duror (Appin)

To the rycht honorabill man Colin Campbell of Glenwrquhay gyff this

Rycht honourable Sir efter maist hartly commendationis. I have sein your writting and onderstandis the samyn makand mentioun that I promesit to be at yow lang syin the quhilk is of waritie. And I was bydand apoin MacKainis sonniss⁷ quaha com to me that samyn day that yowr boye com to me. And quhen I was makand me away my Lordis writtingis owrtwik me schawand me that his Lordship beis in Lorn the second day of Octobar and remains in Dunstafynche⁸ x or xii dayis. And he hes desyrit me to

¹ See 159, 161.

² John Cunningham of Drumquhassill who put pressure upon Buchanan* to settle with Grey Colin (152, 156).

³ Small pennon or standard which was presumably needed to signal to the spies.

⁴ If they left Ilanran to fetch supplies, they would lose all that they had gained.

⁵ Beef broth or stock.

⁶ See 109 and Stewart's* bond with Grey Colin, 4 Dec. 1570, GD112/1/192; BBT, 215.

⁷ Sons of Gregor MacAne MacGregor*.

⁸ The earl of Argyll would be coming to Dunstaffnage Castle in Lorn.

prowyd hym for ane nychtis meit¹ in to Dunstafinche the quhilk hes staiyt me fra my wayange² quhill his Lordship cumyng thair. And thairefter God willing I sall nocht fail to be at yow with all deligens praying yow effectwisly to have me excusit at this tym. For in gud fayth ye sall nocht fynd me fenyeit³ to yow quhill I leif as knawis God to quhom I commit your protectioun. From Durror the xxiii day of Septembar. Be youris assurit at powar with service.

165 Patrick Murray of Tibbermuir to Lady Glenorchy GD112/39/7/2

25 September 1570⁴

To hes speciall Lady the Lady Glenurquhay

Maistres efter maist hertly commendaciouns. This salbe to certefie you that I came hame out of Edinbrocht this Sunday at ewyn and met with my Lord Ruthvenis boy and youris be the gait and perceavis be your bill that the Laird vill nocht be heir down quhill the xxx day. My Lord Ruthven hes tareit on hym this tua or thre dayis in Edinburgh and sua did I bot I am assurit my Lord vilbe at hame this Tysday at evyn sua I heid na vther thing ado bot vaiting upon his cuming thairto think ...⁵ gude that the Laird be sa hesty as the xxx day bot that he cast hym down fyfe or sex dayis afor the parliament⁶ for the tyme is sa schort now ... parliament quhen he comis and my Lord will nocht be redy to... quhill fyfe or sex dayis afor the parliament. I think best thai ... to my Lord Regentis Grace. As for newis of Ingland it is of trewth my Lord of Sussex vrit in to the Regent and Counsall to hawe a ... betuixtis the Kingis faccioun and the Quenis and that the parliament ... continevit to that tyme quhilk over. Na vayis the Regent with the Secret Counsall ...cend to be hest thaim ane plane ansuer thai will proceid to parliament my Lord Sussex and the ... common weill of this countrye.⁷ Thairis mony cumin to the ... and my Lord of Sanctcume⁸ is cum in bot his dress is very hard I wat nocht ... or nocht bot he blawis abrud⁹ that thairis Frenche men cumand to the ... ony secreit and sufferis nocht of that mater nor beleweis it nocht with h... present to vreit to your Ladyship. Bot the spereit of the Lord Jesus be with

¹ The obligation of providing supplies for one's superior, the 'cuid-oidhche' or 'cudeigh', a night's meat or entertainment.

² Departing.

³ Deceiving.

⁴ See 167 and Ruthven* to Grey Colin, 27 Sept. 1570, GD112/39/10/15.

⁵ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁶ The parliament which gathered on 13 Oct. 1570.

⁷ Queen Elizabeth had wanted the parliament postponed, but it was held and then prorogued on 18 Oct., until 22 Jan. 1571: *CSP Scot.*, iii, 398, and 175.

⁸ James Stewart, commendator of Inchcolm*: 166.

⁹ Brags.

you ... this Monday the xxv of this instance. Be your Ladyshipis cousing at command with my hertly commendacioun to the Lard your baidfallow.

166 James Stewart of Doune¹ to Glenorchy GD112/39/10/12

25 September 1570, Edinburgh

To the rycht honorabill and his speciall gwd freind the Lard of Glenwrquhay

Hawing the occation of this present berrar to raparre twartis yow I thoct I cwild do na less nor vissit yow with this laytill vord of lettir to certefe yow of my estet quhilk presently is bot hard as my Lord Rwthven vill schaw yow at metting as hes Lordschipe haes said to me vilbe schortly be reson as I ownderstand he haes send for yowe. And for my awin part thinkis it verry gwud for devers cawissis that ye wer cume. Bot giwe ye vill owist² my counsal as I think thingis standis heir he sall nocht be hestay for ony perschoains to subschroyfe or mak planes bot ienarall.³ Albeit I knaw ye have permutation of swme to do as ye layk, alwayis speir owit delegently of my Lord Rwthven quhat he thinkis best giwe ye may passe with ieneralele, and he and ye ar vayss anwche.⁴ Thairfor I lewe to trobil youe with forther bot to mak yow my verry hartly commendatiouns and to your bedfallow and all the rest of yowr gwid company. Prayis the Lord God evir be your preserwir. Wretin from Edinburgh the 25 of September 1570. Youris. Your awn at hes pwer to command.

167 William, 4th Lord Ruthven to Lady Glenorchy GD112/39/10/14

26 September 1570,⁵ Wemyss Castle⁶

To his syster the Ladye Glenorquhay

Sister eftir maist hartlye commendatioun. I resavit your letter togider with the copies of the wther wrettingis quhilkis I haiff perwsit and send again heirin closit. I thank you for your diligence thairin albeit the are cumin to my knowledge of befor. I dutt nocht bot the Laird and ye ar

¹ Sir James Stewart, commendator of Inchcolm, who had just settled with Regent Lennox on harsh terms: 165.

² Presumably meaning take or accept his counsel.

³ Stewart's advice was not to be persuaded to settle hastily and only to accept general terms: Introduction.

⁴ Wise enough.

⁵ See 162 and Ruthven* to Grey Colin, 27 Sept. 1570, GD112/39/10/15.

⁶ In Fife. The home of David Wemyss of that ilk, who was married to Cecilia Ruthven, Ruthven's aunt.

wyss anechue to consider of the contentis of the wther letter and do the leikliest quhilk I remit to his awin judgement.¹ I haif alreddye send away the letteris to charge the Clanfarland toward the resait of the Lardis enemis² thairin my Lord Regent will tak sic ordour as will stand to his contentment. As the Laird takis purpois in this caice send me word to St Jhonstoun for I am to be ther schortlye. Excuis the boye of hes tarye for I wes in the wit of his stay be caus I hed nocht leaser to wrett quhill now. And sua refarrand the rest to your advertisment committis yow in the protectioun of the eternal. At Wemis the xxvi of September. Your assurit brother att power.

[PS] I pray yow forget nocht to send down my sonn Duncane³ to me how soun he be reddeye.

168 Same to same

GD112/39/11/8

1 October 1570,⁴ Perth

To hes syster the Lady Glenurquhay

Sister efter maist hertlye commendatiounis. I thocht meit to giff yow advertisment that tua of the Quein of Inglandes Secreit Counsell is send down to heir our Quein to witt Secreter Sesill and Sir Walter Malme⁵ and the Quein of England hes desyrit my Lord Regent to send sum perfynt man weill instructit in the common caus to ressoun upone the Queinis deprevatioun and be hir wretting send to the Regent schow apperis to allow alsweill of the governement in the persone of the King Majestie as ewer she did ...⁶ of anye tym. The Abot of Dunfermling departis toward England⁷ ... quhill his haimcuming thir can na certentie be lukit for of the grettest matteris in contrawersie. Giff the Laird think it to his commoditie I wald he suld addres him to cum over and spek the Regent ... sen he promissit it of befor now in the tym of Parlament ... rather that the Erle Athol is nocht lyk to keip tryst. At the lest I wald ... to wret sum fair excuss to my Lord Regentis selff gif he may in cumm becaus it wilbe tain in werrey ewell part in respect he promisit of before to cum giff he stay

¹ The contents of these accompanying letters remain a mystery, though information relating to the plans of the queen's party might have been passed by Katherine and Grey Colin to Ruthven, who supported the king's party: Introduction.

² Copy of the legal letters, GD112/1/193.

³ Black Duncan*, Ruthven's godson.

⁴ See 167.

⁵ Sir William Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's secretary, and Sir Walter Mildmay. Their commission was given in Sept. 1570: *CSP Scot.*, iii, 366.

⁶ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁷ Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline, was negotiating with Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador, at the start of Oct. but was not sent to England until 16 Oct.: *CSP Scot.*, iii, 369, 377, 397-8.

now bot the ... refer to his awin wysdome. I purpos to ryd on Sunday¹ therfoir gif the Laird will pas owr advertis me ane of thir tua dayis and I sall bear him cumpanye. I thocht it wes nocht neidfull to writ to him becaus I hed nocht na wther purpos nor heiring hes contenit. Becaus my gud broder my Lord Methwen² ... for the restis of Balquhydder of the cappas³ byga... hes ado presently with sylver will desyr yow effectuously to ansuer the samyn quhill bye he haif na occasioun to ... but that his wyffis freindis dealis freindlye with him for ... the Laird and he wer hard for that matter. Or that my Lord Atholl suld be spekin to therin of new I hed rather pay the halff of the soum my selff. And sa refferrand the rest to your advertisement. Comittis you to the protectioun of the eternall. At Perth the first day of October latt. Youris assurit brother.

[PS] I pray yow be this present to mak my hertly commendatiouns to the Laird.

169 Colin MacLachlan of Craginterve to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/12/16

Sunday, 1 October 1570,⁴ Stirling

To ane honorabill Laydy the Lady of Glenurquhaye this gif

Eftir my maist hartlye commendatiounis of service. It pleis your Ladyship to wit that I haif spokin with my Lordis page⁵ in Sterling this Settirday quha hes schewin me my Lordis memoriall in the quhilk is continit certan hedis to be schewin to the Lard your husband the quhilk your Ladyship will knaw at the mitting of the boy with your Ladyship at lenth. And amangis the heidis my Lord desyris ane abstinens to be haid at the Lard that freindis may talk in mater betuix the Lard and his contrapairtye the quhilk I pray your Ladyship to dw your dewoir⁶ to procurir the sam and I dowt nocht bot all sall cum for the best to the Lardis honour with Godis grace. I dowt nocht bot your Ladyship wilbe willing to gif the Lard of Ardkynlass ane guid ansour of sic as the boy will schew your Ladyship.⁷ I pray your Ladyship ...⁸ to the boyis awin bissines dw deligens to get his

¹ The following Sunday, 8 Oct., an arrangement confirmed in 174.

² Henry Stewart, 2nd Lord Methven, Ruthven's* brother-in-law. The Balquhiddier lands were in the hands of Lady Methven, Methven's mother and Ruthven's step-mother. There had been problems with the rents in 1567-8: discharge, 15 Mar. 1569, GD112/1/175.

³ Possibly 'capes' or grain with part of the husk still on.

⁴ Refers to Memo, 28 Sept. 1570, GD112/1/188-9.

⁵ Neil Campbell was called Argyll's page. The reference later in the letter to his own business probably refers to his presentation to the chantry of Lismore: 154.

⁶ Do your duty.

⁷ This probably refers to the marriage negotiations with Ardkinglas*: Introduction.

⁸ Ellipsis represents damage to MS.

mater furderit. I spak with 13 12 ko 100 70 R¹ but 10 quha is nocht weil
at eiss bot now 13 is sum part in hop of remedy gif all cumis farderit as is
lyk to cum. Committis your Ladyship in the protectioun of God. Of
Sterling this Sunday. Your serwand to command.

170 Argyll and John Carswell to Lady Glenorchy GD112/39/11/3

3 October 1570, Inveraray Castle

To ane honorabill Ladie Katherine Ruthvan Lady of Glenurquhay

Maistres eftir hartlie commendatiounis. We resavit your letteris of nouellis
and sic utheris efferis as is contenit thairintill and hes conferrit with freindis
beyng present in the heiddis contenit in yourris saidis letteris and youre
bedfallowis.² As to ane heid that God willing taking effect will tend to the
honorable service of our hous and amite and luif betuix the twa houses of
Glenurquhay and Ardkingless be way of allyay³ we ar sa cairfull thairfoir
that we purpois to bring it to ane guid pas to our awin plesoure and to
the honour and plesour and contentment of bayth the housses.⁴
Quhairunto we fynd Ardkinglass vary weill myndit and flexible to our
will thairin according to his dewetie and will present him self to the
performyng thair of quhen oportune tyme sall service and as we sall appoynt.
And that menyng all togydder treuth and uprychtnes in the caus on his
syd lyk as we and he hes expectatioun that the lyk is ment on your syd. As
for the Clangregor we haiff ado presentlie to tak ordour with thame and
the sam requeris that we send sum gentilmen to speik with the Lard
quhilk we mynd schortlie to do eftir that we haiff spokin with freindis
that ar nocht present and speciallie Achinbrek quha will be at us within
twa or three days.⁵ And we trauell for abstinence⁶ at thair handis quhilk we
haif nocht yit obtenit becaus thai ar nocht togidder bot sparpalit⁷ and thai
dar nocht promes for all the hail quhill thay convein togidder and quhill
the Lardis ansuer cum of thair petisiones that salbe send in wrett eftir our
commonyng with our saidis frendis. Prayng your Ladyship to be the
instrement safar as becumis yow of godlynes and your honour and to the
weill of your hous to bring this mater to ane concord and lat it nocht
proceid in forther truble giff ane lytill mater may stay it as we suppone it
ma. Bot becaus the berer will amplefie our myndis mair largely we wil

¹ The numbers were probably a code for different names, one of which might refer to John Carswell* who was not well at this time.

² Argyll's reply to Grey Colin, 2 Oct. 1570, GD112/39/11/1.

³ Alliance.

⁴ The negotiations for the Ardkinglas* marriage: Introduction.

⁵ See Auchinbrek* to Grey Colin, 4 Oct. 1570 (171).

⁶ Truce.

⁷ Scattered.

nocht truble your Ladyship with langer letter. And so with credence to the berer committis yow to the protectioun of God. From Inveraray the thred of October 1570. Youris asswritly.

171 Dougal Campbell of Auchinbrek to Glenorchy GD112/39/11/4

4 October 1570, Inistrynich (Loch Awe)

To the rycht honorable and his traist eme Colyin Campbell of Glenurquhey

Rycht honorable Sir and traist eme eftir maist hertlie commendatiounis. I ressavit your lettir fra Colene Leche¹ and undirstandis the effect of his credit and I mett with my Lord my cheif² on Lochaw quha had send sum to spek the Clangregor desyring ane assurans for ane certan space that freyndis mycht commown in the mater for well of bayth parties. And persavis be the ansuer of thame that the onlie heid thai stand on is for that thai have ane understanding thai can nocht be sover³ without skayth thai refuse alluterlie ony assurans. Alleging the samen to be bot ane motive to thame to tyne thaim that hes done for thame. And the principellis of the Clangregor with quhome my Lord causit spek (to wit) Ewin MacGregor and Duncan Abbrach⁴ vald nocht assure his Lordship of ony assurance bot wald do gud will at the restis of thair kyn for obtening thair of (gif the samen may be). And as for my awin part thair is na thing that lysis in my power bot I will employ the samen for weill of yow and to putt yow out of trublis. And wald wish yow as my speall [sic] freinde to consider the wechtienes of the mater according as the present estait servis and the guid will of freindis to the avancement of your welfair to power to the quhilk I salbe reddie at all tymes. Forder of my mynd referris to the bereris credit and to the memoriall sent be me to yow. And so committis yow to God. Off Inschdryncht this 4 of October 1570. Your assurit eme to power.

172 Colin MacLachlan of Craiginterve⁵ to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/14/2

4-7 October 1570⁶

[No address]

Efter hartlie commendatiounis of my humill service. I haif resavit your

¹ Colin MacLachlan of Craiginterve*, who probably delivered Grey Colin's letter before he went to Stirling: 169, 172-3.

² The earl of Argyll.

³ Secure. The phrase means if the MacGregors cannot be sure they will not be plundered, then they will utterly refuse the assurance.

⁴ Ewin MacGregor*, and Duncan Abbrach.

⁵ The valediction and signature have been lost where the bottom of the paper was cut.

⁶ After 1 Oct. 1570 (169), between 4 Oct. 1570 (171) and 7 Oct. 1570 (173).

writing and hes awayttit on the contentis thairof conform to your Ladyshipis desyre. For I haif nocht sene my awin hous¹ sen my departing fra your self as yit and dois in your efferis all that lysis in my power. Bot to lat yow understand I haif bot letill help nochtwithstanding doutt ye nocht bot I sall do my dewoir at my Lordis hand in halding him in contenewall remembrance of all thingis that ye haif commandit me.² As to the assurance the Lard grantit at my Lordis request Clangregoris hes refusit the samyn and sa far as wnderstand as yit the Lard hes mister to luike to him self and to his men and contre mair attentteklie³ nor he hes done in tymes past. I haif labourit at my Lordis hand that he hes promest me to send Johne Stewart wp rycht schortlie for the quhilk he hes gottin the courtis of the Appin remittit. Als I haif spokin with the Lard of Barbrek quha hes gewin me ane guid ansure and sayis that he is willing to do the Lard all the service he can.⁴ Swa I am walkraff as I can and sall contenew quhill I gett farder intelligens of the quhilk I sall adverteis yow with the nixt lyk as the mater will proceide. Swa ye sall adverteis me with this berar of your mynd fardar and I sall do thairefter as I may best.

[PS] I pray yow lipin na thing heir for na guid bot subpone to the worst and dw for your self. I haif send with your new serwand sum be tong to quhom ye may gif eris farder. The eternall God haif yow in keeping.

173 Colin MacLachlan of Craiginterve to Glenorchy GD112/39/6/27

7 October 1570,⁵ Inveraray

To ane rycht honorabill the Lard of Glenwrquhay this gif

Efter my maist hartlye commendatiounis of my service. Your Mastership sall wit I haif spokyn my Lord and the Lard of Ardknlas quha was heir present in this toune quha is weill myndid as thai say thairself bot I can nocht fynd ane grond bot ane defarens⁶ quhill thai speik the Lard of Achinbrak and that thairefter thai wille send twa gentillmen with sic heidis as is tocht guid be thame with the petitionis of the Clangregor. Preying your Master to tak guid tent⁷ to your self in the mein tyme for I se that the assuirens nocht is past fordart. For the mair gentill that your Master is

¹ Colin had been in Stirling, travelled to Loch Awe to see Auchinbreck, and was now on the road back to Inveraray.

² Colin promises to do his duty by reminding his lord, Argyll, of everything that Katherine had instructed him.

³ With greater attention.

⁴ John Stewart of Appin* and Campbell of Barbrek were going to be sent with troops to Grey Colin.

⁵ See 171-2.

⁶ Delay, until Auchinbreck was consulted.

⁷ Care or attention.

the mair extrem and prud thai ar \I mein the Clangregor/. I tary with my Lord quhill the rest of the freindis cum befoir and thaireftir sall send your Master suir intelligens of thair prosidigis. Praying your Master to be sircumspect in the mein tyme in keiping of your Master and of your cuntray. The rest reffaris to your Masteris iugnent and the eternal God preserf your Master. Of Inverrera y the vii of October. Your serwand to command.

174 William, 4th Lord Ruthven to Lady Glenorchy GD112/39/11/5

7 October 1570, Perth

To his sistir the Lady Glenorquhay

Sistir eftir maist hertlie commendatioun. I ressavit your letter quhairby ye declair that ye Laird wes advertesit that the letters and charges quhilk I obtenit at my Lord Regentis Grace was nocht camit to the Glenfarland. And thairfoir desyrit to knaw quhat officer thai ver derectit with becaus ye sen that he hes nocht done hes dewtie.¹ For ansuer quhairoff ye sall understand that thair wes na Pursyfund nor Officer off Armis in Edinburgh wald tak in hand to execut that charge becaus thai knew nocht the way.² Quhairfoir I spek my Lord Regent and causit his Grace command the Treasurer to wret to ane Officer of Armis dwelland in Glasgow to pas and execut that charge quhilk the Treasurer tuik in hand and assurit me on the morne thairefter that he had derectit the saidis chairgis to that officer with ane serwand off his awin quha he knew well wald put the sam in executioun. Sua I am assurit that the chairgis are put in executioun bot as on the mater be the Treasurer sall mak a compt afoir my Lord Regent off the sam. I will onfail and ryd this Sunday³ as wret afoir. Thairfor mak me advertesment quhat the Lard purposis to do anent the contentis of my former wrettingis.⁴ And sua nocht myndit to truble yow with langer letter presentlie committis yow in the protectioun of the eternal. At Perth the vii of October 1570. Your assurit broder at power.

¹ In her lost letter Katherine had rebuked Ruthven* over the non-delivery of the legal documents against the MacFarlanes (167); GD112/1/193.

² The pursuivants based in Edinburgh did not know the way to the MacFarlanes at Arrochar, so officers from Glasgow were arranged by the treasurer, Robert Richardson. 8 Oct. (168).

³ This probably refers to Ruthven to Grey Colin, 27 Sept. 1570, GD112/3910/15, and the need for Grey Colin to go to Edinburgh and make his peace with the regent (156).

175 AC¹ to William Stewart of Grandtully

GD112/39/11/6

15 October 1570, Dunkeld

To ane honorable gentilman and his special the Lard of Garntully

Rycht honorable Sir efter my hartly comendatioun of service. I have sen your vriting derectet to Alexander Calder for newis als for the Parliament that wes fensit on Twyisday and na thing down quhill Fryday last.² And on Fryday the halle Lordis that wer thair past to the Tollboith without Crown Surd or Septer and thair made twa actis ane approvit the Regentis auctorete ane wthir affermit the last act consernyng the kirk. On Furisday at ewin the Erle of Sussix secretar³ com to Edinburgh with commission thar is desyrit gif the Parliament wes wnhalden to stay the samen and desyret the Kinges Lordis to send sum of thair nobelite to Ingland to heir resonyng of the Scottis Quenes Lordis. And thair for the Quene of Scotland hes promisit be hir imbassadour caus sum hir Lordis sic as Huntly Argill Catness Casselis⁴ with sum wthir Lordis of hir part as ye ken thaim to be thar at resonyng and efferis also. He desyret to prolonge the assurais tane be the Erle of Sussex his maister to be longer for wthir twa monethis to se gif grais can be mad to the Quene of England contentment and our Kinges weill awais. The Lordis in Edinburgh hes conwenit this last Setterday in the Tolboith to awiss quhom thay will send and also hes conwenit sum barronis of ewery shyr to reis ane tax to the saimen effect. As for the Lard of Grang⁵ captan the Regent ...e⁶ consent of his part as het the Erle of Glencarne⁷ de...et of the town afoir the Parliament becaus thai weld nocht conffar the castell of Glesco with the hail benefiss and wald nocht reserfe the Lard of Mertowns⁸ pensiou of fif hunreth pundis. The Erle of Eglintown⁹ wes thair and had nocht to the Parliament becaus thay wald nocht gif him ane remissioun for all bygeins ... Maister Mersell wald nocht wot at the Parliament ather ... that he hed na comissioun

¹ Probably one of Atholl's* close confidants and servants. It might be Alexander Calder.

He is mentioned in the second sentence but this might be a slip for Alexander Stewart who, at the end of the letter, is associated by the writer with this reply to Grandtully.

² Parliament was fenced on Tuesday, 10 Oct., but not begun until Friday, 13 Oct. (165).

³ 12 Oct. Richard Wrothe was carrying instructions from the earl of Sussex: Sussex to Cecil, 17 Oct. 1570, *CSP Scot.*, iii, 396-8.

⁴ The earls of Huntly, Argyll, Caithness and Cassillis, all of whom supported Queen Mary.

⁵ William Kirkcaldy of Grange, captain of Edinburgh Castle, and holding it for the queen.

⁶ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁷ Alexander Cunningham, 4th earl of Glencairn, supporting the king's party.

⁸ Morton*.

⁹ Hugh Montgomery, 3rd earl of Eglinton.

of his fader¹ to wot. As to forder ... wnderstand be the wthir writing ye rasavit this day Tullebardin² wil be heir this nicht with curtiane newis. The Mester³ is weile thankis to God quhilk ye dessyrit to know. I will lat this letter serve for Allexander Stuart and me baith. Well reffer the rest to meiting quhilk I wald wis to be soun and weill and committis yow to God. From Dunkeld the xv of October. Be youris at puar to command as ye pleis.

176 Dougal Campbell of Auchinbrek to Glenorchy GD112/39/11/7

15 October 1570, Dunstaffnage Castle⁴

To the rycht honorabill and his traist eyme Collein Campbell of Glenurquhaye

Honorabill Sir and traist eyme efter hertlie commendatiounis. I rasavit your wryittyn and understandis thairby that ye neither socht assurance yourself of the Clangregor nor yit desyrit my Lord our cheif to seik the saymin of thame. As to that howsone I schew the saymin to my Lord, his Lordship for his avin honour schew to me your hand writ with sum articlis quhairin was contenet that the assurance suld be desyirit and guid deid offerrit be you to his Lordship for the performance thair of as the saymin beiris.⁵ And nowe seyng that ye haif sent na maner ansuer to me of the articlis sent to you I persaif it is bot wane to freindis to travell fardare betuix you and the said Clangregor either be writte or commonyng of freindis in presence of utheris. And thairfoir I think nocht neidfull that ony freindis tak travell upoun thame for that thyng that is nocht abill to be brocht to ane guid effect. For without ye mak ansuer to the articlis sent be me to you thairis na uther thing as I wnderstand may be haid be the said Clane.⁶ And gif I knew that ane middis⁷ mycht be haid thairin I wald nocht spair to travell in the fardaist parttis of Scotland for your honour and weill. And this I thocht guid to adverteiss you of my mynd nochtwithstandyng that ye write nocht sa speciallie to me. And sua I will refer to your avin wisdoun committis you to God. Of Dunstafanis the xv daye of October 1570. Youris assurit eim att all power.

[PS] And as consernyng the said Clan Gregor sen the matter is abill to

¹ George, son of William Keith, 4th earl Marischal, who had no commission to vote from his father.

² William Murray of Tullibardine*.

³ Probably John, master of Atholl, then aged 7.

⁴ Argyll was at Dunstaffnage Castle for 10-12 days, probably holding justice courts (164).

⁵ This was Grey Colin's reply to the memo, 28 Sept. 1570, GD112/1/188-9.

⁶ The set of articles mentioned in 171, but Auchinbreck's* considerable anger at having all his negotiating efforts with the MacGregors put at risk was very plain.

⁷ Middle way.

cum to the voirst amangis you be assurit thai sall haif na fortificatioun or mantenance of me and as I persair that nane within my Lordis boundis quhatsumever personis is sall nocht haif ony manner of thing to do with the said Clan as the deid self will declair and as ye vill know.

177 Ewin MacGregor to Lady Glenorchy GD112/39/11/15
c. 15 October 1570¹

To ane honorabill woman and ane weilbelovit maistres Lady of Glenourquhay

Maistreis I commend me to yow to lat your Ladyschip to wit that I have writtin to the Laird to the west heid of locht² and this is the effect thairof that I dissyre assurance for aucht dayis quhill my messischer³ and his speik togidder and I dissire your Ladyschip to be thair and your bairnis. And your Ladyship to caus hest me my ansuer with this berair. Nocht ellis bot ye to be gud as my trest is in yow. The eternal God have yow in his keiping. Be yowr freind and servand.

178 Lady Glenorchy to Ewin MacGregor (draft) GD112/39/11/16
17 October 1570, Balloch Castle

To Ewyn MacGregor

Efter commendatiouns. I rassavit your writting⁴ fra this berare makand mentioun that ye had send ane writting to the Lard my husband dissyrand ane assurance quhill your messinger mycht speik the Lard and siclyk dissyris me and my barnis to pass to the wost end of the loycht⁵ to caus my husband to hest yow ane gud ansuer. As to that I can nocht assuir yow instantlie quhan I ma pass thair quhill I send to my husband first and se gif it be his will and gif it be his will that I pass and sall gang and gif him my gud consall that he, ye and the commoness ma haf quyatness sua if your offeris be godle and according to the Lard my husbandis honour. The rest to your nixt advertisement and sua fair ye will in the Lord. From Balloch the xvii of October be xii horis.

179 William, 4th Lord Ruthven to Glenorchy GD112/39/11/9
17 October 1570, Edinburgh

To the rycht honorabill and his speciall frend the Lard of Glenurquhay

Rycht honorabill Sir eftir my verie hartlie commendatiounes. I rassavit

¹ Katherine's reply, 17 Oct. 1570 (178).

² Probably Ilanran at the west end of Loch Tay.

³ Messenger.

⁴ See 177.

⁵ Probably Ilanran at the west end of Loch Tay.

your wretting fray the berar and according to your meaning and his I formed youris upin the blank¹ and deliveret the same to the Regentis Grace quha eftir my informatioun wes weill contentit thairwith as ye may considir be his awin wretting unto yow. I find him indeid verry weill myndit unto yow alsweill for the auld materis as for the tendernes of blude ye ar unto him.² And thairfoir wald ye embraceit the same as it deservis for he is glaid to haif sik discret men as ye in his cumpany. I haif ressavit the auld letters fra the officer and deliverit him utheris qualifeid in the maist scharpe maner as yowr servand can schaw yow and als wa gevin him instructioun how he sa use thame bayth at the heid Barrons and upoun the Barronis and gentillmen and utheris specefeit thairin.³ For thay seing his Grace sua favorabill unto yow it will be riskear to thame to ressett or support your inemeis. His favour and gude will I dout nocht sall daylie incress. And thaireftir how sone ye may gudlie leif the cuntrie I pray yow failt nocht to address yow unto him that ye speking him face to face may haif knowlege of his guid meinyng towardis your self and for releif of the greit herschippe and wrangis ye ressave \of to ye will find alls weill willing as ye to your self can desyr./ For my awin part I salbe als fordwart in your effaris as thai wer my awin as knawis God quha mot⁴ preserve yow eternallie. And swa I remit all uthir thingis to your wisdome and advertisment. Fra Edinburgh this xvii day of October 1570. Youris rycht assurit att power.

[PS] I will be att haim shortlye att quhilk tyme I sall mak yow contefiit⁵ of sic newis as occurris.

180 William Stewart of Grandtully to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/11/10

19 October 1570, Dunkeld

To the Lady off Glenwrquhay

I resavit your writis this day and yesterday and schew my Lord of Atholl the copy of the assurance and requyrit his cunsal in the mater quhay ansuerit that the Lard knew his awyn dwetye and promeist weil enenocht and quhen the mater entrit in hedis he suld gif ansuer to sic as the Lard vald advertis hym.⁶ As to wdyr writingis ye desyrit to Lochchabir men

¹ Ruthven* filled in some blank part of the letter from Grey Colin to the Regent before he delivered it.

² Regent Lennox and Grey Colin were cousins: Appendix C.

³ The legal letters against the MacFarlanes (174).

⁴ May.

⁵ Aware.

⁶ The final stages of the negotiations for the settlement with the MacGregors, concluded on 26 Oct. 1570, when the safe-conduct had been given and the particular points were to be discussed: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 388f.

my Lord of Atholl wald writ nayne bot sayis gif MacRennald and Donald Dow¹ be willyng to cum to the Lard lat ilk ane of thame send ane special man to his Lordship and he sal declare thame his guid mynd to the Lardis contentment. As for newis thair cam ane Robeson quhome ye knaw fra the Queine heir with writyngis fra hir to my Lord of Atholl and siclyk brocht the copy of the articlis desyrit be the Queine of Ingland fra the Quene of Scotland now laity be Secretar Cycill.² The hedis quhairroff wer prolix³ to writ bot thair ar veray hard and strange I sal do guid wil to get the copy of thaim. Siclyk the assurance gifin be the Regent for the tua monethis is veray slycht and mony prowysionis maid thairinto swai that it is nocht thocht veray sufficient. I wil nocht trubbil yow with langer letter for this present bot efter my hartliest commendatioun committis yow to the protectioun of God. From Dunkeld this Thurisday the xix of October 1570 be youris awyn maist assurit.

[PS] It wil plaiss yow caus Thomas cum eist for ye hef halden hym lang enenocht now fra his wyf.⁴ The Cuntrollar⁵ ves in Dunkeld and past haime quhilk stayt me say lang for I gat nay rest nycht [or] day say lang as he wes thair. I sal writ al utheris to yow mayr largle vyth the nixt. Resaiff your writtis again to ...⁶ the copeis ye send.

181 John MacCorcadill⁷ to Lady Glenorchy (draft) GD112/39/11/18

Sunday, 22 October 1570⁸, Combre⁹

[No address]

Efter mest hovmeill commendations and service. This to advertis your Ladyship that I have spokyn vyth Euoyne Makgregour be for his frendis

¹ Ranald MacDonald of Keppoch*, Donald Dubh and Cameron of Lochiel.

² George Robeson brought letters at the start of Oct. concerning the negotiations between Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth: *CSP Scot.*, iii, 384-5, 396.

³ Lengthy or prolix.

⁴ Grandtully's son Thomas, who was probably only recently married to Grizel, daughter of Lawrence Mercer of Meiklelour, Katherine's brother-in-law: prenuptial contract, 21 Mar. 1569, *RSS*, vi, 563.

⁵ Tullibardine*, the comptroller.

⁶ Ellipsis represents damage to MS.

⁷ The enigmatic signature 'Ye vayt quhaye' means the author was well-known to Katherine and deeply involved with the negotiations for the MacGregor settlement. John MacCorcadill* acted as notary and attested the signatures of the MacGregors in their bond with Atholl, c. 10 Dec. 1570, GD112/1/192a. He had carried letters and messages for the Campbells (142-3, 146). This same hand wrote the letters for Ewin MacGregor* (186, 191).

⁸ This letter precedes 177-8.

⁹ Possibly Comrie Castle at foot of Glen Lyon.

and his ansuer is at¹ he vas nocht at the makeyn of this last beyll² at ...³ the Lard and he sayis at he vill nocht deysseyr na thyng at vill do onaye hourth or slaycht⁴ to the Lardis honour. Of proffeyt be tayin at tak the contrayk to my Lord of Ergill his all⁵ the heill vrytte of that beill at cum to the Lard as I sall schaw yow at mayer leyncht. As for parttakaris he sayis that thayr is monaye of taym⁶ that he voll never speyk for bot for poiyr servandis at vass ever kyndlye to heym self and his MacGregors.⁷ I beleyf on God all salbe veyll enevcht. He send for Gregour Nelston⁸ to be at heym on Sondaye that is ane test⁹ betuixt Velyeim Stevart and Eveyne Makgregor on this Sondaye¹⁰ and thayr efter I sall advertis yow of all porpass. And the rest refaris to yowr veillfayer the quhelk I praye God at sa belaing. Of Combre this last Sondaye be yowr poiyr servand at all power of service. Ye vait quhaye.

182 Ewin MacGregor to Glenorchy

GD112/39/11/17

c. 26 October 1570¹¹

To ane richt honorabill man Colin Campbell of Glenurquhay delyvir this

Rycht honorabill Sir eftir maist hertlie commendatiounis of service. Pleis you I hawe sene the kontrak betuix us and thinkis the samyng guid in all affeiris except that my nathewe serwand and parttakaris is left out quhilk is by your Masteris promess and ye be ramember. Heirfoir I pray your Mastership to caus writt the kontrak owir agane and caus specefie thairin all my nathewe servandis and parttakaris in tymes bygane to be als souire in the said kontrak as the raist of my kin and frendes utherways I

¹ In this letter the word 'at' frequently stands for 'that'.

² One of the sets of articles in these final stages of the negotiations for a settlement: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 389-90.

³ Ellipsis represents damage to MS.

⁴ Hurt or slight.

⁵ The meaning of this sentence appears to be: 'Of the interest to be paid on the tack, the contract to my Lord of Argyll contains the whole substance of the bill that came to the Laird'.

⁶ Them.

⁷ The vexed question of precisely which of MacGregor's partakers should be included in the settlement.

⁸ Gregor Neilson in Glen Finglas brought the articles for agreement and negotiated with Grey Colin, 26 Oct. 1570, GD112/1/191.

⁹ Test, in the sense of evidence being given.

¹⁰ This might refer to a meeting between Ewin MacGregor and William Stewart of Grandtully* who was involved in the negotiations (180).

¹¹ The contract and articles agreed between Grey Colin and Ewin MacGregor's* negotiators, Gregor Neilson and Patrick Johnson, were dated 26 Oct. 1570, GD112/1/191; 1/193a. For details of the settlement: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 389-90.

can nocht wyill stand at the said contrak.¹ Thairfoir caus specefie all my nathewe sarwandes resettis and parttakaris thairin that nayne be follewit in tyme to cum for na maner of cryme committit in tyme bygane in persone or guides. And quhen the samyng is done your dissyre salbe fulfillit resonable in all afferis. And mair attour exhortis your Master for baith our weillis that ye caus it to the said contrak pouer that it be wrytten in the Serefis Buikis of Sterueling that we may be bayth the mair sourer thairof.² And thes I dout nocht bot your Master vill do and swa committis yow to God. Be your servitoure at power and command.

[PS] And dyssyres your ansuer in wryt heirupoun ffor giff owir dependouris be put att we can nocht mak na sowirnes for our selfis ffor thai will put at us in tymes to cum quhilk I pray your Mastership to considir and caus mak ane guid securatie for us all as I dout nocht bot ye vill do. The cais I writ this is my sownayme is spacefit in the contrak and nocht my assistours and parttakaris quhilk hes bene all als thankfull to me as my kin for I writ this nocht for nay ill meinyng or ony brak of promess bot sourily bot the wrytter has beine sum thing reckleslie in the samyn quhilk I beleif ye suld consider.

183 William Stewart of Grandtully to Lady Glenorchy (draft)³

GD112/39/12/4

Friday, 27 October 1570⁴

[No address]

I resavit your writyng yestreine fra my son Thomas anent my Lord of Athollis ansur and siclyk desyrand me advertis yow off the contentis of the Quenis lait writyngis brocht in be Robeson. As to the first my Lord of Athollis ansur ves in the same weray termes I writ to yow and at syndry tymes rehersit to me ofttar mor anis becaus I wes partly onoportwnit⁵ and he wes seik vyt gret difficulte he rais of his bed. I vald be weray layth to writ to the Lard or yow in sic causis bot the weray nakit trewth. As to the secund Tulleberdyn twyk the articlis wyth hym affor I mycht get thame copeit bot promesit to send me thame agane.⁶ Yit

¹ This was a very important point—to which Ewin returned in the postscript. Not only those of his surname but all his servants and partakers must be included in the contract, which therefore had to be rewritten: Introduction.

² As an added precaution, Ewin wanted the agreement recorded for preservation in the sheriff court book of Stirling.

³ Endorsed, 'I raiff the bil in the closynn appyn for the maur contreff'.

⁴ Grandtully* had asked for his son Thomas to be sent home on Thursday, 19 Oct. 1570 (180). Thomas had arrived the previous evening with a letter from Katherine which probably took a week rather than a few hours.

⁵ Inconvenienced.

⁶ Tullibardine* had taken the copy of the Robeson articles so Grandtully was rehearsing them from memory: (180); *CSP Scot.*, iii, 363-5.

tred¹ thame at lenth and the hedis as I remembir followis heirefter. The Quene wrote to my Lord of Atholl that scho hed resavit her Lwtennandis writtis datit at Straythtay the thyrd of September² thankand hym vray hartlie of his guid mynd he hed born to hir even and prays hym contenew thairin siclyk declaris quhow Secretar Cycill and ane uther com to hir fra the Quene of Inghland wyth certan articlis quairoff scho biddis hym resaiff the copy. And becaus the tretye betuix hir and hir sister the Quene of Inghland is now schortlie to tak effect desyris my Lord of Atholl Boyd and Heriss repair to hir uther diligence and gif thai may nocht be sparit to caus the Lord Lwistown and Bissob [sic] of Galloway wyth Master Robert Creychtown pas thair.³ It is desyrit in the articlis be the Quene of Inghland that the Quene of Scotland sal renunce hir tytil to the crown of Inghland as scho did of befor in Parliament in Scotland. That nay strangeris men of wyir salbe resaiffit in Scotland nor sufferit to keip ony howss thairin. That gif ony strangeris inwayd Inghland the Quene of Scotland sall support wyth men on hors and fut and schyppis on the Quene of Inghlandis expens and salbe con...tit⁴ ony subjectis in Scotland that pleis sereff the Quene of Inghland. And that (the Kyngis) and Regentis murtheris salbe pwnesit accordyng to the lawis on quhat sumevyr persoun thair freindis vil play ... or persew. That the Quene of Inghland sal hef ane strenth on the coist of Galloway or in Kyntyir for thre yeris to resaiff hir men of wyir of Irland. That the Erl of Morthun ... the Quene of Inghlandis rebellis salbe deliverit and the castell of Hwme to ... Inghland for thre yeris that the Quene of Scotland sal nowther traffic nor writ in ...itens grantit. And that affoir the Quene cum out of Inghland the Kyng ... thair to be nuresit and keptit be ony four or six nobil men that his guid servand ... and my Lord of Mar sal nominat and apoynt to hym. And siclyk ...othis and thre Lordis that salbe nominat be the Quene of Inghland sal entyr ... Inghland as ostagis and remayne and be keptit thair as ostagis for thre yearis quhill at ... fulfillit. Thairis syndry uther chyrgis I remember nocht on. It is supponit albeit ... the tretye sal cum mair dulce the Erl of Sussyx wrot to the Secretar and ... that his brother past to Flandris wuth the Quene of Inghlandis rebellis to sak the fors ... nationis and siclyk of Wyrakkis⁵ returnyng of France. The Erl of Mortown ... Abot of Dunfermlyng passis in Inghland.⁶ MacGil vil

¹ Trace or peruse.

² Agreed at the meeting of the queen's party on 2 Sept. (148), and enclosed in Sussex to Elizabeth, 15 Sept. 1570, *CSP Scot.*, iii, 345-6.

³ If Atholl, Robert, Lord Boyd and John Maxwell, 4th Lord Herries, could not go, then Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway, and Robert Crichton of Eliok were to be sent.

⁴ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁵ Monsieur Verac (French soldier and diplomat).

⁶ See 184.

nocht accep the provestry of Edynburgh ... standis our sway. As I may remember and knawis forther ye salbe advertesit ... sal hef the copy of the articlis and writtis quhen I get thaim. It vil plas ... this writ mak my hartlie commendatiounis to the Lard gif he be cumyn hame and ... that be merry and treit hym slef [sic] weill. Say God conserff yow. Writyn this Fryday ... houris.

184 William, 4th Lord Ruthven to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/11/12

28 October 1570, Edinburgh

...¹ the Ladye ...he

Sister efter maist hertlye commendatioun. I resavit your last letter fray the berar and the wther wrettingis of befor. As to the articles cum fra Inland thei wer nocht farr different fray theim I resavit fra my freind bot I luk for na mair expeditioun of the Quenis haimcuming the yeir mer wes fermyes.² The Quein of Inland is werrey desyrus to haiff my Lord Regent to hest the noble men suld be commissiouneris for the Kingis part to the Cort of Inland for intretting upoun the matteris proponit betuix the Queinis. The Abot of Dunfermling departis within thir tua dayis to prepar the jurney for the rest that suld follow.³ Ther is na certen newis as yit fray Inland how matteris sall succeid bot as the sam cumis ye salbe advertesit at my haimcuming quhilk wilbe within thir thre or four dayis. MacFarlan hes writtin ane letter to my Lord Regent aggaging his hard handling towart the chairpe⁴ chargis hes bein drectit againis him. Bot it is lytill regardit and chairper is to follow without he mend his hand schortlye lyk as ye salbe mair amplye informit heirefter. As ye resaiff onye newis and hes occatioun to wrett I pray yow mak me advertisment and sua for the present makand my hartlye commendatiouns to the Laird. Commitis yow to the protectioun of the eternall. At Edinburgh the xxviii of October 1570. Your assurit broder att power.

185 Alexander MacNaughton of Dunderarve to Patrick MacAne MacGregor⁵

GD112/39/11/19

¹ Ellipsis represents damage to MS.

² In Ruthven's* opinion, the return of Queen Mary was no more likely this year than it had been formerly.

³ Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline, did not leave until 15 Nov. with the reply to Elizabeth's 34 Articles concerning Queen Mary: *CSP Scot.*, iii, 427-31.

⁴ Sharp.

⁵ John MacGregor's transcript provides the full name as Patrick MacAne MacGregor* of the Dall of Glenlednock, GD50/116/76:93. Patrick Johnson, as he was also known, had been one of the negotiators of the settlement between Grey Colin and Ewin MacGregor* (182): MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 388.

12 November 1570, Inveraray Castle

...¹ traist freynd ... Patrick ... of Dall ...

Traist freynd efter commendatiounis. I am informit that ye rehersit and said that ye saw and hard that I gif my hand wret and consent to put down and destroy my thre brothers viz the man that is desseit and the tua that is lavand with xvi men of thair best freyndis. Thairfore uthair be ye dettour to me or elis fynd me ane dettour for I think lang quhill ye fynd ane dettour or elis your selff.² And I hard that Gregor Neilsoun³ wes present and said the samen to my brother Ewin MacGregor. I care nocht quhat dettour ye gett to me and he wor never sa gret ane man for the leiff of the gentill man that ye said that consentit the foirsaidis. I am suyr thai will haif ane dettour of yow or elis of Ewin MacGregor that rehersit the said sinister and wrangus vitious flass revelatioun. Send me your ansuer in wret in all hast. I belevit that sic wrangus comonyng suld nocht be the he...and of our gude cumpany and quhat never I tynit for Clangregor saike I wan never ane merk land or ony thing for putting down of ony of my brether or ony of thair surname. Commend me to your bedfallow and committis you to God. Of Inveraray the xii day of November anno lxx.Youris.

186 Ewin MacGregor⁴ to Glenorchy

GD112/39/12/14

c. 5 December 1570⁵

To our meyst asswryt the Lard of Glenwrquhay

Rycht honourabill efter meyst houmeille commendatiouns and service. This is to advertis you at ve praye you to send us vord quhat pleys ye vill pouynt us to cum to and hou soun ye beleyf get us fra the hornyng at ve ma cum the sounar to our pourpas. And thayr for send me vord vyth this

¹ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

² The accusation was that Alexander MacNaughton* was going to destroy his three half-brothers, Gregor MacGregor* of Glenstrae (executed on 7 Apr. 1570), Ewin* and Alastair MacGregor: Appendix C. MacNaughton denied this serious charge which impugned his honour. It created a debt of honour which had to be satisfied by an apology or a duel. For most of the feud with the MacGregors, MacNaughton had been under suspicion of having assisted them, for example 98.

³ Gregor Neilson had been the other negotiator with Patrick.

⁴ This was probably written by John MacCorcadill* (181).

⁵ After the initial agreement had been made with Grey Colin on 26 Oct. 1570, GD112/1/191, 1/193a, and during the period of the safe-conduct allowing Ewin MacGregor* freedom of movement given by Grandtully* on Atholl's* behalf, 10 Nov. renewed 5 Dec., GD112/1/192a, GD112/2/117/3/27, GD112/2/117/1/26-7. Lifting the sentence of outlawry was done by two letters from the earl of Argyll on 16 Dec. 1570, to the justice clerk, GD112/2/117/1/45, and to Grey Colin, GD112/39/11/21.

berar quhat pleysse ye vill poynt vyth us and thayr efter ve sell keypit nocht ellis bot feill our meything. Be your servand at all povar of service.

[PS] And attoveyr ye sall vay¹ at Makfarlanis freindis voll be vyth one at that for gud of your honour and ouris as I sall shaw you efter vord at mayr leynitht.

187 Neil Campbell to Glenorchy

GD112/39/11/20

16 December 1570, Garvie¹

To the rycht honorabill and his traist Maister the Lard of Glenurquhay

Rycht wirschipfull Sir eftir my maist hertlie and humyle commendatioun. The occatioun that I wryt nocht to your Mastership soner wes that thair wes nane that passit betuix. Now your Mastership sall wndirstand that my Lord² is werie weill myndit towardis your Mastership and sayis that his Lordship wilbe so myndit sa lang as he levis and is weill content that ye be agreit with the Clangregor bot yit thank God and your self quha hes bein your helpar and nocht we. Forder your Mastership sall wundirstand that the Bischoip of the Ilis³ is werie seik constantlie and hes bein sa this gud quhill bigane and I mycht nocht get my institutioun or cullatioune be reasone of the saming. Bot quhow schone I get the saming I sall cum to your Mastership and gif fulfill my obligatioune quhilk your Master hes of myne.⁴ And as for the Ergill nouelis thair is nan bot thair hes bein heir ane conventioun in Carnastre instantlie of the Clanlane and hes agreit with my Lord in all poyntis. As for the Clandonall they haif biddin out⁵ nochtwithstanding that my Lord wryt for thaim thair quhy is that sum of thair awin kyne rebellis aganis James sone⁶ and mycht cum quhill present ordour to the sammen. And this haifand na farder occatioun to wryt committis your Mastership to the protectioun of almychtie. Of the Garvie the xvi day of December 1570. Be youris Master humill servitour at all tymes.

[PS] With my humyle commendatiouns to your Masteris bedfallow my hussie.

¹ Glendaruel, Cowal.

² The earl of Argyll. Neil Campbell is described as Argyll's page but was probably at least in his teens as he was receiving a benefice and going to university.

³ John Carswell* who was superintendent of Argyll and bishop of the Isles.

⁴ The collation to the precentorship of Lismore which had been discussed in 149, 154. The letter of collation was given by Carswell on 26 Dec. 1570 and Neil Campbell gave a tack of the teinds to Katherine and her son Patrick on 15 Jan. 1571, GD112/51/107/3-4.

⁵ Stayed away or delayed.

⁶ The convention at Carnasserie was another attempt to sort out the feud between the MacLeans and the MacDonalds over the Rhinns of Islay. The internal divisions within the MacDonalds caused by the death of James MacDonald of Dunivaig* in 1565 were still creating tensions.

188 William, 4th Lord Ruthven to Lady Glenorchy GD112/39/13/1

7 January 1571, Perth

To his sister the Lady Glenwrquhay

Sister efter maist hertlie commendatiounis. I haif understaund be this beraris informatioun the guid will that MacGregor and the rest off his surname beris to serve the Laird your husband and to keip the conditiounis off this last appoyntment¹ and thairfoir respecting thair guid mening thinkis meit and als desyris yow tobe the instrument to labour at the Lairdis hand to accept thaim eftir ther guid mening and tobe ane patrone and defender of thame in tymes cuming in thair guid causes.² Albeit I knew the Lairdis guid mynd be your report in this mater off befor I cuild do na less nor wret being desyrit thairto seing thair request is ressonable. And haifand na forder occatioun to truble yow with langer letter presentlie committis yow to the protection off the eternall. At Perth the vii of Januar 1570. Your assurit broder att power.

189 Annabella Murray, countess of Mar to Glenorchy GD112/39/13/2

28 April 1571, Stirling Castle

To the rycht honorabill and my weilbelovit freind the Lard Gleinorchar

Efter my weray hartlie commendatiounes. This is till adverteis yow that my Lord is myndit to mak sum prowisioun for his dochter and myne inrespect quhairof it is requisite that thair be sum curaturis chosin to hir. And wnderstanding yow to be ane quhom I think maist tender and deir to me and hir baith and ane of our speciall kynnismen I am willing to nominate yow as ane of thame.³ Thairfoir I haif thocht gud to let yow knaw heiroyf and hes send the berar to yow for the sam effect quhom ye sall credeit. Ferther for newis I haif nane to mak yow adverteisment bot the Kingis Majestie is rycht blyth (praise to God) with all the rest of freindis heir.⁴ Praying yow to mak me participant of sik newis as ye haif in thai partis. I haif na wther mater to wreit to yow for the present committing

¹ A reference to the final settlement between Grey Colin and the MacGregors which was concluded between the end of Oct. and Dec. 1570.

² Katherine was being urged to act as the future patron and defender of the MacGregors and Ruthven* believed that her influence upon Grey Colin was extremely important.

³ Grey Colin was being asked to act as a curator for Mary, Annabella's* daughter. Though Annabella signed herself aunt she was, in fact, Grey Colin's cousin: Appendix C and Introduction. John Erskine, earl of Mar, was also a more distant cousin to Grey Colin through his Campbell mother. Grey Colin acted as curator both for Mary, 19 Apr. 1573, and for John, Mar's eldest son and heir who succeeded on 28 Oct. 1572: *Clan Campbell*, 6, 25, 48.

⁴ The young King James VI was brought up in Mar's household at Stirling Castle.

yow to the protectione of the eternall. Fra Stirling Castell this Setturday the xxviii of Aprile 1571. Be your aynt at power.

190 Same to same

GD112/39/13/6

14 June 1571, Stirling Castle

To the rycht honorabill and my special eme the Lard ..¹ Glennorchar

Eme efter my werie hertlie commendatioues. This is till adverteis yow I wnderstand that my Lord Regentis Grace hes writtin to yow to assist and to hald hard with the Kingis Officer in the wptaking of William Ruddochis escheit grantit be his Grace to my brother Alexander and to possess him in thai rowmes quhilk appertenis to him and his wiff heretablie.² And thairfoir I mon pray yow to stand ane gud freind and father till him as ye do till ws all. For albeit he had bot half rycht I doupt nocht bot ye wald schaw your gude will to mak him the haill. Thairis few newis heir bot the Kingis Majestie is rycht blyth (praise to God) all wther thingis I will refer to my Lord my husbandis writing. Praying yow to haif me rycht hartlie recommendit to your bedfallow and remember that according to your promeis ye gar hir cum heir. I haif na wther mater to truble yow for the present. Committis yow to the protectioun of the eternall. Fra Stirling Castell this xiiii of Juni 1571. Your ant to hir powar.

191 Ewin MacGregor to Glenorchy

GD112/39/14/1

c. 19 July 1571³

To our mest speyshall the Lard of Gleno...⁴

Rycht honourable efter meist houmeill commendasioues and service. I have rasivit your Mastershipis vretingis fra the berar and quhayr your Master seyis at ye have send for my frendis to Balloch the quhilk I am veill contenit thayr of and I sell be on Freydaye at tevin in the Braye of Boquidder and I sell send ane servand of my aveyin⁵ to your Mastership to Balloch vyth my haill meynd anent the men of Rathot.⁶ And I vell uss

1 Ellipsis represents damage to MS.

2 For the Reidheugh-Murray feud: Introduction.

3 After Ewin MacGregor* had settled with Grey Colin, Oct. to Dec. 1570, and before the final settlement was reached with Atholl*, 24 July—4 Aug. 1571. The meeting of MacGregor's friends at Balloch was the occasion for the signature of the agreement on 24 July, GD112/1/197. The letter was written before the previous Friday, 20 July. The scribe was probably John MacCorcadill* (181).

4 Ellipsis represents damage to MS.

5 Own.

6 The problem of Rannoch, both the lands and men, was part of the settlement between Grey Colin and the MacGregors which also involved Atholl and James Menzies of Weem*. When he arrived in Balquhidder on Friday evening Ewin was going to send a servant to Grey Colin to discuss the matter.

your Mastership conseill vyth the rest of the freindis for I thyink hayve at the men of Rannoche sould set our planness¹ on ony tovin eyster Eyregale² and that be causs my Lord of Atholl thynkis at the men vell hald the land of his Lordsheype the quhilk I vell never be contenynt thayr of.³ Bot I uss your Mastershipis consell in that behalf and all otheris at vell cum to my freindis honour and myin. For in gud fayth geyf I vell vaquiet⁴ that rycht at I suld have in Rannoct I sell vaquiet my leyft or elles I vell have the heill vague be ressoun I have na uther staykens⁵ to my freindis as your Mastership knavest. And the rest rafaris to your in veill fayvour. Be your servandis at all pouar of service.

192 Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy to Patrick, 3rd Lord Drummond⁶
(draft) GD112/39/13/8

16 September 1571, Balloch Castle

[No address]

My Lord efter my maist hartlie commendatiounis. This to put your Lordship in remembrance of the freindlie commoninge was betuix your Lordship and me the last tyme I was in Drimmone⁷ albeit I dout nocht bot your Lordship is myndful thairof quhilk sall nocht pass out of my mynd wil God in my defalt. Bot the causs I put your Lordship in remembrance heirof is for thir trublis that ar betuix Alexander Murray and the Redochis. For I am informit that my Lady your Lordshipis mothir solistis your Lordship to put Alexander Murray out of the hous of Aberleidonek and I persaisf the Lord my fadir with my Lord Argyillis assistance and all uther freindis that thai ma mak bent to defend Alexander Murrayis caus and that be ressoun thai find it honest and just.⁸ Tharfor I pray your Lordship have respect to this mater in tyme and solist my Lady your mothir caus the Redochis tak ane abstinence conforme to the Lord my fadiris writing drectit to hir Ladyship. For I feir gif this be refusit and that thai pass to the schortest of it that it will raisse trublis amange freindis.

¹ Possibly 'plenishing'.

² Probably a (ferm)toun east of Argyll.

³ Ewin was determined to resist the suggestion that Atholl should hold the superiority over the Rannoch lands. The final settlement with Atholl was a compromise: MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 391-2. Weem finally gave a tack of Rannoch lands to Ewin on 23 Apr. 1572 (194): MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 393.

⁴ Vacate.

⁵ Stakes or resources.

⁶ Patrick, 3rd Lord Drummond*, had just succeeded his father David, 2nd Lord Drummond*, who died in 1571. This letter is linked to 193.

⁷ Drymen, the seat of the Drummonds.

⁸ The Reidheugh-Murray feud: Introduction.

Quhilk I wald to God war nocht consideringe I know we ar sa weill myndit to utheris quhilk God willinge sall continewe without the faille be in your Lordship. The rest to your Lordshipis wisdoun and ansuer and sa committis your Lordship to the protectioun of the Lord God. At Balloch the xvi of September 1571. Your Lordshipis cousinge at his powar.

193 Lady Glenorchy to Lilius Ruthven, Lady Drummond (draft)

GD112/39/14/20

16 September 1571¹, Balloch Castle

[No address]

Sister efter my hertlye commondatiounis. The Lard my husband hes wrytin to your Lord consorning his bissanes off Abirlednoch quhairby ye may persauf that he is nocht willing that thair suld be ony trubill or desentioun betuix my Lord Drummond's hous and his hous.² Quharfoir I pray your Ladyship consult with God and your awin visdome and consider how gud it is to haif frindis at amitie and concord and specialie now in this trubillas tyme and sen thair is na caus off onkyndnes or desention betuix thair housses as yit bot sic as may be esilie mendit with gud wordis and familiaritie. I pray yow lat nocht uther mens particularis raiss sic trubillis betuix thaim quhar to we ar nocht abill to put remied. For giff thar twa housses fall to discord as God forbid thay do it wilbe wilbe [sic] ane gretar displesoure to yow and me nor ony that we haif senen yit considering we ar sisteris and hes sum credeit off the housses we ar in. The comoun pipill will bruit ws³ giff thair cumis ony ewill amang frindis quhilk mowis me to wryt this to your Ladyship. The rest to your Ladyshipis wisdome and ansur as ye think gud. Committing your Ladyship to the protexioun off the Lord God. At Balloch the xvi day off September.

194 Glenorchy to James Menzies of Weem (draft) GD112/39/12/5

before 23 April 1572⁴

[No address]

Honorabill Sir eftar hartle commendatiounis. Ye sall wit that sowm off MacGregoris freindis come heir latt yestreyne that spak with yow

¹ See 192.

² Grey Colin's letter is lost. For the Reidheugh-Murray feud: Introduction.

³ The fear of being criticised by the common people provides an interesting argument to add to the general pleas not to get dragged into other men's troubles and create a rift between two friendly houses.

⁴ The tack for lands in Rannoch was given by James Menzies of Weem* to Ewin MacGregor* on 23 Apr. 1572, GD50/187/1; MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 393; and 143, 191.

dessyrrand yow to subscrif ane letter of tak to thame of the landis of Rannoch and that thai mycht putt out and in putt subtenenttis as thai thocht gud sua that thai wor nocht of na hear degrie nor Ewyn MacGregor him self. And thai hes schawn to me that ye haf rafussit thame to subscribe the letter of tak quhilk I thynk that is bot lyttill dstance betuixt the latter latter [sic] and the wther. The quhilk I thynk saifand your awyn judgementt that thairis lyttill up or down in durand thair taikis that thai haf power to sett tenenttis at thair awyn plesour sua that thai be nocht of heiar degre nor the said Ewyn MacGregour and als that ye ar nocht obless for the tennenttis of the Rannoch for thair gud rowill bot hes ane discharge of the actoretie in durand thair takis.¹ And now I persave that MacGregour thynkis it hewy that ye haf nocht subscirwit his letter of tak considering that he hes fownd yow cattiuon that ye and youris suld be skaythless of him and his serwandis in tymes commyng and als for gud payment of thair garssowmess.² Thairfor I wald pray yow to subscribe thair letter of tak and gif ye do uthir wayis I tak God to wettiness and your self gif thai brak upone yow in your awyn defalt that I haf na wytt thairof. Bot I watt consydering the distance is sa sobir³ that ye will awyce with your awyn wysdown. Raffarand all uther thyngis and God presarwe yow. Youris.

[PS] I haf tane sown panes upone the Clangregor sene thai haif become my servandis and wald weist you that ye wald do the better to thame. For als lang as thai keip gud rowill I will defend thame sua that thai fall nocht to the actorete.⁴

195 George Johnson to Glenorchy

GD112/39/14/3

26 July 1572, Perth

To his veilbelovit natyf maister and gossaip Collyn Campbell of Glenwrquhay

Rycht honorabyll Sir and belovit gossaip efter hartly commendatioun of service. I hayf seyn your vryting and quhar ye beleyf that MacGregor letter of tak beras nocht to wt put and in bring tenandis.⁵ The contre is trew for ondwtis he hes powar to wt put and in bring ane or many as he plesis in durand the twa yeir conteinyt in the letter of tak. And the caus

¹ Weem had been exempted by the government from responsibility for actions on the Rannoch lands.

² 'Grassums': the down payment for the tack.

³ In the sense of 'small'.

⁴ Now that the feud was settled, Grey Colin was prepared to give his full backing to the MacGregors.

⁵ James Menzies of Weem* and the tack of the lands of Rannoch given to Ewin MacGregor* on 23 Apr. 1572, GD50/187/1; 194.

ves that the Lard vald nocht gif forther that in caice enimies vald purcess¹ MacGregor at the horn quharhow his haill vii yeris nicht cum in asches. It vas toycht gud for MacGregoris veill and the Lardis bayth that the takis swld be schort etc. Bot I ves ordenit be the Lard of Veym gyf onny [sic] man raquirat me to gyf ane copy in the maist scleddor veis² I mycht to the affet that ilk man sculd nocht know the sefety of thair besenes³ Bot I put your Mastership wt of dwt that the tak sklas⁴ no less nor full powar to wt put and in bring tenandis and that may at MacGregor plesare dwrand the twa yeris tak etc. Bot I hayf na commission to part wyth the said letter on till the tyme that MacGregoris promissis be fulfillit. That is to say ye man get my Lord Regent raquest on daites⁵ to the Lard in MacGregoris faworis be rasoun that last Regentis departit. Secundly the grassum man be payit thirdly thair is ane exsept in the letter of tak callis Johen in pay releif that stais the ...eir⁶ bot I beleif sober traite⁷ will get hym the Lardis faworis and quhen your Master wrytis that albeit ye gyf the MacGregor nayn of your awyn landis that ye vill help thaim to all thair just titill I beleyf it is your Masteris part so to do for I am scwr ye may command MacGregor to quhatsumever purposis ye pleiss. And I pray God that lang mae ye be at sic unite quhow evir the world beis for I know non that thai ar so meit for as for your Master.⁸ And yet I know gyf thai hed nocht beyn bandit wyth yow thair is none that vald hayf tane mor tankfull with thaim thit tingis. And wtheris I man rafer to meting etc. A man that is veill twnit hes oft tym ... Nocht ellis bot God keip your Mastership eternaly. At Perth the xxvi of July. Be your Masteris servant and goissaip.

[PS] Credence to the berer etc.

¹ Purchase, in the sense of obtain.

² 'Slender wise'.

³ It appears as if Johnson* was acting as an unofficial notary and had been told by Weem that, if asked for copies of the tack by 'enemies', he was to provide as brief versions as possible so that the full details would not become known.

⁴ Meaning unclear, possibly 'lacks'.

⁵ 'In writing' (indited).

⁶ Ellipses represent damage to MS.

⁷ A small negotiation.

⁸ An interesting echo of the view that the MacGregors were the most suitable servants for Grey Colin (25).

196 Glenorchy to Argyll (draft)

GD112/39/14/15

5-8 November 1572¹

[No address]

My Lord efter hartlie commendatiounis of our service. I resavit your Lordshipis wrytting lest in Balloch \this last Wednesday/ be your Lordshipis boy at viii houris at evin for I culd nocht win out² of Sanctjohnstoun sonair. And quhair your Lordship wrytis that your Lordship and your freindis will assembl in Innvererary and for that caus desyris me effecteouslie to be thair and that your Lordship excuses me in ane pairt be resoun that I am chosin as ane of the Commonaris to se quhat gud poyntment mycht bayth the pairtis be brocht to. I assure your Lordship albeit that my Lord of Mortoun wald send for me³ I wald nocht cum and leaf your Lordshipis busyness undone for the weill of my self and the rest of the freindis quhilk I sall be willeit to imploy my self. Your Lordship haid nevir mair mister to tak ane guid consultatioun with your freindis and as to my pairt I sall byd at your Lordshipis apponioun and your freindis sa lang as I have other lyf or land nocht douttand bot your Lordshipis oppinion and your freindis wil be for the commoun welth of this realme and the profeit ...⁴ of the King. And quhair your Lordship wryt that ye wald send ane servand of your awin weill instructit with your Lordshipis haill mynd the quhilk I pray your Lordship to do and gif the mater be wectie I wald youe send the Laird of Ardinglas or Jhone Stewart.⁵ And quhair your Lordship wryt to me to send ane speciall freind that your Lordship mycht credit becaus your Lordship wald nocht wryt your mynd. As to that be reasson of my diseis as God knawis I have send your Lordship the Lard of Glenlioun⁶ with sic credit as I hard sa far as I can persais. And war nocht that my awin boyis is sum pairt young I wald haif send the eldest of thaim quhilk I beleive thai wald accept the message with gud will conformand to your Lordshipis plesur for thai sall nevir be utherwayis instructit be me as my deid sall schaw induring my lyf tyme. As for newis

¹ Grey Colin was chosen as one of the Commoners for the Pacification of Perth: Ruthven* to Grey Colin, 31 Oct. 1572, GD112/39/14/6. Grey Colin received a letter on Wednesday (5th) at 8 p.m. which Argyll had written on 3 Nov. 1572, GD112/39/14/11. Grey Colin's letter was written before Argyll to Morton*, 8 Nov. 1572, GD112/39/14/9.

² Get away from.

³ The undated memo, of matters to tell Morton on Grey Colin's behalf including the reasons for his delay in coming to Perth, probably belongs to this period, GD112/1/224.

⁴ Ellipsis represents damage to MS.

⁵ James Campbell of Ardinglas* or John Stewart of Appin*.

⁶ Duncan Campbell of Glenlyon*, Grey Colin's cousin.

the Inbassadour of Ingland commes to Perth convoyit out of Stirueling be the Abbot Dunferling my Lord Rathven being in Sanct Jonstoun and als thai lukit for me quhilk I keipit tryst. Bot as to entering to commouning thair wes nocht sic ane thing be ressoun my Lord of Huntlie com nocht forwardis. Master James Balfour wes in Perth to have bene ane Commonar with fyftie hors of gentillmen with pistoletis and lang culveringis bot sen the mater tuke ne effect he tariit bot ane nycht. I haif schawin to the Laird of Glenlioun my appenioun sa far as I can persaif the cours that the Kingis fact is abill to rin. Thai ar weill myndit to aggreance as I persaif quhether it be under collour or nocht I knaw nocht bot I assure your Lordship thair hale confideince is in the Quene of Ingland under God and gif it cummis nocht to concord that the Quene of Inglandis substance sall beir it furth and pereventur the Queinis fact thinkis als mekill.¹ Havand na forder occasioun at this present bot credence to your Lordshipis cousing the Laird of Glenlioun to quham I have schawin my mynd.

197 Nicholas Campbell of Dalwany² to Glenorchy

GD112/39/14/18

28 August [mid-1570s],³ Dalvanie⁴

To rycht honorable laird the Lard off Glenowrquhay this be deliverit

Rycht honorable Sir efter hwmbble commendatioun of service. Forsamekill as I hawe ressavit your Mastershipis writing writin in John MacCarleris my servandis faveiris praying me to gyff hym the thing that he aucht of dewete and to lat his wyff intromit with his cornis. I sall lat hir intromet with his cornis and the rathair at your Mastershipis raquyst. Thair is na thing that he aucht and suld hawe of raisoun bot he sall hawe and mare bayth becauss I am in ane maner addetit throcht my wp brining in his faderis howss.⁵ And als becaus he is in your Mastershipis service for that swrnaym ar kyndlie servandis to ws Campbellis. And ewin as I hawe bein and is willing to be kynd and faverable on to hym sa lang as I liwe and to help hym with sik sowppor⁶ as I may in all tymis cuming. Ewin sa I wald wis hym to knaw his dewete towartis me⁷ and to mark me the

¹ A shrewd analysis of the positions of the political groupings in Scotland at the end of 1572 and their reliance upon English support.

² Nicholas Campbell was the illegitimate son of Donald Campbell, abbot of Coupar Angus: Appendix C. He was made dean of Lismore in 1564 and acquired the lands of Dalwany [Dalvanie], 23 Mar. 1564: RSS, v, 1650.

³ The final number of the year has been left blank, though it probably falls in the middle of the decade.

⁴ In Glen Isla, Angus.

⁵ A reference to being fostered with the MacCarleys.

⁶ Probably support.

⁷ This suggests a certain tension about whether MacCarley should be serving Grey Colin or Dalwany.

occasioun quhairthrocht I may schaw hym kyndnes efterwart quhairwir he sall happin to dwell the quhilk I will the rathair do that he be in your Mastershipis service. Your Mastership will plaiss command me as ane of your servandis and pur kinsmen with sik service or wther thing that lysis in my power. Nocht haweand forder occasioun to wryt at the present. Committis your Mastership to the protectioun of the eternell our God. From Dalwany the xxviii of Auguste 157... Be your Mastershipis ewer obedient servitour and kinsman.

198 Colin Campbell, 6th earl of Argyll to Glenorchy GD112/39/15/1

25 December 1580, Palace of Holyroodhouse

To oure traist cusing the Lard of Glenurquhay

Rycht traist cusing eftir our hartlie commendatioun. Haiffing the oportunatie of this berar your gudesone the Laird of Lawres¹ we thoct gude to adverteiss yow that we haif spokin with my Lord of Glencairnie and we persaif that nathir he nor Caprentoun² will keip your tryst in Sanctjonstoun awayis thay think it nocht neidfull and we ar of the same opynioun that it be nocht langair contenewit upoun your parte. For with Goddis grace we sall keip the tryst with yow yit gif ye think to contenew your tryst unto sic tyme as sic freyndis as ye wald haif at it mycht conveyne.³ Sen ws adverteissment to Campbell⁴ upoun Wednesday nixt quhair we intend God willing to be. For gif your tryst haldis nocht we will stay our jurnay becaus of sum uther effares we haif to do. And swa referring unto the berar and your ansir we commit yow in the protectioun of the allmytie. Frome the pallece of Hallerudhouss the xxv of December 1580. Your assuret cusing.

199 Same to same

GD112/39/15/5

29 January 1581, Palace of Holyroodhouse

To our traist cusing the Lard of Glenurquhay

Cusing eftir oure hartlie commendatioun. We resavit your twa letteris ane ffrome our servand Colene Leitch⁵ and ane uther frome Dowgall MacGregoure. We understand be your letteris that ye haif grantet unto the ossurence betuix yow and the Lard of Weyme to contenew unto the

¹ John Campbell, 3rd of Lawers*, Grey Colin's son-in-law.

² James Cunningham, 6th earl of Glencairn, who was married to Margaret, Grey Colin's daughter, and William Cunningham of Caprington.

³ A reference to the feud with James Menzies of Weem* concerning which Grey Colin had been summoned by the privy council, 29 July 1580: *RPC*, iii, 297.

⁴ Castle Campbell at Dollar.

⁵ Colin MacLachlan of Craiginterve*.

xv of Marche and hes appoyntet ane day of meitting the tent of Fabruar. Bot now sen my Lord of Ruthvenis cuming to this toun we haif conferrit with him at lenth towart thir changes and trewlie we persais that on naways can we leif the Kinges Maiestie ffor sic effares as ar to do quhilk ar nocht neidfull to wreit and thairfoir can nocht keip that day quhilk ye haif appoyntett.¹ Bot sen swa is to oure opynioun gif ye wald that maiteris touke effect schortlie it wer best gif ye mycht taik that travell to maik the tryst in this toun ather upoun the said tent day of Fabruar or schortlie thairefter or ellis that ye nominat sum man for yow to keip the said tryst in our plaice. Utherways gif ye think our presence be necessair and that ye may nocht travell to this toun it is best ye prolong thir assurance unto Maii and lat the day of meitting be upoun ten or tuelf dayis warnyng swa that God willing or the assurance ryn out we hope to haif that lasour be the Kinges service to keip tryst in ony rowme ye appoynt. For now seying that gretair effares is stay unto ws that we may nocht satisfie your desyre yit we dout nocht bot ye will taik the same in gude parte. Ye sall lat the Laird of Lawres know quhilk of thir purposes ye will taik swa that he may certefie the Laird of Weyme thairof and get his mynd thairintill.² For we assure yow albeit ye baith refuis the chairges will pas upoun yow as thai ar direct thairfor I think best unto oure opynioun that ye grant thairto willinglie. As unto the purpos ye wreit unto ws that the Lard of Weyme will nocht set his land to the Clangregor but ane lycence. It is bot ane schift ffor I haif spokin to sum of the Counsall towart sic thing and it is nocht to be grantet bot is ane playne abuse yit at your request quhat I can do utherways we will nocht spair our labour. As unto the Bischope of Dunkeld thair is nocht sic ane thing as ye alledge upoun him as we haif schawin unto your sone Collene³ and gif it wer we suld provyd remeid. We remit all uther thinges to your ansur and to foidare occatioun and swa for the present committis yow to God. At Hallerudhous the xxix of Januar 1580. Your assurett cusing.

200 William, 4th Lord Ruthven to Glenorchy GD112/39/15/7

8 February 1581, Palace of Holyroodhouse

To his rycht honorabill and speciall gude freind the Lard off Glenorquhay

¹ Grey Colin's long-running feud with James Menzies of Weem* could not interfere with the delicate political situation after the Ruthven Raid.

² John Campbell, 3rd of Lawers*, Grey Colin's son-in-law, was to act as the go-between with Menzies of Weem. The memo of Grey Colin's negotiating points probably dates from this time, GD112/1/226a.

³ Colin of Ardreich, Grey Colin and Katherine's second son. This business concerned James Paton, the disgraced bishop of Dunkeld, who was closely linked to the earls of Argyll.

Rycht honorabill efter maist hairtlic commendatioun. I ressavit your letter quhairby I consider your onhabilitie to haiff travelit hidder to keip the dyat betuix yow and the Lard off Wemies in respect of the evilnes off the wodder and schortnes off tyme. As also that ye culd nocht weill agre to keip ony wther dyat in the absens of my Lord your cheiff¹ bot hes rather thocht meit that the day of meting be wpone ten or twelf dayis warning and the assurance to be prolongit to the first off Maii sua the Lard of Veme stay the calling off all action intendit agains yow be law. Quhairnent I haiff wrettin to him my oppinioun desyring that he suld agre heirto albeit it be sumquhat differente fra the form off assurance drect [sic] be the Counsell and yet nocht disagre abill fra the tennour of the compromit² maid in Striuling. Bot I haiff nocht ressavit his ansure as yit.³ Quhair of ye sall be advertesit how schone the same cumis in my handis if ye be nocht certifiert of it allreddy quhat to luk for heiranent be the Lard off Laweris quha was redant⁴ beath be my Lord your cheiff and me to deall heirin. For I wald be warie glaid to haiff thir maters taking gude effect betuix yow and your nychtbours and sall leiff no thing on done that becumis me to the forderance of the same. Iff freindis anis met I dout nocht bot materis suld agre to beath your easimentis and contentmentis. And sua hartlic desyris to wnderstand of your weifair efter my hairtlic commendatiounis to my sister your bedfallow. I committ yow to the protectioun of the eternal. At Halyrudhows the viii off Februar 1580. Your rycht assurit at power.

201 Glenorchy to Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy GD112/39/15/8

3 February 1582, Balloch Castle

To his weilbelovit sone Duncane Campbell fear off Glenwrquhay

Sone I commende me to yow. Ye sall witt that I have gottin ane wretin fra your broder out of Edinburgh that thair is na newis thair bot that my Lord Duik and my Lord of Arrane is nocht aggreit as yit.⁵ And als he hes send me word that my Lord of Arrane sayd to him in Edinburgh that he wald cum up and vesit me. Treulie I have na provisitioun for his Lordship and albeit I hed I think I may raking mare kindnes to my Lord Duik and ye baithe. Therefore I pray yow for the Lard of Garinntulyis trast and

¹ The earl of Argyll*.

² Settlement.

³ Ruthven* had written to James Menzies of Weem* to persuade him to accept the new arrangements even though they were not exactly what had been agreed at Stirling. The final settlement of the dispute was reached after Grey Colin's death, 15 Nov. 1583, GD112/23/2/3, 23/2/5.

⁴ Probably 'reddand', in the sense of arranging.

⁵ The dispute between Esmé Stewart, duke of Lennox and James Stewart, earl of Arran. The letter was probably from Black Duncan's* brother-in-law, the 5th earl of Atholl.

his yenthed¹ to labour at your gudmoderis handis² that I am nocht at ease at this tyme and ye knawe that I am nocht provydit. Bot I persave safare as my Lord of Ergyle wald have him cumand heir it is nocht for my weill nor yitt youris tharefore I will stik with auld freindscheip. I persave that my Lord of Athellis yenthede with his compilicis warris my witt³ into that cais bot it sall nocht be for thame. Tharefore pray the Lard of Garintulie becaus he is in court with my Lord of Arrane gif he seis that my Lord Arrane cummis heir to excuce me of ane honest maner. Refarris all uther thingis to your advertisement sua committis yow to God. Frome Balloch the third of Februare 1581. Youris.

202 John Fenton to Lady Glenorchy

GD112/39/15/9

15 July 1583, Edinburgh

To the rycht honorable Ladie Glenurquhay

Madame eftir maist hairtlie commendatioun of service. I resavit your lettir and hes considerit the effect thair of concerning the mailis of Descher and that of the last Witsounda terme quhairwith ye allege the Laird wald intromet be resait thair of fra the tenentis of the ground and nocht fra yow as principal propretar during your lyftyme.⁴ Gif swa be he dois you wrang in respect ye ar content to pay to him as quhat in lawe the few mail aucht be yow for samekill as ye ar infest in. And to the effect that ye be na utherwis usit nor as principal fewar during your lyftyme \I haif wrettin ...⁵ leit./ Thairfor ye sal ansure him thankfullie of that quhilk ye ar adettit ffor. Like as I gif the Lard your sone my counsal as he wald thryif and be honorit of his awin bairnis quhen he sall cum to aige. Evin sa lat him honour yow as ane obedient sone to ane honorabil mother and I will counsal you in likemaner to intrait him lovinglie as a natural mother suld trait the chyld. And be ane ithand⁶ intercessour for peace quietnes and brotherlie luif betuix him and his brethair⁷ swa that be thair freindlie behaviour ye and the rest of thair freindis ma haif confort and thair inemeis

¹ Grandtully's youth. William Stewart of Grandtully* had died in 1575 and was succeeded by his son, Thomas.

² Black Duncan's godmother Isabella Stewart, Grandtully's mother.

³ To make apprehensive or careful.

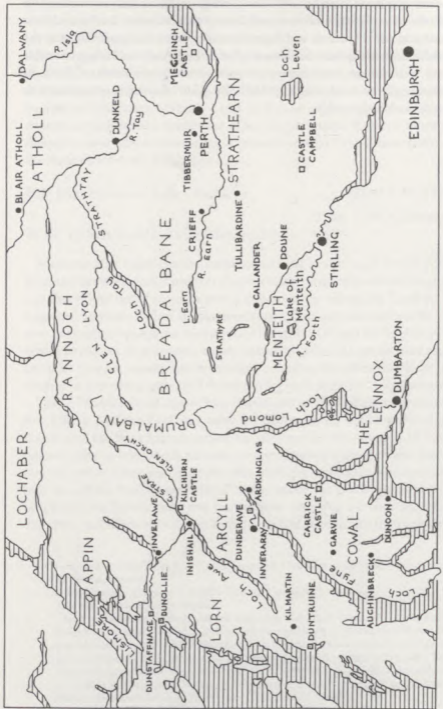
⁴ There was a family quarrel between Katherine and Black Duncan* who had just succeeded his father as laird. It concerned the royal lands of Discher and Toyer, the two sides of Loch Tay, which Katherine held in liferent, but from which Black Duncan had collected the rents. Fenton, having previously served as comptroller clerk, had been made comptroller on 29 Nov. 1582. He was providing legal advice and seeking to mediate in the dispute. It may be relevant that a month after writing this letter Fenton was succeeded in office by James Campbell of Ardkinglas.

⁵ Ellipsis represents damage to MS.

⁶ A version of 'eident', assiduous or persistent.

⁷ Black Duncan also had quarrels over land with his brothers.

terour and dreid. And for my awin pairt thair sall na man in Scotland be glaidar to understand of your and thair prosperiteis nor I salbe and mair reddie in my sobir rank and degree to sarve yow of all guid offices as the deid sall schaw quhen occasioun salbe offerit. And swa laifing to truble yow with langar leter committis yow to the protectioun of God. At Edinburgh the xv day of July 1583. Be your Ladyshipis awin assurit to command with service.



ARGYLL AND PERTHSHIRE

APPENDIX A

Letters in the Breadalbane Collection, 1548-1583¹

<i>Date</i> ²	<i>Correspondents</i> ³	<i>Ref.</i> ⁴
18 Oct. 1548	Argyll (4th) to John of Glenorchy	1/1
18 Oct. 1548	Argyll (4th) to John of Glenorchy	1/2
30 Apr. 1554	Argyll (4th) to Grey Colin	1/3
c. 27 Apr. 1555	Lawers to Grey Colin	1/9
13 May 1555	Lawers to Grey Colin	1/7
c. Mar. 1556	Lawers to Grey Colin	1/8
c. 1555/6	MacLean of Duart to Grey Colin	1/4
10 June 1559	Argyll (5th) & Lord James Stewart to Menteith, Ruthven (3rd), Tullibardine (10th) & Grey Colin	1/5
26 Aug. 1559	Argyll (5th) & Lord James to Grey Colin	1/6
8 Oct. 1560	Grey Colin to Argyll (5th)	2/1
20 Dec. 1560	Lords of Council to Grey Colin	2/2
28 Jan. 1561	MacDougall of Dunollie (14th) to Grey Colin	2/4
11 May 1562	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	2/6
27 June 1562	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	2/7
29 June 1562	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	2/8
22 Nov. 1562	Atholl (4th) to Argyll (5th)	2/9
30 Nov. 1562	Ardkinglas to Grey Colin	2/3
12 Dec. 1562	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	2/10

¹ Items in bold are printed in this volume.

² Substantial revisions have been made to the dates given in the NAS catalogue.

³ See Appendix B for a biographical index of the correspondents of the printed letters.

⁴ The full reference is prefixed by, NAS GD112/39 e.g. for the first letter, NAS GD112/39/1/1.

12 Feb. 1563	Larg to Glenlyon	2/12
28 Mar. 1563	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	2/14
3 Apr. 1563	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	2/15
c. May 1563	Neil Malcolm to Grey Colin	12/3
9 May 1563	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	7/4
31 May 1563	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	2/16
21 June 1563	Atholl (4th) to Argyll (5th)	2/17
24 June 1563	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	2/18
1 Oct. 1563	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	2/20
4 Oct. 1563	Grey Colin to Argyll (5th)	2/21
11 Oct. 1563	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	2/22
13 Oct. 1563	Skipnish to Grey Colin	6/31
25 Oct. 1563	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	2/23
13 Jan. 1564	MacGill to Grey Colin	3/1
13 Jan. 1564	Maitland to Grey Colin	3/2
13 Jan. 1564	Morton (4th) to Grey Colin	3/3
19 Feb. 1564	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	3/4
2 Mar. 1564	Glenlyon to Grey Colin	2/13
31 Mar. 1564	Atholl (4th) to Grey Colin	3/5
6 June 1564	MacDonald of Dunivaig to Grey Colin	3/6
c. 3 Aug. 1564	Grey Colin to Weem	2/5
11 Sept. 1564	Lady Dunivaig to Grey Colin	3/7
8 Oct. 1564	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	3/8
11 Oct. 1564	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	3/9
20 Nov. 1564	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	3/10
bef. 25 Nov. 1564	Gregor MacGregor to Katherine	3/19
25 Nov. 1564	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	3/11
c. 25 Nov. 1564	Gregor MacGregor to Grey Colin	2/25
2 Dec. 1564	Gregor MacGregor to Grey Colin	3/29
24 Jan. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	6/25
25 Jan. 1565	Ardkinglas to Grey Colin	3/13
29 Jan. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	3/14
29 Jan. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Katherine	3/15
29 Jan. 1565	Ardkinglas to Grey Colin	3/16
1 Feb. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	3/17
1 Feb. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Katherine	3/18
24 Feb. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	3/20

25 Feb. 1565	Auchinbreck to Grey Colin	4/1
5 Mar. 1565	Alistair MacGregor to Grey Colin	3/21
6 Mar. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	3/22
8 Mar. 1565	Maitland to Grey Colin	3/23
11 Mar. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	3/24
14 Mar. 1565	Auchinbreck to Grey Colin	3/25
16 Mar. 1565	Grey Colin to Argyll (5th)	5/2
19 Mar. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Katherine	3/27
19 Mar. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	3/26
21 Mar. 1565	Ruthven (3rd) to Grey Colin	3/28
5 Apr. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	4/2
22 Apr. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	4/3
3 May 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	4/4
7 May 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	4/5
11 May 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	4/6
24 May 1565	John Wood to Katherine	4/7
5 July 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	4/9
6 July 1565	Ardkinglas to Grey Colin	4/10
9 July 1565	Grey Colin to Argyll (5th)	4/12
3 Aug. 1565	Ardkinglas to Grey Colin	4/13
10 Aug. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Katherine	4/14
13 Aug. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	4/15
24 Aug. 1565	Moray to Grey Colin	4/16
24 Aug. 1565	Duke & Moray to Grey Colin	4/17
28 Aug. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	4/18
30 Aug. 1565	Grey Colin to Argyll (5th)	4/19
summer 1565	Grandtully to Grey Colin	5/20
c. start Sept. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	2/11
1 Sept. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	4/20
7 Sept. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	4/21
12 Sept. 1565	Duke, Moray, Glencairn & Rothes to Grey Colin	4/22
15 Sept. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	4/23
17 Sept. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	4/24
23 Sept. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	4/25
25 Sept. 1565	Erroll (7th) to Grey Colin	4/26
c. 26 Sept. 1565	MacDonald of Keppoch to Grey Colin	5/21

10 Oct. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	5/1
17 Oct. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	5/3
20 Oct. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	5/4
28 Oct. 1565	Grandtully to Grey Colin	6/17
30 Oct. 1565	Grey Colin to Grandtully	5/5
31 Oct. 1565	Grandtully to Grey Colin	12/2
31 Oct. 1565	Ruthven (3rd) to Katherine	5/6
31 Oct. 1565	Ruthven (3rd) to Grey Colin	5/7
1 Nov. 1565	Grandtully to Grey Colin	6/32
1 Nov. 1565	Grey Colin to Grandtully	6/22
c. 1 Nov. 1565	Atholl (4th) to Grandtully	14/19
1 Nov. 1565	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	5/8
c. 2 Nov. 1565	Grandtully to Katherine	12/7
3 Nov. 1565	Grandtully to Katherine	12/10
4 Nov. 1565	Grandtully to Katherine	6/30
5 Nov. 1565	Ruthven (3rd) to Katherine	5/9
6 Nov. 1565	Grey Colin to Queen Mary	15/3
c. 11-16 Nov. 1565	Gossip to Grey Colin	5/16
25 Nov. 1565	Grandtully to Grey Colin	6/23
c. 26 Nov. 1565	Grey Colin to Grandtully	6/24
c. 30 Nov. 1565	Grandtully to Grey Colin	15/21
c. 30 Nov. 1565	Gossip to Grey Colin	5/19
2-10 Dec. 1565	Gossip to Grey Colin	5/18
c. 7-10 Dec. 1565	Gossip to Grey Colin	5/23
11 Dec. 1565	Gossip to Grey Colin	5/11
12-24 Dec. 1565	Gossip to Grey Colin	5/17
17 Dec. 1565	Carswell to Grey Colin	5/10
23 Dec. 1565	Ruthven (3rd) to Katherine	5/12
25 Dec. 1565	Gossip to Grey Colin	5/13
26 Dec. 1565	Morton (4th) to Katherine	5/14
27 Dec. 1565	Maitland to Katherine	5/15
c. Jan. 1566	Cameron of Lochiel to Grey Colin	3/12
17 Jan. 1566	Ruthven (3rd) to Grey Colin	6/1
13 Feb. 1566	Grey Colin to Gossip	6/2
26 Feb. 1566	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	6/3
12 Mar. 1566	Atholl (4th) to Grey Colin	6/4
13 Mar. 1566	Atholl (4th) to Grey Colin	6/5

c. 13 Mar. 1566	Grandtully to Grey Colin	12/8
14 Mar. 1566	Grandtully to Grey Colin	12/6
14 Mar. 1566	Grey Colin to Grandtully	6/6
15 Mar. 1566	Atholl (4th) to Grey Colin	6/7
7 Apr. 1566	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	6/8
8 Apr. 1566	Moray to Grey Colin	6/9
9 Apr. 1566	Maitland to Katherine	6/10
18 Apr. 1566	Maitland to Katherine	6/11
28 Apr. 1566	Maitland to Grey Colin	6/12
19 Aug. 1566	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	6/15
20 Aug. 1566	Douglas of Lochleven to Atholl (4th)	2/19
20 Aug. 1566	Douglas of Lochleven to Grey Colin	2/24
2-4 Feb. 1567	Maitland to Katherine	6/19
6 Feb. 1567	MacDougall of Dunollie (15th) to Grey Colin	15/19
1 June 1567	Grandtully to Grey Colin	6/20
11 Nov. 1567	Grey Colin to Argyll (5th)	12/17
5 Mar. 1569	Inverawe to Grey Colin	6/26
c. 2 Aug. 1569	Patrick MacGregor to Katherine	5/22
20 Aug. 1569	Fenton to Grey Colin	6/29
5 May 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	7/3
30 May 1570	Argyll (5th) to Katherine	7/5
30 May 1570	Atholl (4th) to Grey Colin	7/6
3 June 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	7/7
7 June 1570	Grey Colin to Argyll (5th)	7/8
8 June 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	7/9
10 June 1570	Grandtully to Grey Colin	7/10
10 June 1570	Maitland to Argyll (5th)	7/11
10 June 1570	Atholl (4th) to Grey Colin	6/21
10 June 1570	Atholl (4th) to Argyll (5th)	4/8
13 June 1570	Tullibardine (11th) to Glenlyon	6/13
14 June 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	7/12
14 June 1570	Argyll (5th) to Maitland	7/13
17 June 1570	Maitland to Katherine	7/15
17 June 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	7/14
17 June 1570	Atholl (4th) to Grandtully	7/16
19 June 1570	Lawers to Grey Colin	12/12

20 June 1570	Tullibardine (11th) to Fenton	6/14
21 June 1570	Grandtully to Grey Colin	12/11
23 June 1570	Atholl (4th) to Grey Colin	7/17
27 June 1570	MacDougall of Dunollie (15th) to Grey Colin	7/18
27 June 1570	Stewart of Appin to Grey Colin	7/19
28 June 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	7/20
28 June 1570	Atholl (4th) to Grey Colin	7/21
28 June 1570	Grandtully to Grey Colin	7/22
28 June 1570	Argyll (5th) to MacDougall of Dunollie (15th)	7/23
28 June 1570	Maitland to Grey Colin	7/24
29 June 1570	MacDougall of Dunollie (15th) to Grey Colin	7/25
30 June 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	7/26
2 July 1570	Countess Argyll to Atholl (4th)	8/1
7 July 1570	Atholl (4th) to Grandtully	4/11
7 July 1570	Atholl (4th) to Grey Colin	8/2
7 July 1570	Maitland to Grey Colin	8/3
8 July 1570	Atholl (4th) to Grey Colin	8/4
10 July 1570	Murray of Tibbermuir to Katherine	7/1
10 July 1570	MacDonald of Keppoch to Atholl (4th)	8/6
11 July 1570	Atholl (4th) to Drummond (2nd)	8/7a
11 July 1570	Atholl (4th) to Comrie of that ilk	8/7b
11 July 1570	Atholl (4th) to Abercairny & Cultybraggan	8/8
12 July 1570	Grandtully to Grey Colin	8/9
13 July 1570	Grandtully to Grey Colin	8/10
14 July 1570	Countess of Mar to Grey Colin	13/7
16 July 1570	Grandtully to Grey Colin	8/11
18 July 1570	Argyll (5th) to Drummond (2nd)	8/5
22 July 1570	MacDougall of Dunollie (15th) to Grey Colin	8/12
23 July 1570	Grey Colin to Argyll (5th)	8/13
24 July 1570	Argyll (5th) to Katherine	8/21
24 July 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin (1st letter)	8/14
24 July 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin (2nd letter)	6/28
26 July 1570	Carswell to Katherine	8/15

27 July 1570	Duntrune to Grey Colin	8/16
27 July 1570	Duntrune to Black Duncan	8/17
27 July 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	8/20
28 July 1570	Grandtully to Grey Colin	8/19
28 July 1570	Strachur to Grey Colin	8/18
31 July 1570	Atholl (4th) to Grey Colin	8/22
31 July 1570	Grandtully to Grey Colin	8/23
1 Aug. 1570	Grandtully to Grey Colin	9/1
2 Aug. 1570	Maitland to Grey Colin	9/3
2 Aug. 1570	Maitland to Katherine	9/4
2 Aug. 1570	MacEwan Cameron to Grey Colin	9/2
c. 2 Aug. 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	9/33
3-7 Aug. 1570	Grey Colin to Argyll (5th)	12/13
4 Aug. 1570	Drummond (2nd) to Argyll (5th)	9/5
4 Aug. 1570	Drummond (2nd) to Argyll (5th) (copy 9/5)	9/6
4 Aug. 1570	Drummond (2nd) to Argyll (5th) (2nd copy 9/5)	9/7
7 Aug. 1570	Maitland to Katherine	9/8
8 Aug. 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	9/9
c. 10 Aug. 1570	MacEwan Cameron to Grey Colin	12/15
11 Aug. 1570	Maitland to Grey Colin	9/10
11 Aug. 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	9/11
12 Aug. 1570	Maitland to Katherine	9/14
12 Aug. 1570	Maitland to Grandtully	9/13
12 Aug. 1570	Maitland to Grey Colin	9/18
13 Aug. 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	9/12
14 Aug. 1570	Grey Colin to Argyll (5th)	9/15
14 Aug. 1570	Carswell to Katherine	9/16
14 Aug. 1570	Grandtully to Katherine	12/9
14 Aug. 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	9/17
16 Aug. 1570	Grey Colin to Katherine	9/19
18 Aug. 1570	Grey Colin to Gregor MacAne	9/20
18 Aug. 1570	Grey Colin to Argyll (5th)	9/21
18 Aug. 1570	Cawdor to Grey Colin	9/22
18 Aug. 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	9/23
20 Aug. 1570	Grey Colin to Argyll (5th)	9/25
20 Aug. 1570	Maitland to Grey Colin	9/24

20 Aug. 1570	Gregor MacAne to Grey Colin	15/18
21 Aug. 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	9/26
23 Aug. 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin (1st letter)	9/29
23 Aug. 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin (2nd letter)	9/27
23 Aug. 1570	Roths to Black Duncan	9/28
25 Aug. 1570	Grey Colin to Argyll (5th)	9/30
26 Aug. 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	9/31
27 Aug. 1570	Carswell to Grey Colin	9/32
6 Sept. 1570	Grey Colin to MacDougall of Dunollie (15th)	10/1
10-15 Sept. 1570	Grandtully to Katherine	12/18
14 Sept. 1570	Sussex to Maitland	10/2
15 Sept. 1570	Hay of Megginch to Katherine	10/3
17 Sept. 1570	Murray of Tibbermuir to Katherine	10/4
18 Sept. 1570	Carswell to Grey Colin	10/5
19 Sept. 1570	Ruthven (4th) to Katherine	10/6
19 Sept. 1570	Ruthven (4th) to Grey Colin	10/7
19 Sept. 1570	Morton (4th) to Grey Colin	10/8
20 Sept. 1570	Murray of Tibbermuir to Katherine	12/1
20 Sept. 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	10/9
bef. 21 Sept. 1570	Buchanan to Grey Colin	10/17
21 Sept. 1570	Grey Colin to Argyll (5th)	10/10
21 Sept. 1570	Grey Colin to Buchanan	10/11
21 Sept. 1570	Ruthven (4th) to Katherine	6/18
22 Sept. 1570	Grey Colin to Katherine	10/16
24 Sept. 1570	Stewart of Appin to Grey Colin	6/16
25 Sept. 1570	Murray of Tibbermuir to Katherine	7/2
25 Sept. 1570	Stewart of Doune to Grey Colin	10/12
25 Sept. 1570	Regent Lennox to Grey Colin	10/13
26 Sept. 1570	Ruthven (4th) to Katherine	10/14
27 Sept. 1570	Ruthven (4th) to Grey Colin	10/15
1 Oct. 1570	Ruthven (4th) to Katherine	11/8
1 Oct. 1570	MacLachlan of Craiginterve to Katherine	12/16
2 Oct. 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	11/1
3 Oct. 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	11/2

3 Oct. 1570	Argyll (5th) & Carswell to Katherine	11/3
4 Oct. 1570	Auchinbreck to Grey Colin	11/4
4-7 Oct. 1570	MacLachlan of Craiginterve to Katherine	14/2
7 Oct. 1570	MacLachlan of Craiginterve to Grey Colin 6/27	
7 Oct. 1570	Ruthven (4th) to Katherine	11/5
15 Oct. 1570	AC to Grandtully	11/6
15 Oct. 1570	Auchinbreck to Grey Colin	11/7
c. 15 Oct. 1570	Ewin MacGregor to Katherine	11/15
17 Oct. 1570	Katherine to Ewin MacGregor	11/16
17 Oct. 1570	Ruthven (4th) to Grey Colin	11/9
19 Oct. 1570	Grandtully to Katherine	11/10
19 Oct. 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	11/11
c. 19 Oct. 1570	Atholl (4th) to Grey Colin	11/14
22 Oct. 1570	MacCorcadill to Katherine	11/18
c. 26 Oct. 1570	Ewin MacGregor to Grey Colin	11/17
c. 27 Oct. 1570	Grandtully to Katherine	12/4
28 Oct. 1570	Ruthven (4th) to Katherine	11/12
28 Oct. 1570	Atholl (4th) to Grey Colin	11/13
12 Nov. 1570	MacNaughton to Patrick MacAne	11/19
c. 5 Dec. 1570	Ewin MacGregor to Grey Colin	12/14
16 Dec. 1570	Neil Campbell to Grey Colin	11/20
16 Dec. 1570	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	11/21
7 Jan. 1571	Ruthven (4th) to Katherine	13/1
28 Apr. 1571	Countess Mar to Grey Colin	13/2
20 May 1571	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	13/3
11 June 1571	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	13/4
12 June 1571	Regent Lennox to Grey Colin	13/5
14 June 1571	Countess of Mar to Grey Colin	13/6
c. 19 July 1571	Ewin MacGregor to Grey Colin	14/1
16 Sept. 1571	Black Duncan to Drummond (3rd)	13/8
16 Sept. 1571	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	13/9
16 Sept. 1571	Katherine to Lady Drummond	14/20
c. 23 Apr. 1572	Grey Colin to Weem	12/5
26 July 1572	George Johnson to Grey Colin	14/3
28 July 1572	Regent Mar to Grey Colin	14/4

27 Aug. 1572	Regent Mar to Grey Colin	14/5
31 Oct. 1572	Ruthven (4th) to Grey Colin	14/6
2 Nov. 1572	Morton (4th) to Grey Colin	14/7
2 Nov. 1572	Morton (4th) to Grey Colin (copy 14/7)	14/10
3 Nov. 1572	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	14/8
5-8 Nov. 1572	Grey Colin to Argyll (5th)	14/15
8 Nov. 1572	Argyll (5th) to Morton (4th)	14/9
15 Nov. 1572	Argyll (5th) to Grey Colin	14/11
29 Nov. 1572	Regent Morton to Grey Colin	14/12
29 Nov. 1572	Regent Morton to Grey Colin (copy 14/12)	14/13
23 Dec. 1572	Regent Morton to Grey Colin	14/14
28 Aug. 1570s	Dalwany to Grey Colin	14/18
19 May 1576	MacGill to Grey Colin	14/16
14 June 1577	Mar (2nd) to Grey Colin	14/17
25 Dec. 1580	Argyll (6th) to Grey Colin	15/1
28 Dec. 1580	Tullibardine (11th) to Grey Colin	15/2
20 Jan. 1581	Drummond of Midhope to Grey Colin	15/4
29 Jan. 1581	Argyll (6th) to Grey Colin	15/5
7 Feb. 1581	Argyll (6th) to Grey Colin	15/6
8 Feb. 1581	Ruthven (4th) to Grey Colin	15/7
3 Feb. 1582	Grey Colin to Black Duncan	15/8
15 July 1583	Fenton to Katherine	15/9

APPENDIX B

Biographical index of correspondents

A. C. (Perthshire).

Identification uncertain. Possibly Alexander Calder, servitor of John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl*. Friend of William Stewart of Grandtully* and Alexander Stewart.

Sent 175

Buchanan, Sir George of that ilk, (The Lennox).

s. 1561, d. c. 1584. Son of John Buchanan of that ilk and Elizabeth Livingstone. m. Mary, daughter of John Graham, 4th earl of Menteith*.

Sent 159

Received 161

Cameron, Donald Dubh of Lochiel, 15th chief of Clan Cameron (Lochaber).

s. c. 1553, murdered c. 1569. Second son of Donald MacEwan, 13th chief, and Agnes, daughter of John Grant of Freuchie. m. Unnamed daughter of Hector Mòr MacLean, 4th laird of Duart.

Sent 78

Cameron, Donald MacEwan (Lochaber).

b. c. 1525-30. Illegitimate son of Ewan Beg, 14th chief of Clan Cameron, nephew of Donald Cameron of Lochiel*.

Sent 127, 130

Campbell of Ardkinglas, Sir James, 6th laird (Mid-Argyll).

s. 1563, d. 1591. Son of Dougald Campbell of Ardaillon and Janet Graham, Lady Lenny. m. Elizabeth, daughter of James Campbell, 2nd laird of Lawers.

Sent 27, 29, 42

Campbell, Archibald, 5th earl of Argyll (Argyll).

b. c. 1538, s. 1558, d. 1573. Son of Archibald Campbell, 4th earl of Argyll, and Helen, daughter of James Hamilton, 1st earl of Arran. m. (1) Jean Stewart, illegitimate daughter of King James V, (2) Janet, daughter of Alexander Cunningham, 4th earl of Glencairn*.

Sent 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 11, 13, 17, 23, 28, 30, 31, 37, 39, 41, 44, 47, 49, 51, 93, 94, 97, 103, 119, 134, 144, 145, 146, 170

Received 3, 8, 12, 36, 43, 48, 90, 96, 99, 101, 118, 128, 135, 140, 142, 148, 160, 196

Campbell, Colin, 6th earl of Argyll, previously, of Boquhan (Argyll).
s. 1573, d. 1584. Son of Archibald Campbell, 4th earl of Argyll, and Margaret, daughter of William Graham, 3rd earl of Menteith. m. (1) Janet, daughter of Henry Stewart, 1st Lord Methven, (2) Annas, daughter of William Keith, 4th earl Marischal.

Sent 198, 199

Campbell of Auchinbreck, Dougal, 4th laird (Cowal, Argyll).
d. c. 1586. Son of Archibald Campbell of Auchinbreck and unnamed daughter of Colin Campbell, 5th laird of Ardkinglas. m. Fingual, daughter of James MacDonald of Dunivaig and the Glens*.

Sent 32, 35, 171, 176

Campbell of Carrick, John ('Gossip') (Cowal, Argyll).

s. 1549. Son of Duncan Campbell of Carrick. m. Mariota, daughter of Sir Ian Lamont, 10th of Inveryne.

Sent 65, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 75

Received 79

Campbell of Cawdor, John, 3rd laird (Moray and Lorn, Argyll).

s. 1551, murdered 1592. Son of Archibald Campbell, 2nd laird of Cawdor, and Isabel, daughter of James Grant of Freuchie. m. (1) Mary, daughter of William Keith, 4th Earl Marischal, (2) Janet Lauder of Hatton, daughter of Robert Lauder of the Bass.

Sent 141

Campbell of Dalwany, Nicholas (Angus).

b. 1517, d. 1587. Dean of Lismore. Illegitimate son of Donald Campbell, Abbot of Coupar Angus. m. Katherine Drummond.

Sent 197

Campbell, Agnes, Lady Dunivaig (Western Isles and N. Ireland).
 d. c. 1584. Daughter of Colin Campbell, 3rd earl of Argyll, and Janet,
 daughter of Alexander Gordon, 3rd earl of Huntly. m. (1) James Stewart,
 Sheriff of Bute (divorced or not completed), (2) James MacDonald, 6th
 laird of Dunivaig and the Glens*, (3) Turlough Luinach O'Neill of Ulster.
 Sent 22

Campbell of Duntrune, Duncan, 6th laird (Mid-Argyll).
 s. 1560, d. c. 1584. Son of John Campbell, 5th laird of Duntrune, and
 unnamed daughter of Colin Campbell, 3rd laird of Ardkinglas. m. (1)
 Agnes daughter of Neil MacLachlan, (2) unnamed sister of John Campbell
 of Inverliver, (3) Anne MacLean.
 Sent 121, 122

Campbell of Glenlyon, Duncan, 2nd laird (Breadalbane).
 s. 1552, d. 1580. Son of Archibald Campbell of Glenlyon and Mariota,
 daughter of Ewir Campbell of Ardtanna. m. (1) Janet Robertson, (2)
 Margaret, daughter of William Drummond of Balloch.
 Sent 18
 Received 9, 102

Campbell of Glenorchy, Colin, 6th laird (Grey Colin) (Breadalbane).
 b. 1499, s. 1550, d. 1583. Son of Sir Colin Campbell, 3rd laird of Glenorchy,
 and Margaret, daughter of John Stewart, 3rd earl of Atholl. m. (1) Margaret,
 daughter of Alexander Stewart, Bishop of Moray, (2) Katherine*, daughter
 of William, 2nd Lord Ruthven.
 Sent 3, 12, 21, 36, 43, 48, 53, 58, 64, 67, 79, 83, 90, 96, 118, 128, 135,
 138, 139, 140, 142, 148, 150, 160, 161, 163, 194, 196, 201
 Received 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25,
 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54,
 56, 57, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 78, 80, 81, 82, 84, 87, 89, 91, 93,
 95, 97, 98, 100, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112, 115, 116, 117, 121, 123,
 124, 125, 127, 130, 133, 134, 141, 143, 144, 145, 146, 149, 154, 156,
 157, 159, 164, 166, 171, 173, 176, 179, 182, 186, 187, 189, 190, 191,
 195, 197, 198, 199, 200

Campbell of Glenorchy, Duncan, 7th laird (Black Duncan) (Breadalbane).

b. c. 1551, s. 1583, d. 1631. Son of Colin Campbell, 6th laird of Glenorchy*, and Katherine*, daughter of William, 2nd Lord Ruthven. m. (1) Jean, daughter of John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl*, (2) Elizabeth, daughter of Henry, 5th Lord Sinclair.

Sent 192

Received 122, 147, 201

Campbell of Inverawe, Archibald, 3rd laird (Lorn, Argyll).

d. c. 1567. Son of Dugald Campbell of Inverawe. m. Margaret, daughter of Archibald Campbell, Captain of Dunstaffnage.

Sent 91

Campbell of Lawers, John, 3rd laird (Breadalbane).

b. 1544, s. 1562, d. c. 1611. Son of Archibald Campbell of Lawers and Agnes, daughter of John Ross of Craigie. m. Beatrix, daughter of Colin Campbell, 6th laird of Glenorchy*.

Sent 106

Campbell of Larg, Donald (Mid-Argyll).

d. 1594. 3rd son of John Campbell of Lochnell and Mary, daughter of Colin Campbell, 5th laird of Ardkinglas. m. unnamed daughter of Cadogan.

Sent 9

Campbell of Skipnish, John (Argyll).

s. c. 1542, d. c. 1566. Son of Archibald Campbell of Skipnish and Janet Douglas, Lady Glamis. m. Marion Montgomery of Hazelhead.

Sent 14

Campbell, Neil (Page to 5th earl of Argyll, later Bishop of the Isles) (Argyll).

d. 1627. Rector of Kilmartin, Chantor of Lismore. Son of Alexander Campbell VicPherson of Carnasserie. m. Christian, daughter of John Carswell*.

Sent 187

Carswell, John, Superintendent of Argyll, Bishop of the Isles (Argyll).

b. c. 1525, d. 1572. Probably descended from the Campbells of Corsewell. m.

Margaret Campbell, sister of James Campbell, 6th laird of Ardkinglas*.
Sent 73, 120, 136, 149, 154, 170

Cunningham, Alexander, 4th earl of Glencairn (Ayrshire).

s. c. 1549, d. 1575. Son of William Cunningham, 3rd earl of Glencairn, and Catherine, daughter of William, 3rd Lord Borthwick. m. (1) Janet, daughter of James Hamilton, 1st earl of Arran, (2) Janet, daughter of Sir John Cunningham of Caprington.

Sent 50

Douglas, James, 4th earl of Morton (Regent) (Court).

b. c. 1516, s. 1550, executed 1581. Son of Sir George Douglas, Master of Angus and Elizabeth, daughter of David Douglas of Pittendreich. m. Elizabeth, daughter of James Douglas, 3rd earl of Morton.

Sent 16, 76, 157

Douglas of Lochleven, Sir William, laird (Kincardine).

b. c. 1540, s. 1547, d. 1606. Son of Sir Robert Douglas, laird of Lochleven, and Margaret, daughter of John, 5th Lord Erskine. m. Agnes, daughter of George Leslie, 4th earl of Rothes.

Sent 87

Drummond, Patrick, 3rd Lord (Strathearn).

b. c. 1551, s. 1571, d. c. 1602. Son of David, 2nd Lord Drummond and Liliast, daughter of William, 2nd Lord Ruthven. m. (1) Elizabeth, daughter of David Lindsay, 9th earl of Crawford, (2) Agnes, daughter of Sir John Drummond of Innerpefferay.

Received 192

Fenton, John (Court).

Comptroller Clerk 1562-82, Comptroller 1582-3 m. Agnes Lindsay.

Sent 202

Graham, John, 4th earl of Menteith (Menteith).

s. 1543, d. 1565. Son of William Graham, 3rd earl of Menteith, and Margaret, daughter of John Moubray of Barnbogle. m. Marion, daughter of George, 4th Lord Seton.

Received 1

Hamilton, James, 2nd earl of Arran, duke of Châtelherault (Court).
s. 1529, d. 1575. Son of James Hamilton, 1st earl of Arran, and Janet, daughter of Sir David Beaton of Creich. m. Margaret, daughter of James Douglas, 3rd earl of Morton.

Sent 46, 50

Hay of Megginch, Peter, 4th laird (Perthshire).

s. 1565, d. 1596. Son of Peter Hay, 3rd laird of Megginch, and Margaret, daughter of John Crichton of Ruthvens. m. Margaret, daughter of Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartin.

Sent 152

Johnson, George (alias MacGregor) (Perthshire).

Baillie and Burgess of Perth. m. Janet Burry.

Sent 195

Leslie, Andrew, 5th earl of Rothes (Fife).

s. 1558, d. 1611. Son of George Leslie, 4th earl of Rothes, and Agnes, daughter of Sir John Somerville of Cambusnethan. m. (1) Grisel, daughter of Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, (2) Jean, daughter of Patrick, 3rd Lord Ruthven*, (3) Janet, daughter of David Durie of that ilk in Fife.

Sent 50, 147

MacCorcadill, John (Perthshire).

d. 1584. Exhorter at Killin, Prior of Strathfillan.

Sent 181

MacDonald, Ranald Og, 9th chief of Keppoch (Lochaber).

s. c. 1550, d. 1587. Son of Ranald MacDonald and Agnes Mackintosh. m. unnamed daughter of Duncan Stewart of Appin.

Sent 52, 114

MacDonald, James, 6th laird of Dunivaig and the Glens (Western Isles, N. Ireland).

s. 1538, d. 1565. Son of Alasdair MacDonald and Catherine, daughter of MacIain of Ardnamurchan. m. Agnes*, daughter of Colin Campbell, 3rd earl of Argyll.

Sent 20

MacDougall, John, 14th laird of Dunollie (Lorn, Argyll).

d. 1562. Son of Alexander MacDougall and Isobel Campbell. m. Margaret NikVane.

Sent 4

MacDougall, Dougall, 15th laird of Dunollie (Lorn, Argyll).

s. 1562, d. c. 1591. Son of Alexander MacDougall. m. unnamed daughter of Dougal Campbell of Auchinbreck*.

Sent 108

Received 150

MacGill of Nether Rankeillour, Sir James (Court).

Clerk Register 1554-66, 1567-79, d. 1579. Son of Sir James MacGill and Elizabeth Cunningham of Caprington or Helen, daughter of Henry Wardlaw of Torrie. m. Janet, daughter of William Adamson of Craigmook.

Sent 15

MacGregor, Alistair MacAlistair (Breadalbane).

Of the Fearnan MacGregors.

Sent 33

MacGregor, Ewin, Tutor of Glenstrae (Lorn, Argyll).

d. c. 1587. Second son of Alastair MacIan MacGregor of Glenstrae and Mariota, daughter of Sir John Campbell, 4th laird of Ardkinglas. m. Mary, daughter of Duncan Campbell, 2nd laird of Glenlyon*.

Sent 177, 182, 186, 191

Received 178

MacGregor of Glenstrae, Gregor Roy, chief (Lorn, Argyll).

s. 1545, executed 1570. Eldest son of Alastair MacIan MacGregor of Glenstrae and Mariota, daughter of Sir John Campbell, 4th laird of Ardkinglas. m. Marion, daughter of Duncan Campbell, 2nd laird of Glenlyon*.

Sent 24, 25, 26

MacGregor, Gregor MacAne (Argyll).

Constable of Kilchurn Castle.

Sent 143

Received 139

MacGregor of Glenlednock, Patrick Duncanson, (Breadalbane).

Holding the lands of Invergeldie in Glen Lednock.

Sent 92

MacGregor of Glenlednock, Patrick MacAne/Johnson, (Breadalbane).

Holding the lands of the Dall of Glen Lednock.

Received 185

MacLachlan of Craiginterve, Colin 'Leche', (Mid-Argyll).

Physician to Archibald Campbell, 5th earl of Argyll*, and Colin Campbell, 6th laird of Glenorchy*.

Sent 169, 172, 173

MacNaughton of Dunderarve, Alexander (Mid-Argyll).

s. 1552, d. 1596. Son of Alexander MacNaughton and Mariota, daughter of Sir John Campbell, 4th laird of Ardkinglas. m. (1) Marjory Campbell of Glenlyon, daughter of Archibald Campbell, 1st laird of Glenlyon, (2) Egidia Drummond.

Sent 185

Maitland, William of Lethington (Court).

b. c. 1526, d. 1573. Secretary to Mary, Queen of Scots. Son of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington and Mariota, daughter of Thomas Cranstoun of Corsbie. m. (1) Janet, daughter of William Menteith of Kerse, (2) Mary, daughter of Malcolm, 3rd Lord Fleming.

Sent 34, 77, 85, 86, 88, 99, 104, 126, 129, 131, 132, 133

Received 103

Malcolm, Neil (Mid-Argyll).

Parson of Kilchrenan (Loch Awe). m. Fingual, daughter of Donald Campbell, of the Auchinbreck Campbells.

Sent 10

Mary, Queen of Scots (Court).

b. 1542, executed 1587. Daughter of James V and Mary of Guise. m. (1) Francis II of France, (2) Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, (3) James Hepburn, 4th earl of Bothwell.

Received 64

Menzies of Weem, James, laird (Perthshire).

b. 1523, s. 1564, d. 1585. Son of Alexander Menzies of Weem and Janet, daughter of James Campbell, 2nd laird of Lawers. m. Barbara, daughter of John Stewart, 3rd earl of Atholl*.

Received 21, 194

Murray, Annabella, countess of Mar (Court).

d. 1603. Daughter of William Murray, 10th laird of Tullibardine* and Katherine, daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell, 2nd laird of Glenorchy. m. John Erskine, 6th Lord Erskine, Regent Mar.

Sent 116, 189, 190

Murray of Tibbermuir, Patrick (Perthshire).

s. c. 1552, d. c. 1589. Son of John Murray of Tibbermuir and Wallaceton and Isobel, daughter of William Ruthven, 1st Lord Ruthven. m. Isobel Tod.

Sent 113, 153, 158, 165

Murray of Tullibardine, William, 10th laird (Perthshire).

s. 1525, d. 1563. Son of Sir William Murray of Castleton and Margaret, daughter of John Stewart, 1st earl of Atholl. m. Katherine, daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell, 2nd laird of Glenorchy.

Received 1

Murray of Tullibardine, William, 11th laird (Perthshire).

s. 1563, d. 1583. Comptroller. Son of William Murray, 10th laird of Tullibardine*, and Katherine, daughter of Duncan Campbell, 2nd laird of Glenorchy. m. Agnes, daughter of William Graham, 2nd earl of Montrose.

Sent 102

Ruthven, Katherine, Lady Glenorchy (Breadalbane).

d. 1584. Daughter of William, 2nd Lord Ruthven, and Janet, daughter of Patrick, Lord Haliburton of Dirleton. m. Colin Campbell, 6th laird of Glenorchy*.

Sent 178, 193

Received 24, 28, 31, 37, 40, 44, 55, 60, 61, 62, 63, 74, 76, 77, 85, 86, 88, 92, 94, 104, 113, 119, 120, 126, 129, 131, 136, 137, 138, 151, 152, 153, 155, 158, 162, 163, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 172, 174, 177, 180, 181, 183, 184, 188, 202

Ruthven, Lillas, Lady Drummond (Strathearn).

d. 1579. Daughter of William, 2nd Lord Ruthven, and Janet, daughter of Patrick, Lord Haliburton of Dirleton. m. David Drummond, 2nd Lord Drummond.

Received 193

Ruthven, Patrick, 3rd Lord (Perthshire).

b. c. 1520, s. 1552, d. 1566. Son of William, 2nd Lord Ruthven, and Janet, daughter of Patrick, Lord Haliburton of Dirleton. m. (1) Janet, natural daughter of Archibald Douglas, 6th earl of Angus, (2) Janet, Lady Methven, daughter of John Stewart, 2nd earl of Atholl.

Sent 38, 55, 56, 63, 74

Received 1

Ruthven, William, 4th Lord, later 1st earl of Gowrie (Perthshire).

s. 1566, executed 1584. Son of Patrick, 3rd Lord Ruthven*, and Janet, natural daughter of Archibald Douglas, 6th earl of Angus. m. Dorothea, daughter of Henry Stewart, 1st Lord Methven.

Sent 155, 156, 162, 167, 168, 174, 179, 184, 188, 200

Stewart of Appin, John 5th, chief (Lochaber).

s. 1559, d. c. 1595. Son of Duncan Stewart of Appin and Janet Gordon, daughter of the 3rd earl of Huntly. m. (1) Katherine, daughter of John Campbell of Lochnell, (2) daughter of MacDonald of Moidart.

Sent 109, 164

Stewart, Jean, countess of Argyll (Court).

d. 1588. Illegitimate daughter of King James V and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Beaton of Creich. m. Archibald Campbell, 5th earl of Argyll*.

Sent 111

Stewart, John, 4th earl of Atholl (Perthshire).

s. 1542, d. 1579. Son of John Stewart, 3rd earl of Atholl, and Grizel, daughter of John Rattray of that Ilk. m. (1) Elizabeth, daughter of George Gordon, 4th earl of Huntly, (2) Margaret, daughter of Malcolm Fleming, 3rd Lord Fleming.

Sent 8, 19, 59, 80, 84, 95, 100, 101, 105, 110, 112, 124

Received 111, 114

Stewart of Doune, Sir James, Commendator of Inchcolm. (Menteith).

b. c. 1529, s. 1560, d. 1590. Son of Sir James Stewart of Doune and Margaret, daughter of John, 3rd Lord Lindsay. m. Margaret, daughter of Archibald Campbell, 4th earl of Argyll.

Sent 166

Stewart of Grandtully, William, 9th laird (Perthshire).

s. 1558, d. 1575. Son of Thomas Stewart of Grandtully and Margaret, daughter of Sir William Murray of Castleton. m. (1) Margaret, daughter of Abercrombie of Murthly, (2) Isabella, daughter of John Stewart, 3rd earl of Atholl.

Sent 54, 57, 60, 61, 62, 66, 81, 82, 89, 98, 107, 115, 117, 123, 125, 137, 151, 180, 183

Received 53, 58, 59, 67, 83, 105, 132, 175

Stewart, Lord James, Commendator of St Andrews, earl of Moray (Regent) (Court).

b. 1531, assassinated 1570. Illegitimate son of King James V and Margaret, daughter of John, 4th Lord Erskine. m. Annas Keith, daughter of William, 4th Earl Marischal.

Sent 1, 2, 45, 46, 50

Wood of Tulliedavie, Mr John, (Court).

Assassinated 1570. Lord of Session. Secretary to Lord James Stewart, Regent Moray*. Son of Sir Andrew Wood of Largo and Dame Janet Foreman or Elizabeth Lundy of that ilk.

Sent 40

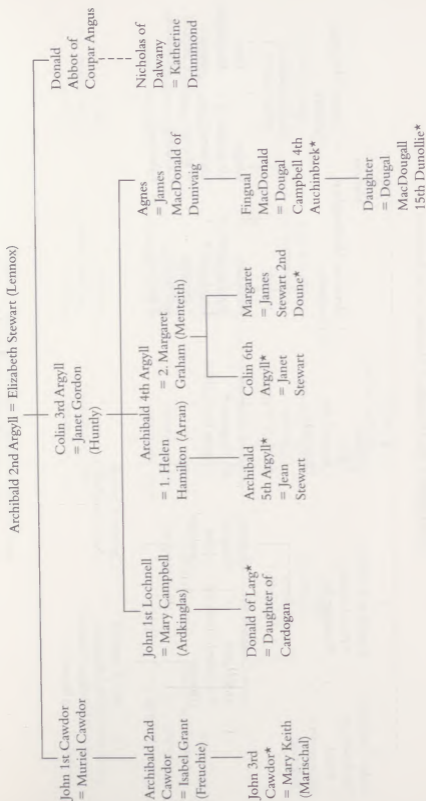
APPENDIX C

Kin ties

The following tables are laid out in genealogical form but they are far more selective than conventional genealogies. They are designed to show kin relationships between houses and individuals and only include material which demonstrates those ties. Individuals can appear in more than one table and with different relationships, for e.g. John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl, is shown married to his first wife, Elizabeth Gordon, daughter of the 4th earl of Huntly, in No. 4 and married to his second wife, Margaret Fleming, daughter of 3rd Lord Fleming, in No. 5. The correspondents of the Campbell letters are indicated by asterisks and their biographical details can be found in Appendix B.

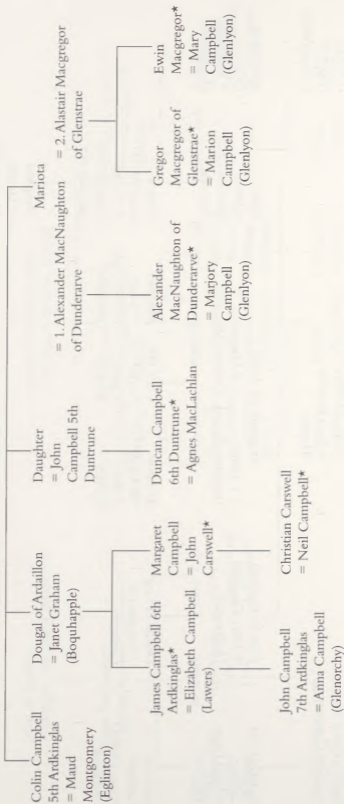
TABLES

1. Campbells of Glenorchy
2. Campbells of Argyll
3. Ardkinglas/MacGregor/MacNaughton
4. Stewarts of Atholl
5. Menteith and Fleming
6. Murrays of Tullibardine/Stewarts of Grandtully
7. Ruthvens

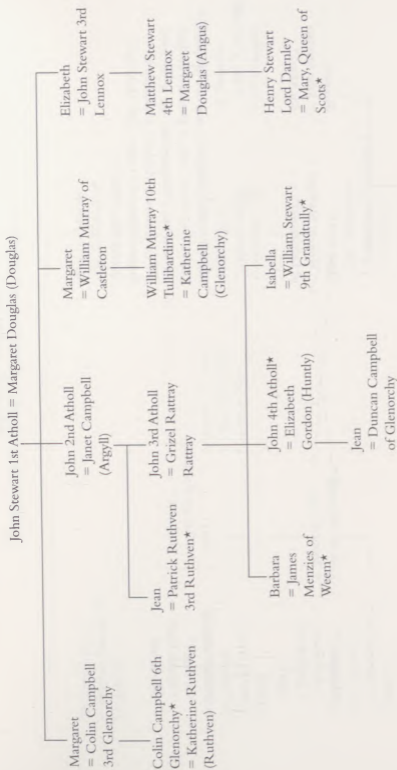


Campbells of Argyll

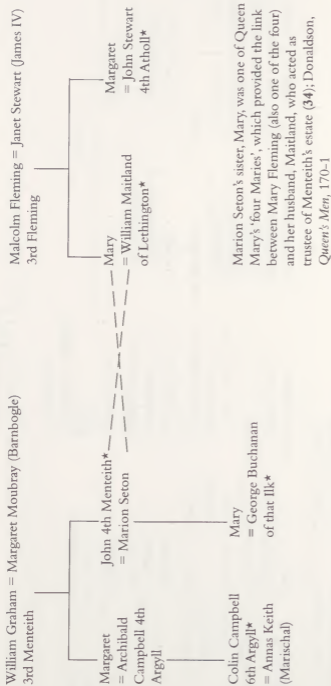
John Campbell 4th Ardinglas = Daughter of 5th Buchanan



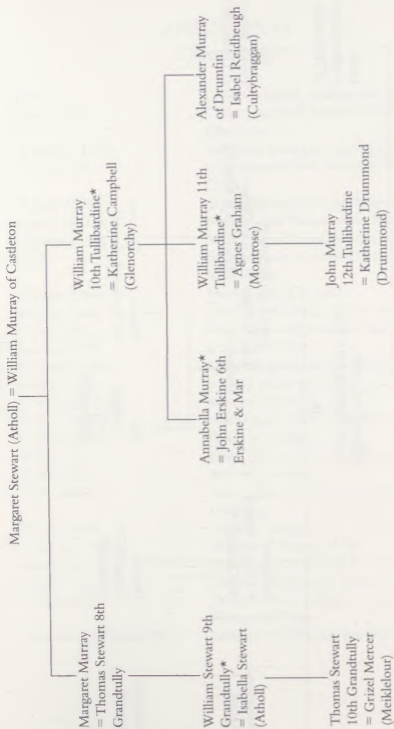
Ardinglas/MacNaughton/ Macgregor



Stewarts of Atholl

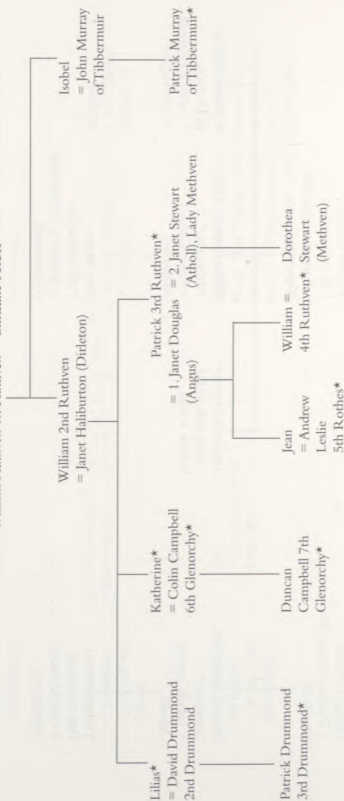


Marion Seton's sister, Mary, was one of Queen Mary's 'four Maries', which provided the link between Mary Fleming (also one of the four) and her husband, Maitland, who acted as trustee of Menteith's estate (34); Donaldson, *Queen's Men*, 170-1



Murrays of Tullibardine/Stewarts of Grandtully

William Ruthven 1st Ruthven = Christine Forbes



Ruthvens

APPENDIX D

Chronology

1499	Colin Campbell of Glenorchy born
5 July 1550	Colin Campbell became 6th Laird of Glenorchy
28 January 1551	Katherine Ruthven married Glenorchy
11 May 1559	Iconoclasm at Perth, start of Reformation Crisis
11 June 1559	'Reformation day' in St. Andrews
August 1560	Reformation Parliament in Edinburgh
19 August 1561	Mary, Queen of Scots, returned to Scotland
1562	Start of feud between Glenorchy and MacGregors
Summer 1564	MacGregors in Ireland
February 1565	Henry, Lord Darnley, arrived in Scotland
29 July 1565	Mary, Queen of Scots, married Darnley
Summer 1565	Chase-about Raid
September 1565	Settlement (temporary) of MacGregor feud
9 March 1566	Murder of David Riccio
10 February 1567	Murder of Darnley
15 May 1567	Mary, Queen of Scots, married Bothwell
15 June 1567	Battle of Carberry
24 July 1567	Mary, Queen of Scots, abdicated
29 July 1567	James VI crowned
2 May 1568	Mary, Queen of Scots, escaped from Lochleven
13 May 1568	Battle of Langside
23 January 1570	Murder of Regent Moray
early June 1570	MacGregors ambushed Glenlyon
12 July 1570	Lennox confirmed as Regent
end July 1570	'Mischance' between Atholl and Glenorchy troops
December 1570-July 1571	Settlement of MacGregor feud

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| June 1571 | Reidheugh-Murray dispute escalated into feud |
| 18 November 1573 | Marriage between Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy and Jean, daughter of Atholl |
| Summer 1580 | Glenorchy-Menzies of Weem feud before Council |
| 22 August 1582 | 'Ruthven Raid', James VI seized |
| 11 April 1583 | Death of Colin Campbell of Glenorchy |
| June 1583 | James VI escaped from Ruthven Raiders |
| October 1583-June 1584 | Death of Katherine Ruthven. |

INDEX

All references in the index are to page numbers with Appendix B providing listings of the letters sent and received by individuals. Personal and place names follow modern spellings and forms, except in the territorial designations of nobles. Individuals are indexed under their family names with cross-references given to the titles of peers and ecclesiastics. A limited number of topics discussed in the Introduction have been included.

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SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

REPORT

110th Annual Report
 Presented to the Annual General Meeting
 by the Council, 7 December 1996

Three volumes have been issued to members since the last annual report: *The Scottish Office: Depression and Reconstruction, 1919-1959*, edited by Ian Levitt (1992); *Miscellany XII* (1994); and *The British Linen Company, 1745-1775*, edited by Alastair Durie (1996). This still leaves a gap for 1995, and a volume for 1997 is also now required. The forthcoming volumes for which good progress is reported are *Clan Campbell, 1559-1583* edited by Jane Dawson; *George Buchanan's Political Poetry*, edited by Arthur Williamson and Paul McGinnis; *The Scots and the French Army, 1548-1559*, edited by Elizabeth Bonner; and *The Duke of Montrose's Buchanan Estate, Stirlingshire, c. 1680-1787*, edited by Alexander Gibson. Two or more of these are likely to be in the publication secretaries' hands by the early summer of 1997. There is thus a good prospect that the publication schedule will return to normal during the course of the year.

Progress is being made with several other volumes, particularly *Minutes of the Mid and East Lothian Miners' Association, 1894-1914*, edited by Ian MacDougall, and *Miscellany XIII*. Further volumes in preparation are *The Black Book of Coldingham, 1298-1430*, edited by Joseph Donnelly; *Scottish Migration, 1740-1920*, edited by Allan Macinnes, Margaret Storrie and Marjory Harper; and *The Diaries of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, 1635-1699*, edited by Paul Dukes and Graham Herd. Several other publication proposals are being discussed.

The Society's financial position is satisfactory and it has been possible to hold the subscription at £15 (£18 for joint members) for another year.

The three members of the Council to retire by rotation are Mr William Mackay, Dr Christopher Whatley and Professor Stuart Brown. To replace them Council recommends the election by the Annual General Meeting of Dr David Brown, Dr Alexander Murdoch and Dr Richard Oram.

The membership of the Society stands at 498 individual and 204 institutional members.

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT OF CHARGE AND DISCHARGE OF
THE INTROMISSIONS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

from
1 October 1995 to 30 September 1995

I. GENERAL ACCOUNT

CHARGE

I	Cash in Bank at 1 October 1995		
	1	Sum at Credit of Premier Account with Bank of Scotland	£65,533.00
	2	Sum at Credit of current (Treasurer's) Account with Bank of Scotland	5,326.24
			<hr/>
			70,859.24
II.	Subscriptions received		8,453.82
III.	Past Publications sold		150.15
IV.	Interest on Premier Account		3,099.58
V.	Interest on Current Account		293.45
VI.	Income Tax Refund, 1992-93		1,113.34
VII.	Donations		100.00
VIII.	Sums drawn from Bank Premier Account	£22,000.00	
IX.	Sums drawn from Bank Current Account	£36,160.22	
			<hr/>
			84,069.58
			<hr/>

DISCHARGE

I.	Cost of publications during year		£35,208.65
II.	Costs of insuring stock of unsold books		95.00
III.	Subscriptions refunded		51.50
IV.	Literary editor's expenses		131.50
V.	Typing and photocopying		200.33
VI.	Costs of AGM		197.50
VII.	Costs of postage re AGM		123.18
VIII.	Office bearers' expenses		152.53
IX.	Sums lodged in Bank Premier Account	£3,099.58	
X.	Sums lodged in Bank Current Account	£32,110.76	
			36,160.22
X.	Funds at close of this Account:		
1	Sum at Credit of Premier Account with Bank of Scotland	46,632.58	
2	Sum at Credit of Current (Treasurer's) Account with Bank of Scotland	1,276.78	
			47,909.36
			£84,069.58

STIRLING, 14 November 1996.

I have audited the Account of the Honorary Treasurer of the Scottish History Society and certify that I am satisfied that proper records appear to have been kept and that the above Account is a correct statement of the transactions recorded during the year.

H.B. PEEBLES, CA, ACMA
Auditor



