

*A History of*  
*The MacConnochie Campbells of Inverawe*  
Volume I

SEVEN GENERATIONS OF  
THE MACCONNOCHIE CAMPBELL  
OF INVERAWE  
(1470-1705)

*A Gaelic Highland Family in Argyll*  
*Their Kindred and Neighbours*

*Air Son Teinntean agus Dachaigh*

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CAMPBELLS OF INVERAWE  
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Their Kindred & Neighbours*

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*Diarmid Campbell*

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## *Preface*

This is a reference book more than a readable history. I plan a shorter and more accessible version based upon this in the future, intended for those preferring their history a faster-paced and less detailed style, yet fully annotated. Any history is never complete. It is only a caught image of the research of the moment. Although based on many years of investigation and the collecting material by many people over much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such a picture of a kindred is always fluid and growing organically. But since it is rare that anyone has the time or interest to bring such facts together and attempt an analysis, placing them in a wider context, and since my interest was piqued by exile for part of my life, in retirement I have both the time and interest.

There may always be more to discover, but having reached my late seventies, I decided that it was time to put together this collection of academic-style papers, even although I can continue researching and collecting in what is currently called a digital format. But I love books and libraries, as do many of this family, and it has long been my ambition to see this series of papers on the Inverawe kindred in book form. For those with the open-heartedness to get past any prejudices about elites, this should provide a rich lode of social history, even if at times it seems that there was, latterly, too much concern with the law and paper. There it is vital to remember that by the late 17<sup>th</sup> century the desire for peace and stability must have been a longed-for condition. Some romantics have criticised Campbells for using paper rather than the sword, as if shedding blood was in some strange way more virtuous than negotiating peace. They only have to look to John *dubh* the Tutor, or the Covenanting times of 'Argyll's Champion' Lt. Col. Dougall of Inverawe to see why later sons resorted to paper. That Campbell swords remained un-bloodied is a Victorian figment of fertile imagination, an attempt to limit the scope of the Gael.

Today the name Inverawe has two reasons to echo in the mind of some: The family and place inspired the experience that has become known as the Ticonderoga Ghost story, and the present owners, descendants of the Ardchattan family from across Loch Etive, run a famous and notable gourmet fish smokery whose products are recognized around the globe.

The Campbells of Inverawe were known as the MacDonnachaidh Campbells, a patronymic that became eased in the local tongue of Gaelic to be pronounced as MacConnochie and spelt in variations of that style, the 'sons of Duncan' who was their eponymous ancestor.

For almost three centuries the descendants of this Duncan Campbell were responsible for justice and defence for the communities on the lands of Inverawe and others, placed in their stewardship by and for the Earls and later Dukes of Argyll. The lands reached, although not contiguously, from the headwaters of the Water of Etive, high on the Moor of Rannoch in the north, to the lands of Ardsceodnish, now called Kilmartin in the south. The lands of Inverawe itself included the western peak of Ben Cruachan and the earliest grants had included farmtoun communities on the shores of Loch Awe between Kilchurn and Cladich.

The original core of their responsibilities would seem to have been the supporting lands of the island castle of Fraoch Eilean on Loch Awe. The castle came to the Lochawe Campbell family from Christina of Craignish, a widow of the MacNachtans, who granted the place to an intermediary in 1361. That was in time of Colin *Iongantach* and his brother Duncan *Sceodnasach*, the sons of Gillespec Campbell of Loch Awe. Fraoch Eilean and the supporting lands of Innestrinich, Achlian and Duchollie next appear on record in the stewardship of the MacConnochies of Inverawe before the mid fifteen hundreds.

When the lordship of Lorn was granted to Colin, first Earl of Argyll in 1470 by young James III King of Scots, Earl Colin subsequently handed responsibility for lands in Lorn to three MacConnochie Campbells, at Inverawe, Lerags and Stronchormaig. Archibald at Inverawe would seem to have retained their former home, the castle of Fraoch Eilean.

Since 1463 the lands of Lorn had been the scene of raiding and feuding between MacDougalls, Stewarts and a renegade nephew of Donald *Balloch* MacDonald, lieutenant for the Earl of Ross in the southern Isles. Earl Colin was related to the MacDougalls by marriage and had Stewart allies and ancestors. Yet he evidently saw a need to have some forceful men among his kin settled in the lands of Lorn. The MacConnochies of Lerags, Inverawe and Stronchormaig were described in *Ane Genealogie of the Campbells* in the following way: 'It is certain they were alwayes very active stout [sturdy] men and of the most stubborn and undaunted spirits and too hard to tame. They are called the Clandonachie Campbells...' This was written following a particularly violent period in the history of Argyll. One recent member of the family had led Islemen against Elizabethan forces in Ireland and gained an international reputation as being 'hard to tame'.

The purpose of the following papers, written in academic style with the footnotes providing the source material and references, is to unearth what can be known of this family and their part in the history of Argyll and on the wider landscape of Scottish history. The idea is to place many years of research by many people into cohesive form, both for interested members of the family and to lodge copies in relevant libraries and archives to be preserved for any future generation who may find them useful or interesting. As mentioned, there is a plan to use this material as the basis for a brief but more easily 'readable' history for the family, although without so much detail, since for many that is the only way they would be willing to gain an overview of the lives of those human beings fragmentarily depicted here.

Although the concept of 'genealogy' or family history was long considered very much secondary to history, it has more recently become obvious that history is in fact made up of many personal relationships and experiences. Further, because communities and therefore societies are built of families, these are the bedrock of history. This is even more relevant in the case of families of Gaelic culture, where there was an underlying structure of the kindred for whom security and trust was expected, if not always delivered, among broadly related people.

So a collection of personal events such as this, when placed in the County and Country setting for a longer perspective, is where genealogy and history meet for the benefit of both. I would hope that perhaps, in some cases, this would be useful to professional historians of Highland & Island and Scottish & British history.

Because this compendium is the result not only of my own research but that of many others who have offered their help with great generosity, I will add my extensive thanks and acknowledgements at the end of the work, rather than at the beginning.

Diarmid Campbell, BA (Cantab), MLA (UC Berkeley)  
Kilchoan Farmhouse, Kilmelford, Argyll.

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## Conventions

Footnotes giving sources are limited to the facts of the MacConnochie kindred or that of their ancestors and extended family and friends. The national and social history has well known sources in the published works generally available.

Since there are extensive quotations from letters or journals, these are shown as inset, although not in quotation marks. On the whole I have retained the original spelling, any changes or additions are shown in square brackets. Obscure text is given in translation.

Where the pound Scots is concerned (£1 sterling = £12 Scots) this is shown and translations made. I have taken the Scots merk to be 2/3 of the Scots pound, or £0 13s 4d Scots. For those unaware of the 'old' sterling measures, there were 20 shillings to the pound and 12 pence to the shilling.

Since most records were in Scots-English, I have used that version of the spelling of names. I have not hesitated to use territorial designations or farm names, such as 'Inverawe' or 'Kilmartin' with or in place of people's full names where it simplified or clarified the text. Far from being elitist, this was common local custom in Argyll where there were so many Campbells with the same first names that it was often the only way to avoid confusion. Similarly, due to the number of Archibalds in Duncan's kindred, I have used 'Archie' for his father. In the spelling of Dùghall, I have used Dougall with one use of Dugald for a Kilmartin, so as to differentiate him from a near kinsman. Place names are as given on the Ordnance Survey maps. I regret my lack of fluent Gaelic, being a clear disadvantage.

## Scottish Legal Terms

Due to many sources being from legal registers or documents, these explanations may serve to illumine the more obscure terms.

*'The principles of natural justice and fairness have always formed a source of Scots Law and have been applied by the courts without distinction from the law. Therefore Scots Law has avoided the highly complex juristic construct of Equity which applies in English Law.'* (From *Collins Encyclopaedia of Scotland*, edited by John Keay and the late Julia Keay)

Most of the following descriptions of legal terms are taken from the same source, although limited to those relevant to the documents quoted.

### Scots Quarter Days of the year:

Candlemas	28 February	
Whitsunday	28 May	
Lammas	28 August	(at one time the 1 <sup>st</sup> of August)
Martinmas	28 November	

### **Some Scots Legal Terms**

#### **Absolutor**

A type of decree in civil actions. The court granting such a judgment decides in favour of the defender by absolving him from the pursuer's claims.

#### **Action**

The term used for civil court proceedings whereby the pursuer asks the court for a remedy against their opponent, the defender. In the Court of Session actions will begin with the lodging of the writ known as a summons. A Sheriff Court action commences when an initial writ is lodged.



**Adjudication**

A method of attaching land in security for sums owed.

**Advocate**

A member of the faculty of Advocates or Scottish Bar, sometimes referred to as counsel.

**Allenarly**

An old Scots term meaning 'only.'

**Art and Part**

A term of criminal law meaning an accessory.

**Blench Ferm**

A condition of sale, meaning that no feu duty would be payable by the purchaser.

**Books of Council and Session**

The register of documents held by the keeper of the registers in which a variety of deeds are registered for preservation and execution.

**Caution also Cautioner**

A form of guarantee or security, particularly used to ensure that estates controlled by appointed persons, i.e., executors dative, are indemnified against loss.

**Curator**

A form of guardian arising naturally in the relationship of minor children to their parents.

**Decree**

A final judgment of a court in a civil action.

**Defender**

The person against whom a civil action is raised.

**Diligence**

The legal procedure by which a creditor enforces a decree of the court against a debtor.

**Excambion**

A contract whereby one area of land is exchanged for another.

**Executor**

The representative of a deceased person, but with his liability limited to the extent of the estate under his care. The executor's function is to ingather and distribute the deceased's estate acting under the authority granted by the decree of confirmation.

**Feu**

An area of land held by a vassal from a superior in return for periodical services or payment. The majority of land in Scotland was held by feudal tenure.

**Fiar**

A person having right in land which is subject to a life rent in favour of another person. The fiar has rights of actual possession, use and enjoyment which revert to them upon expiry of life rent.

**Grassum**

A single or lump sum payment made in addition to rent in respect of the acquisition of leased property.

**Heritable Property**

All immovable things. For example, land and buildings or items attached to land in an immovable way, such as trees and certain crops.

**Infertment**

The act of completing title, formally indicated by a symbolic gesture of taking possession of land or buildings. (See Sasine) This is now achieved by the recording the deed transferring title in the appropriate division of the General Register of Sasines or in the Land Register of Scotland.

**Inhibition**

A personal diligence which prohibits the person being inhibited from dealing with or alienating their heritable property to the prejudice of their inhibiting creditor.

**Interdict**

A court decree ordering the defender to desist from some activity which is causing harm, injury or alarm to the pursuer.

**Interlocutor**

An interim decision of a court, generally, but not exclusively, dealing with procedural matters.

**Lawborrows**

A form of action whereby a defender is obliged to find caution not to molest the pursuer.

**Liferent**

A right to hold and enjoy heritable property during the holder's lifetime on the understanding that the property will be returned to the fiar without its substance being wasted.

**Lord Advocate**

The chief law officer of the crown in Scotland. In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries the incumbent effectively headed the Scottish administration.

**Lord President**

The presiding and principal judge of the Court of Session since its founding as the College of Justice in 1532.

**Lords of Session**

The Judges of the Court of Session. Originally 15, of whom 7 were to be clerics, the Lords were all laymen after 1640.

**Majority**

The status of adulthood with full legal capacity. Formerly 21, since 1970 the age of majority is 18.

**Mandate**

A contract of agency whereby one person instructs another to act on their behalf. Generally the service is provided gratuitously.

**Novodamus**

A form of feudal charter whereby a grant of land is made in new terms. This enables the real burdens or conditions attaching to the land to be changed.

**Panel**

The accused in a criminal case.

**Poining (also Multiple Poining)**

A form of diligence whereby a court decree is enforced. Where a charge has been raised on a debtor, but has not been paid, the creditor may instruct the sheriff officer to poind the movable property of the debtor. The sheriff officer inventories the debtor's property and such goods are rendered litigious. The next stage in enforcement is warrant sale.

**Prescription**

The effect of the passage of time on a person's rights or obligations. Periods of time differ as per the rights or obligations effected.

**Reddendo**

The duty paid by a vassal to his superior in the context of the feudal system.

**Register of Sasines**

The principal register in Scotland for the recording of deeds transferring the burdening or in some other way affecting the title to land. The register is [2000] being replaced by the Land Register of Scotland.

**Sasine**

The act of taking possession of property. Originally Sasine was transferred by a symbolic ceremony on the ground, but is now completed by registration of the appropriate deed in the Register of Sasines or the Land Register of Scotland.

**Sequestration**

A court supervised process whereby a bankrupt's property is made over to a trustee who then ingathers and distributes for the benefit of the creditors.

**Servitude**

A benefit attaching to one plot of ground which burdens another plot of ground owned by another party. Servitude now customarily encompasses rights of access or rights of way or wayleave for public utilities.

**Sheriff Officer**

An officer of the sheriff court empowered by his commission to do diligence in the enforcement of court decrees.

**Teind**

One tenth of the produce of land originally donated to the church.

**Tutor**

The person who has the capacity and power to control a pupil child. Earlier, the guardian and legally responsible figure in charge of a minor.

**Wadset**

A form of mortgage or lease-purchase.

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# *The Origins of the Mac Connochie Campbells*

## *on Record in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries*

*An analysis of the sources and some conjectural conclusions.*

### *Chapter 1*

The origins of the Clan Connochie Campbells of Lerags, Inverawe and Stronchormaig have been said, in that evocative phrase, to be ‘clouded by the mists of time.’ That the three families are descended from a common progenitor named Duncan is strongly evident from their use of the patronymic MacDonnachaidh – more commonly spelt as variants of MacConnochie, in the records. All three families have been known as the Clan Connochie, with the inevitable variations in spelling being almost infinite from one document to another.

The modern spelling of MacConnochie is used here both because of the predominance of the use of ‘C’ rather than ‘D’ in the writs of the three families for the spelling of Mac Donnachaidh, (sons of Duncan) and in order to avoid confusion with the unrelated Clan Donnachaidh of the Robertsons. The original family of the Campbells of Duntroon were known as the Clan Donnachaidh Mor and, despite some slight confusion on the subject in the 18th century, were of a different descent.

The proposal here is to analyse what is known of the origins of the Clan Connochie Campbells by examining four aspects of the available information:

[A] The known Campbells named Duncan whose dates and relevance seem most appropriate. (For brevity this is based upon a wider consideration of various potential men named Duncan who appear on record but not included here, those considered here being within a carefully defined period);

[B] The early sources which offer a traditional point of origin for the Clan Connochie Campbells;

[C] Some historical background and the lands involved;

[D] The earliest records of the families of the Clan Connochie will be outlined and their inter-relationships considered.

[E] Finally some conclusions may then be drawn and the strengths of various conjectures weighed.

### ***The Progenitor***

Captain Douglas Wimberly in his pioneering work on the Inverawe family in *Memorials of the Campbells of Kilmartin* of 1894,<sup>1</sup> made the valid point that the progenitor of the family, if not himself named Duncan, ‘must be presumed to have had a son or grandson named Duncan sufficiently distinguished to give the patronymic MacDonnachie to his descendants’. This salient fact in itself directs initial search towards a known figure named Duncan who had no better-

known descendants than the Clan Connachie. Wimberly's book, while sketchy and incomplete where dealing with the Inverawe family, quoted the original sources which he had found. He was primarily interested in the Inverawe cadet (branch) family of Kilmartin.

There has seldom been any doubt that the Clan Connachie were of Campbell origin, although their ancestry has variously been investigated as descending from the MacArthur Campbells of Lochow (a cadet of Strachur), the Glenorchy family and, most frequently and traditionally, from the Lochow-Argyll family. Some have attempted to assign the original branching from the Chiefly family to a younger son named Dougall, with a subsequent Duncan providing the patronymic. Certainly Dougall or Dugald, with Archibald, were the most frequently alternating Christian names for the eldest sons of the Inverawe family until the mid 18th century. However examination of the Dougalls (or Dugalds) who were known younger sons of the main Campbell houses and whose dates are appropriate, has offered no obvious clues so far. The known Duncan Campbells whose dates seem appropriate are therefore worth examining. Wimberly's contention is clearly that the Duncan from whom the Clan Connachie took their patronymic must have been a figure of some significance in the community. That he has totally vanished from the record is possible, but unlikely.

### ***Early Campbells Named 'Duncan'***

The earliest traditional point of departure for the Clan Connachie Campbells from the Chiefly line of the Lochow family is given as being from a brother of Sir Neil of Lochow at the time of Robert I. The earliest presently verifiable records of the Clan Connachie follow closely on the acquisition of the Lordship of Lorne by Colin, 1st Earl of Argyll, in a land exchange with Walter, 3rd Stewart Lord of Lorne, in 1469. The charter of confirmation was dated on the 17th of April 1470. Presumably the progenitor named Duncan is therefore to be found between 1300 and 1470, and for this reason, only those Duncans who fall within this period are considered here. A review of those named Duncan Cambel/Campbell who appear on record within this period is included in the Appendix.

Two of the name of Duncan are specifically mentioned (*vide infra*) in the traditional genealogies as being the possible progenitors of the Clan Connachie; a Duncan who was son of Sir Neill of Lochow and the Duncan who was brother of his great grandson, Sir Colin *Iongantach* of Lochow.

The earliest Duncan within the 1300-1470 period in the Campbell of Lochow genealogy has been called the fourth son of Sir Caillein Mor and brother, rather than son, of Sir Neil of Lochow who was the Bruce's kinsman and ally. This Duncan swore fealty with Sir Neil and others in 1296<sup>2</sup> and had a charter from King Robert of the lands of Duntroon and others in Argyll.<sup>3</sup> His descendants, if any, are unknown and Duntroon was later granted to Duncan Mor, younger son of Sir Colin *Iongantach* and brother of Duncan 1<sup>st</sup> Lord Campbell.<sup>4</sup> David Sellar in his seminal work *The Early Campbells...*<sup>5</sup> does not believe that this first Duncan was a son of Caillein Mor but a contemporary. That his lands were later granted to another of the family would seem to indicate that he lacked heirs.

A further Duncan is mentioned by Alastair Campbell of Airds in the first volume of *A History of Clan Campbell*.<sup>6</sup> This Duncan was granted the lands of Moleigh [now containing Oban rubbish dump] and Dunach in about 1318. These lands are near Loch Feochan and between the lands

that would, two centuries later, be held by the MacConnochie Campbells of Lerags and Stronchormaig. While the geographical coincidence is striking, there is no further record of this Duncan or any of his descendants, and these lands were later a part of the Lordship of Lorne held from circa 1338 by John of Lorne, grandson of the last of the Lords of Argyll, descendants of Somerled's senior son Dougall, Ri nan Eilean. Certainly in 1471 Alan, brother of the MacDougall Prior of Ardchattan, was in possession of Upper Lerags. His kinsmen the Dunollie MacDougalls later chose Kilbride, between Dunach and Lerags, as the burial place of their chiefs. Campbell of Airds goes on to say that, 'The favoured candidate for the source of their [the MacConnochie's] patronymic is one Duncan *Crosda* who is some two generations later.'

This third Duncan, with the byname of *Crosda* and mentioned in this period in connection with the Clan Connochie, was called Crosta and Skeodnish, said to be the ancestor of the family of Stronchormaig or Glenfeochan'.<sup>7</sup> He is elsewhere referred to as 'Duncan *Skeodnasach*' meaning Duncan from Ardskeodnish (now Kilmartin). He was the son of Sir Gillespic (Archibald) of Lochow and great grandson of Sir Neil, his elder brother being Sir Colin *iongantach* of Lochow. This Duncan was a witness to a Glassary charter in about 1362-64<sup>8</sup> where he appears as 'Duncan filio Gillesbuig Cambel'. The charter is undated. The editor of the Glassary charters in *Highland Papers* gives a date of 1355 for the charter. However it is one of a series of writs relating to a dispute over the Glassary lands, and close examination of the text strongly suggests that this is the last in the series, covering the final settlement between Iain (John) Campbell and Gilbert of Glassary. John had died by the 26<sup>th</sup> of July 1364 so it must have been before that date but after the earlier writs.

Since Colin *iongantach* was born in circa.1336, Duncan *Sceodnasach* would have been born after 1337, suggesting that he could have been in his mid twenties when he signed the agreement. Duncan *Skeodnasach* is therefore a prime candidate to have been the progenitor of Clan Connochie if indeed Inverawe and Stronchormaig share a common ancestor within the period defined.

Later Duncans, the two sons of Sir Colin *iongantach* called Duncan and one of their sons, are all identified with known families with their own patronymics. Duncan 1<sup>st</sup> Lord Campbell became MacCailein Mor after his father, Donnachie Mor of Glenshira who is believed to have been ancestor of the old line of Duntroon, the Siol Donnachiemor, and Lord Campbell's son Duncan appears with virtual certainty to have been the ancestor of the Achinbreck family. There are some of the name of Duncan in the early generations of the Glenorchy family but none within the period preceding the verified records of the Clan Connochie.

There remains the possibility that the Clan Connochie descend from a Duncan who has vanished from the record. That he should also have vanished completely from both record and traditional sources is possible, but singularly curious.

From a review of the most obvious candidates for a progenitor named Duncan, the brother of Sir Colin *iongantach* called Duncan *Crosda* [cross or perverse] or *Skeodnasach* appears to be the most likely character. He is also the traditional progenitor for the Stronchormaig family whom Colville, the earliest source for the origins of these families, included as a part of the Clan Connochie. As will be shown, documentary sources support the close kinship of the three families, and particularly Stronchormaig and Inverawe.

## *Traditional Sources*

The Gaelic genealogies of the Campbells which have been so well discussed and analysed by David Sellar in his *The Early Campbells: Norman, Briton or Gael?* offer no point of origin for the Clan Connachie Campbells from the main Lochow-Argyll line. This in itself could be said to point to a more recent branching for the Clan Connachie.

Later Campbell M.S. genealogies which do offer fact or tradition on the origins of the Clan Connachie Campbells of Lerags, Inverawe and Stronchormaig include three in the NLS Advocate's Library,<sup>9</sup> one in the hands of the Inverneil family and one in the hands of Dr. A. R. McNaughton, Hartlepool. The second and third M.S.S. in the National Library of Scotland derive from the first, M.S. (34:5:22). The Inverneill and Dr. McNaughton's M.S.S. are in a similar 18th century hand. All appear to derive from Colville's notes on the House of Argyll. The Inverneill M.S. is headed "Mr. alexander [sic] Colvil, his collection of the Genealogy of the House of Argyll".

Mr. Alexander Colvill(e) of Blair in Fife was Justiciar Depute and apparently a close associate of Argyll. Presumably at Argyll's request, he revised the heritable Sennachie MacEwen's genealogy of the Lochawe-Argyll family, taking the traditional Gaelic pedigree which had been written down by the last of the MacEwen Bards to Argyll not long before, and adding what seemed appropriate in terms of his own knowledge of national history and, presumably, what he could gather from Argyll himself and those other Campbells to whom he had access at the time. Later in the 17th century his efforts were further revised and augmented by Robert Duncanson as *Ane Accompt of the Genealogie of the Campbells*.<sup>10</sup> While Colville was alive in 1607 and 1664, his notes on the Argyll family appear to have been written between 1650 and 1660.<sup>11</sup> The period is significant when considering which of the members of the Clan Connachie families he might have met and questioned about their knowledge of their ancestry. That a daughter of Colville's married Campbell of Lawers may have added interest to his work on the Campbell kindred.

If Colville was writing between 1650 and 1660 and, being close to Argyll, had a chance to speak to any of the Clan Connachie Campbells about their origins, he would have only found two out of three heads of the Houses available, since the Lerags line had already died out. The property had been sold on the 20<sup>th</sup> of February in 1614.<sup>12</sup> He would have got little from Lt. Col. Dougall Campbell of Inverawe (d.1665) whose son Archibald, later Argyll's Governor of Duart, was certainly very ignorant of his family history a few years later.<sup>13</sup> Only from Stronchormaig, apparently, did he or his successor gain a clearly stated tradition of descent from Duncan *Skeodnasach*, brother to Sir Colin *iongantach*.

One very possible reason for the ignorance of the 17th and 18th century Inverawe family about the descent and origins of their family was that in the twenty years between 1583 and 1603 there had been a minority. A son and heir Archibald was born at about the time of his father Dougall's death<sup>14</sup> and the boy's uncle, Iain/John 'dubh' MacConnachie Campbell, became Tutor of Inverawe. 'Tutor' in those days meant guardian of the lands for the heir and responsibility for the kindred and following during his minority. John does not appear to have been friendly towards Archibald or his mother who, according to both tradition and record, escaped to her brother's castle of Carnassarie. If there is truth behind the tradition, as seems likely, Archibald was obliged to kill his uncle in self-defence when he came of age. This inter-regnum could have destroyed the normal links of tradition in the family, leaving Colville to 'reckon' a suitably



illustrious ancestry for Archibald's son, Lt. Col. Dugald of Inverawe, the then well known representative of the family who was one of Argyll's staunchest allies in the Highlands during the bloody Civil War, and called 'Argyll's Champion' by Montrose.<sup>15</sup> Duncan the progenitor being a 'son of Sir Neil' would have sounded more prestigious than a son of the later and less well remembered Gillespie Mor. Further, had there ever been a traditional genealogist of the Clan Connochie they might well have died as a result of the conflicts of the time. However there is no surviving evidence that the family was ever served by a sennachie, although a family fool ['Laird's Jock'], fisherman and ferryman are all represented in the traditions of the Inverawe family.

The earliest of the National Library of Scotland M.S.S. Campbell pedigrees<sup>16</sup> was published in *Highland Papers*.<sup>17</sup> On page 74 the writer states that his sources were the genealogy kept by the Mac Ewen genealogists of the Argyll family and '...also some small account left by Mr. Alexr. Colvin who was better read in the histories of Scotland and in the particular papers belonging to that family....' The Inverneill M.S. contains an account on page 71-108 headed "Mr. Alexander Colvil his Collection of the Genealogy of the House of Argyll". The two versions differ little in their transcriptions of Colville's account.

On page 89 of the version published in *Highland Papers*, we read that Sir Neil of Lochow 'married also Margaret daughter to Sir John Cameron of whom he had a son called Dugald (sic) Campbell of which Mr. Colvine reckons to have come the Clanndonachie Campbells, viz. Lerags, Inveraw, and Stronchormig; but certain is that Stronchormage was not so early as we shall hear afterwards. Lerags is supposed to have been the first of that name who possessed [lands in] Lorn. It is certain they were always very active stout men of the most stubborn and undaunted spirits and hard to tame...'

The Argyll article in *The Scots Peerage*<sup>18</sup> states that there is 'a constant tradition [since Colville's time?] that he [Sir Neil] also married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Cameron of Lochiel, and that a son or grandson of that marriage, Duncan (sic), was the ancestor of the Campbells of Inverawe.'<sup>19</sup> The text continues; 'At that time there was no family known as Cameron of Lochiel but there was a Fifeshire family of that name, one of whom subscribed a letter to the Pope in 1330. ..' Yet further into the text there is another reference to this Duncan; 'As stated above, another son, Duncan, has been ascribed to Sir Neil by some authorities, and is claimed as the ancestor of the Maconochie or Campbells of Inverawe and their cadets, Kilmartin, Shirvan, Southall, the elder family of Lerags, Duchollie, Achlian and Auchendarroch. The evidence for Duncan is not satisfactory.'<sup>20</sup> In *Burke's Peerage*, the second son of Sir Neil is given as Duncan by his wife Margaret Cameron and this Duncan is there stated to be the 'progenitor of Inverawe...'. This is presumably merely a repetition of the earlier version quoted here.

One suspects that, owing to the 17th century Inverawe's ignorance of their family origins, both the Inverawe and Dunstaffnage M.S.S. and Buchanan all derived their information from Colville, Buchanan directly and the M.S.S. from Duncanson or from the 18th century version by Robert Campbell of Keirnan. However even when writing in 1745 when Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe was a well-known figure in Argyll and easily accessible, Keirnan was obliged to confess his ignorance of the origins of the Inverawe family.

After the MacConnochie Campbells sold Inverawe in 1765 it was owned by their kin, the Campbells of Fonab and Monzie whose eventual heiress married Campbell of Dunstaffnage at

the end of the 19th century, so that what may have been known as an 'Inverawe M.S.' may not in fact have been as old as the time of the MacConnochie Campbells of Inverawe. One would suspect that both the Dunstaffnage M.S. and the Inverawe M.S. were versions of the earlier genealogies derived from Colville by Duncanson or Keirnan. Had the 'Inverawe M.S.' giving information on the origins of the Inverawe family existed in Keirnan's day it would be surprising if Duncan of Inverawe had owned it in ignorance since there is evidence of his having examined and searched the documents which he found in the Inverawe charter chest.<sup>21</sup> There is therefore little chance that this 'Inverawe M.S.' was more than a derivation of Colville's notes and one suspects that the same would have been true of the Dunstaffnage M.S.

The quotation from page 89 of *Highland Papers* is particularly revealing on three points: First the use of the word 'reckons', as in 'Mr. Colvin reckons. ...,' indicates that the writer took Colville's mention of Dougall as ancestor of the Clan Connochie as being conjectural. Secondly, the linking of the three families of Lerags, Inverawe and Stronchormaig (later Glenfeochan) in that order and as being of a common descent may indicate the order of their seniority and certainly groups the families together in a way which, despite the writer's certainty that Stronchormaig branched later, indicates an initial belief that a clear relationship existed between the three. This relationship is reinforced in record by their continuing and trusting interaction. (*vide infra*). Thirdly, the statement that 'certain is that Stronchormage was not so early. ..' may offer an important clue; perhaps all three families were 'not so early...' When the word 'reckoned' is contrasted with 'certain is,' and if Lerags, Inverawe and Stronchormaig can be proven to have a common ancestry, then there is a strong argument for the later branching of the Clan Connochie from the Lochow family, as indicated by the Stronchormaig tradition.

While Colville names a Dugald, son of Sir Neil, as progenitor, the *Scots Peerage* and *Burke's Peerage* have this translated to a Duncan, son or grandson of Sir Neil. Presumably Colville's inference is that this Dugald then had a son or grandson named Duncan who gave his name to the Clan Connochie. Sir Neil's son Dugald is a known character who was living in 1312<sup>22</sup> and who married Margaret of Glassary. It has also been put forward that this Dugald was a Craignish Campbell,<sup>23</sup> however at this point the preponderance of evidence would support his being a son of Sir Neil. He was becoming involved in a dispute over Ardskeodnish in 1323 and also had a charter of Menstrie (undated). Dugald is said, in the Inverneill M.S., to have died at the battle of Neville's Cross which was in 1346, but he was apparently present at an inquisition in Argyll in 1350 according to the 1611 Scrymgeour Inventory.<sup>24</sup> However there is no hard evidence for any son of this Dugald other than John of Glassary who married Mariota of Glenorchy in 1358.<sup>25</sup> The one Duncan Cambel on record having a connection with anyone in Glassary at this period was the 'Duncan Filio Gillesbuig Cambel,' witness to the Glassary document that was been suggested as from circa. 1355 but now seen to be later, and was mentioned above.

The Duncan who was witness to the Glassary writ was in fact Duncan *Sceodnasach*, still a young man, who is said to have been fostered in Ardskeodnish and would therefore have been both neighbour and kinsman of John of Glassary. Duncan's elder brother Colin *iongantach* was apparently born circa 1335-6 according to MacDonald's *History of Argyll* of 1951<sup>26</sup> and his first marriage took place in 1362 according to the disposition. His brother Duncan *Skeodnasach* could therefore have been born in 1337-8. However the document to which he was witness must have been later than 1355. As has been mentioned, the text suggests that the charter was the last in the series, representing the final settlement of the dispute over Glassary lands between John Campbell and Gilbert of Glassary. The date is therefore after 1361 and before the 26<sup>th</sup> of

July 1364 by which date John Campbell had died. Duncan was therefore at least 23 years old or older when he was a witness.

Later in the Advocate's Library M.S. published in *Highland Papers*,<sup>28</sup> the *Genealogie of the Campbells* continues : '...Sir Archibald son to Sir Colin Oig [son of Sir Neil] married Isobella...on whom he begat. ...ane. ...son called Iongantach [Sir Colin]. He had another son Duncan Skeodnasach from whom came McConochy of Stronechormage'. However in the third M.S. (34-5-22) in the Advocate's Library there is a variation: Sir Archibald, son to Sir Colin Oig, is here said to have been 'a contemporary with King Robert the Third, and had also another son called Duncan Skeodnasach, who was fostered and brought up with the McCallums of Ariskeodnish in the parish of Kilmartin; from this Duncan descend the MacDhonoichies of Stronchormaig, otherwas called Glenfeochan. Some make this Duncan one generation later, viz. the son and not the brother of Colin Iongatach, and the grandchild of this Archibald Mor Campbell.' This version was written in the second half of the 18th century, clearly after the Stronchormaig Campbells began using 'Glenfeochan' as their territorial title, and carried the Argyll family history up to 1776.

While the issue of the Duncan in question being a son rather than brother of Sir Colin *iongantach* has already been discussed, this quotation raises the issue of the fostering of Duncan *Skeodnasach* and links his youth explicitly with the Kilmartin area. In the *Highland Papers* version of the first M.S. a brief biography of Colin *iongantach* concludes: '...he narrowly escaped with his life from the clan Challum in Ardskeodnis who thought to have burnt him alive in a house that they might get the estate (of Lochow) brought to Duncan Skeodnasich from whom came mcConochis of Stronchormick or Glenfeochan, he was called Skeodnasich because he was fostered with the sd Clanchallum who were then strong in Ardskeodish. ...so that the sd Coline Iongantach was forced to flee with his coat of mail which after the antient forms was made lyke after a nett hanging down to their heels, called in Irish (Gaelic) a lurach which being made so hot with the fyre that he rann into a pool of water under Kilmartine towne which pool is to this day called...linge na Lureach (Linne na Luirich)...'. The pool was known locally until recently, and was identified on a map in the possession of the writer.

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> M.S. Duncan *Skeodnasach* is called the McCallum's 'foster and colt', the latter word deriving from "comh-dhal ta" or "comhalta," a foster brother. This tale is also reprinted in Lord Archibald Campbell's *Records of Argyll*<sup>29</sup> from a 'Dunstafnage M.S.' that must later have been lost in the fire there in 1940. Apart from the building set alight at Ardsceodnish being a barn rather than a house, there is no substantial difference in the content, indicating a common source. The custom of fostering also appears in four later traditional tales of the Inverawe family from the late 16th century to the early 18th century. As to the fostering by the MacCallums and their attempt upon Colin, Dr. Lorne Campbell PhD has suggested that that name was likely used to cover up the feud between two branches of the Campbells, Lochawe and Ardsceodnish. The Glassary – Kilmartin writs, of which Duncan witnessed the concluding document, may possibly have been the attempt to settle this dispute.

One further traditional source for information on the origins of the Clan Connochie Campbells, and one with an actual if tenuous connection to the Inverawe family, is found in 'Reminiscences of the Clan Donnochie of Inverawe,' an M.S. by Dr. Archibald Smith now in the National Library of Scotland. Dr. Smith's connection to the Inverawe family was through his brother's marriage to Ann Barbara Campbell of the Achlain family. Her grandmother had been Ann Campbell, sister to Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe (1702-1758).

Dr. Archibald Smith states, without any indication of his sources: 'The ancestor and founder of the Clan Donnachie of Inverawe appears to have been a brother of the renowned Sir Neil Campbell, a son of Caillein Mor, knight of Lochow, who fell in a skirmish with John of Lorne in the year 1295. From their founder Duncan. ..[etc.]' In a footnote Dr. Smith adds a list of the sons of Caillein Mor<sup>30</sup>; '...5. Duncan who had a charter of several lands and though not designated in Robertson's Index or in the Ragman Roll by the title Inverawe, he is still mentioned under the same reign with the other brothers specified, so that in fact there appears to be no other individual of the same name at that time who attached himself to the cause of Robert I and held lands in Argyllshire. Social tradition also assigns 20 successive chiefs to the Inverawe family or the Clan Donnachie or even more'. Again, one suspects that Smith's 'appears to have been' was derived from Colville's 'reckoned'. As has been stated, this Duncan is not accepted as a brother of Sir Neil by David Sellar in his *The Early Campbells*.... Dr. Smith's work *A Report on the Agriculture of Argyll* was published late in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

As to there being twenty generations of Chieftains of the Inverawe family, numbers were used in tradition in the political rather than mathematical sense. Such customs were well outlined by W. D. H. Sellar in his paper on 'Pedigree Making and Pedigree Faking' in *The Middle Ages in the Highlands*, published by the Inverness Field Club 1981. Even had the original descent been from Sir Neil, at the time Dr. Smith was writing the additional two or three generations which this would have allowed could hardly have produced twenty Chieftains of Inverawe. On the whole, Dr. Smith's contribution must be seen as a charming collection of Clan Connochie myth and tradition. Where he ties these incidents to historical record there is little doubt that his sources can be traced to Colville's inspiration or to *Douglas' Peerage*.

Another traditional source is found on page 57-8 of the published first volume of *The Dewar Manuscript*. These are 'Scottish West Highland Folk Tales' collected originally in Gaelic by John Dewar for George Douglas Campbell, 8<sup>th</sup> Duke of Argyll during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. A version is given of the tale of Sir Colin [*Iongantach*] of Lochawe escaping from a burning barn and cooling the heat of his coat of mail in the pool of a burn, since called 'Linne na Luirich,' or pool of the mailshirt. As in *Records of Argyll*, the incendiary attempt on Sir Colin's life is blamed upon the foster family of his brother Duncan *na Crosda* or Duncan the cross, later known as *Sceodnasach* for his up-bringing in Ardsceodnish or Kilmartin. The final comment to the tale states: 'The MacConochies of Inverawe and Glenfeochan are the descendants of Cross Duncan...'

The most recent mention of the origins of the Clan Connochie Campbells, and specifically the Inverawe branch, appeared in the first edition of *Notes on the Campbells of Inverawe* by the late Ian M. Campbell, W.S., of Fraoch Eilean, published in 1951. On pages 9-11 he mentions a M.S. then in the hands of Colin Campbell of Kilmartin, as being the source for a quotation in which Duncan, son of Sir Neil, is given as the progenitor of the family. This M.S. has not re-appeared after the recent rescue and cataloguing of the Kilmartin papers, however the passage quoted sounds reminiscent of Colville, with the exception of the name being Duncan rather than Dugald. One therefore suspects that what Kilmartin had was either the Duncanson or Keirnan version. Ian M. Campbell also points out that Colville's Cameron marriage for Sir Neil was not entirely impossible although Lochiel was not then in the Cameron family, quoting the existence of a Cameron at the court in Bruce's day (in fact a Fleming in Fife) and suggesting that 'Lochiel' could have been added later as varnish. He later quotes from Burke the grant of Inverawe 'to the family' in 1330. The writer for Burke was no doubt inspired by the charter of that period to Sir Arthur Campbell, ancestor of Strachur, which included Inverawe. However there can be little

doubt that Inverawe first came into the hands of the Lochow family following the grant of the Lordship of Lorne to Colin, Earl of Argyll in 1470. There are no further references to the origins of the Clan Connochie in the *Notes*, which predominantly outlines the descent of the family since 1700. Some of these issues are clarified in the second edition of 1999 (NLS).

From this review of the traditional sources certain conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, the Gaelic Genealogies give no indication of a Clan Connochie descent from the time of Sir Neil, indicating the likelihood of a later branching from the Lochawe-Argyll family. Secondly, Colville's would appear to be the earliest surviving verifiable source which gives any indications of the origins of the Clan Connochie. Thirdly, his indication of an origin directly from a son or brother of Sir Neil was taken as being 'reckoned' whereas the ancestry of the Stronchormraig branch of Clan Connochie, starting with a later branching from Duncan *Skeodnasach*, younger brother of Sir Colin *Iongantach*, was prefaced by 'certain it is.' Fourthly, given the ignorance of the 17th century Inverawe family about their origins and the need of the time for Argyll and his colleague Colville to give moral support to Lt. Col. Dougall Campbell of Inverawe as 'Argyll's champion,' the political or prestige value of a descent from the well known Sir Neil rather than the less well remembered Gillespie Mor would make sense. And of course Duncan *Sceodnasach* was in fact descended from Sir Neil who was his great-grandfather. Both David Sellar and the writer of the Argyll article in the *Scots Peerage* find the evidence for descent from a Duncan as brother or son of Sir Neil to be unsatisfactory, while the idea of the Cameron marriage of Sir Neil is widely questioned. Alastair Campbell of Airds in volume I of his *A History of Clan Campbell*, suggests a Duncan of Moleigh and Dunach on Loch Feochan as worth investigating for the origins of the MacConnochie Campbells, but no descendants of this Duncan have been found. He calls Duncan *Scoednasach* 'the favoured candidate for the source of their patronymic' for the MacConnochie Campbells of Inverawe, Lerags and Stronchormraig-Glenfeochan.

#### *Historical Background to the Early Records*

At the time of the 'Ragman Roll' of 1296, the lands of Inverawe, like Lerags and Stronchormraig, were almost certainly in the hands of the MacDougall Lords of Argyll, the 'de Ergadia'. Inverawe is still in the parish of Ardchattan whose Priory they had founded. No studies have focused upon the boundaries of the Lordship at that time so that these have not yet been clearly delineated. However they may well have extended to the watershed of Loch Etive in the northeast. Following the defeat of Alexander of Lorne and his son John in the Pass of Brander by the Douglas, MacDonald and Campbell forces under Robert Bruce in the autumn of 1308, the Lordship (if it was yet so designated) was forfeit to the crown and many of the lands, including Inverawe, were granted to Sir Arthur Campbell, a senior cousin of Sir Neil of Lochow.<sup>32</sup> The crown charter to Sir Arthur is the first mention of Inverawe which survives on record.

On Sir Arthur's death many of these lands passed to his sons, the eldest of whom was Yvar or Eogan (Ewan). Sir Arthur is said to have died in 1330 and in that year Duke Nial notes a charter of Inverawe to a Duncan Cambel, presumably a son or nephew of Sir Arthur's. While the source for this reference has not yet come to light, Inverawe was among lands later granted by Yvar, son of Sir Arthur, to Sir John Menteith, Earl of Lennox, possibly in 1334 although in the published version in *Highland Papers* a later date in the 1380s is given.<sup>33</sup> An '8' would appear to have been mistranscribed for a '3' since there is no doubt that the MacDougall John lord of

Lorn was again in possession by circa.1338, and Dunollie and Dunstaffnage are also mentioned in Yvar's charter to Lennox.

Certainly by 1355 the lands on the south side of Loch Etive appear to have reverted to the crown and been granted once again to John *gallda* (MacDougall) as lord of Lorn. From the MacDougalls they would pass by marriage to the Stewarts. One is therefore left to assume that these earlier Campbell owners of the lands of Inverawe had either died out, moved elsewhere or become vassals of the MacDougalls. The latter course would seem unlikely. After less than fifty years of absence one would expect the MacDougall overlord to be persuaded by his followers to reinstate those whose lands had been lost following their defeat by the Bruce. By this time the Campbell family had grown in power to the point where finding a grant of land for a displaced cousin would not have been impossible.

How the MacDougall lord of Lorne retrieved their inheritance and parted with it once again must be considered in order to grasp the conditions in which the Clan Connachie Campbells found themselves settled in the lands of Lorne towards the later fourteen hundreds. Following the MacDougall defeat by the Bruce in August 1308 in the Pass of Brander, John, son of Alexander, Lord of Argyll, had escaped to the English court where his son Alan and grandson John were brought up.<sup>34</sup> John would later be known in Argyll as 'gallda' or outlander, due to his up-bringing at the English court. John 'gallda' returned to Scotland before 1338 in the wake of John Balliol and married King Robert's grand-daughter, Joanna, daughter of Thomas Isaac.<sup>35</sup> As a result of this marriage, the Lordship of Lorne was then restored to him as he appears on record as Lord of Lorne by 1338.<sup>36</sup>

However this marriage produced no surviving son but two daughters and these, as co-heiresses of the Lordship, married two Stewart brothers of the Innermeath family who arranged that the Lordship should pertain to the elder brother. Walter, the 4th and last of these Stewart Lords of Lorne, failed to hold the lordship or to fulfil an agreement signed with Colin first Earl of Argyll. As a result the Lordship was passed to Argyll in a land exchange of 1469 which was confirmed by the charter of 1470. Inverawe therefore first came into the hands of the Lochow-Argyll Campbells in 1470.

So, as we have seen, Inverawe had been among the lands granted after 1308 to Sir Arthur Campbell, cousin of Sir Neil and of his son Sir Colin of Lochawe, and it later passed to Arthur's son Yvar MacArthur Campbell. He in turn sold it to the Earl of Lennox from whom it returned to the crown before being granted as part of the Lordship of Lorne to John 'gallda' of Lorn, of the old MacDougall of Argyll kindred, in 1338. John had a son Allan by a different alliance, so providing continuation of the MacDougall kindred who made the old fort of Dunollie their base and built the castle there.

Further, after the lands of Lorn had been returned to the MacDougall descendants of the heirs of Somerled and Lords of Argyll and the Isles, and then slipped away to the Stewarts, the Lords of Lorn became involved in issues of crown succession and crown responsibility for the people of the Isles. While the former was an issue beyond Argyll, the latter should be understood in the light of the effect upon the Clan Connachie kindred who would come into responsibility for people and lands in Lorn. The Stewart lordship of Lorn would suffer, as so often happened, with an attack from the Isles producing a crown response, resulting in turn in a gain by the Earl of Argyll, whose loyalty to the crown was a matter of Gaelic kinship.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> of December 1462, Colin Earl of Argyll met with Sir Walter Stewart of Innermeath on the isle of Innestrynich in Lochawe at Sir Walter's request.<sup>37</sup> On that winter's day the earl there agreed to support Walter in his claim to the lordship of Lorn upon the imminent death of Walter's brother John Lord Lorn, who appears to have been suffering from leprosy. In return Walter agreed to provide Argyll with a strip of land between Lochawe and Loch Etive – the riparian lands of Inverawe – when he became Lord of Lorn.

Then, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of December 1463, John Lord of Lorn was murdered at Dunstaffnage by Allan *na Coille*, a renegade younger half-brother of John *Ciar* MacDougall of Dunollie. John 'ciar' of Dunollie was likely a first cousin of Argyll's through his mother, and the earl had already rescued him from Allan's attempted kidnapping in a swift action of galleys in the Sound of Kerrera. Allan appears to have been under the influence of his maternal uncle Donald *Balloch* MacDonald who was ruler of the southern Isles for the Earl of Ross, Lord of the Isles.

This pivotal murder in the history of the western Highlands is said in tradition to have taken place at the chapel of Dunstaffnage on the day of John Stewart lord of Lorn's marriage to his MacLaurin mistress. Stewart's purpose was to legitimate their son Dougall whom he hoped to leave as his heir in place of his brother Sir Walter. Colin of Argyll's uncle, Campbell of Glenorchy, was already married to John Lord Lorn's legitimate daughter. Although, as usual, blame for the murder has since been plastered on Argyll, Historian Steve Boardman's research found that 'there is little to suggest that the earl had connived in the assassination.'

John Lord of Lorn had made a note of entail of his lordship in 1452, making his brother Walter his heir. John's murder in 1463 pitched Walter and his nephew Dougall Stewart into competition for the lordship. But although tradition holds that the marriage took place with John's last breath, Sir Walter must have proven otherwise in Edinburgh, for early in 1464 Walter received sasine of the lordship by entail. By the 15<sup>th</sup> of May he was using the title Lord of Lorn. But while Sir Walter enjoyed his new status in Edinburgh, all was not easy in Argyll. To add to Sir Walter's difficulties, Allan *na Coille* (of the Wood) was seemingly roosting with his outlaw band in the lordship's castle of Dunstaffnage, while local sympathy appears to have been on the side of the young Dougall Stewart's and his claim.

However, Walter continued to sit in Parliament as Lord Lorne until 1470. The Scots Peerage states that Dougall was illegitimate; *The Complete Peerage* states that Dougall's legitimacy has been questioned. That Walter retained the Lordship in the eyes of the king following the incident may either be seen as indicating that the rites of marriage were not completed before John of Lorn's death, or the strength of Walter's influence at court. Either Dougall Stewart was illegitimate or Walter Stewart usurped the Lordship. There was also Allan's MacDonald-supported MacDougall faction who had hoped to regain the Lordship for themselves.

Meanwhile Colin Earl of Argyll expected his reward of the strip of land by Inverawe from Sir Walter for supporting his cause, but received nothing. The agreement at Innestrynich had been signed by both parties and the document was in Argyll's hands. So he took Sir Walter to court. In frustration Sir Walter burned the castle of Gloum in the Ochills in 1465, a place which Argyll's Stewart countess had received from her father John Lord of Lorn as her dowry. Rebuilt, the place was later re-named Castle Campbell. Finally in 1466 at Perth, Argyll received £433 from Sir Walter in settlement of damages. But the claim in Lorn was still outstanding. Meanwhile in 1466 Argyll had ousted Donald *Balloch* from Arran where he had been 'lifting' the

royal rents. So the earl was due for a royal reward. At a parliament in Edinburgh in November 1469 Sir Walter finally settled with Argyll and a land exchange was agreed. Argyll would grant him ten different communities on good farmland in eastern Scotland in return for the strategic but agriculturally poor lordship of Lorn.

Further, Sir Walter's eastern and Lowland lands were made into a lordship for him by the king and he was made a lord of parliament as Lord Innermeath. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of April 1470 Sir Walter resigned his lordship of Lorn to the James II King of Scots. On the 17<sup>th</sup> James granted the lordship to Argyll. He subsequently reached agreement with the MacDougalls and Stewarts in Lorn. Dougall Stewart was granted Appin, the northern portion of the lordship in a later settlement with Argyll and Glenorchy.

Historian Steve Boardman concludes his study of this period by stating that Earl Colin was 'unwilling or unable to initiate a large-scale displacement of Lorn kindreds in favour of their own kinsman in the years after 1471.'<sup>38</sup> In fact the concept of wholesale re-settlement would have been highly impractical, and the very idea that it might be desirable shows a modern and more ruthless perspective. An unrecognised aspect of Campbell expansion into these increasing lands, granted to the earls as rewards for loyal service by the Kings of Scots, was their ability to work with those already settled and responsible for the local communities. 'Overlordship' had changed, but life would go on. Military service would have some new officers and a new commander. Yet change is the nature of life although sometimes resisted. For those of the Campbell kindred who were now granted lands in Lorn, the reputation that they made there was one of robust fortitude.

The result was that those followers or kindred of Colin of Argyll who were salted among the men of Lorn to farm the lands of the Lordship after 1470, as were the MacConnochies, must have had to expect to hold their grant by strength if necessary, although there is no evidence that any strife ensued. In fact there was likely relief that the conflict between Allan *na Coille* and Dougall Stewart was finally over. This was the situation in the lordship when the Earl of Argyll granted the lands of Lerags, Inverawe and Stronchormaig in Lorne to his Campbell kin, lands from which those families came to take their names. Perhaps this was the time from which the Clan Connochie came to be thought of as 'the most undaunted of the Campbells.'<sup>39</sup>

The essential point relevant to our discussion of the origins of the Clan Connochie Campbells is that to Colin, first Earl of Argyll, the lands between Loch Awe and Loch Etive, namely those primarily of Inverawe, were considered to be of vital importance. Therefore the granting of those lands to one of the MacConnochies strongly suggests their near relationship to him.

### ***Clan Connochie Lands on Lochawe***

The Clan Connochie Campbells of Inverawe came into possession of Froach Eilean castle on the island of that name in Loch Awe at an early date, most likely before they were granted Inverawe. At how early a date is not clear but certainly not before the time of Sir Colin *Iongantach* who died in 1412. According to a charter of 1212<sup>40</sup> which was said to have been in the hands of the Inverawe-related Campbells in Achlian in the early 19th century, Alexander III had granted Keepership of the castle of Fraoch Eilean to the MacNachtans, kinsmen and allies of the Campbells of Lochow.<sup>41</sup>



In *The Clan McNaughton* by Duncan McNaughton MA, FSA (Scot),<sup>42</sup> the author writes; ‘With the nearby building of Kilchurn in about 1440, the importance of Fraoch Eilean (Fraoch Eilean castle) diminished and it was of little further use to the Campbells who had, by that time, acquired it and its lands from the McNaughtons. ..’ While this passage is somewhat conjectural and no sources are quoted, there can be no doubt that Fraoch Eilean had become of less importance since the construction or enlargement of Kilchurn in 1440-60 and that this fact made a Campbell presence there less strategic, leading, one suspects, to the decision by the first Earl of Argyll to offer the then keepers of Fraoch Eilean more vital bases in the mouth of the Pass of Brander and the String of Lorne (*vide infra*). The second point of the passage deals with the question of when Fraoch Eilean passed from the McNaughtons (MacNachtans) to the Lochow family and subsequently to the Clan Connochie and Inverawe. Clearly, in Mr. McNaughton’s mind, there had been Campbells, and probably Clan Connochie Campbells, in Fraoch Eilean before 1440.

Mr. McNaughton expands upon his conjecture about the Campbell ownership of Fraoch Eilean on page 18 of his book; ‘Alexander McNaughton married as his second wife (about 1360) Christina Campbell, daughter of Dugald of Craignish but died the following year... Christina had as her marriage portion a third of the McNaughton lands and, as a widow, on August 16 1361, she granted this portion to her cousin Sir Colin [*iongantach*] Campbell of Lochow...’<sup>43</sup> The lands are not specified but Mr. McNaughton then states that Alexander’s grandson, who succeeded before 10 April 1375, was known as the first MacNachtan of the original Dunderave, then in Glen Shira near the Dubh Loch. This he understandably thinks would indicate that the Lochow family, and Sir Colin *iongantach* specifically, were by then in possession of Fraoch Eilean. The gift from Christina to Sir Colin is documented in *Argyll Transcripts* of the original charter at Inveraray.

Support for the concept that the Clan Connochie Campbells of Inverawe came to Fraoch Eilean following the departure of the MacNachtans to Glen Shira does not exist in the direct sense. The earliest surviving documentary proof of Inverawe ownership of the island castle is dated the 8th of March 1539-40. In a Notarial Instrument dated at Castle Campbell narrating a contract between Archibald Earl of Argyll and Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, mention is made of leasing some of Inverawe’s ‘feulands’ of Achlian and Duchollie to the Earl.

The lands of Achlian were the grazings or mainland supporting lands of Fraoch Eilean and included some arable farmland for support of the castle, which the steep slopes of Ben Cruachan to the north could not provide. The intermediate lands about Kilchurn were already in the hands of the Glenorchy family and had apparently previously belonged to the MacGregors of Glenstrae before they had come to John of Glassary by marriage and through his daughter by marriage to Sir Colin *iongantach*. The marches of the Inverawe lands supporting Fraoch Eilean were the loch shore to the west, the Teatle Water to the north, the Water of Stacain to the east and south where it becomes the Cladich River, give or take some sheilings above Glen Aray.

In the 18th century will of Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe the island of Fraoch Eilean is described as ‘pertaining to’ the lands of Achlian.<sup>45</sup> Such legal descriptions tend to be repeated from one document to the next. Therefore the MacNachtans must have held the lands of Achlian and Duchollie as being the nearest available farmland to support their castle. So that while the island castle is not directly mentioned, it is virtually certain that the Fraoch Eilean was already in Inverawe hands before 1539-4, since in all the later surviving charters, the island is mentioned directly following the lands of Achlian and Duchollie.<sup>46</sup>

The first direct mention of Fraoch Eilean as being in the hands of the Inverawe family appears in a charter by Archibald Marquess of Argyll to Lt. Col. Dougall Campbell of Inverawe, dated the 29th of October 1650.<sup>47</sup> Here, following the lands of Achlian and Duchollie, we find 'Freachylland' and the neighbouring island of 'Dowyllan' (the islands are now connected due to a drop in water level). These are last on a long list of Inverawe lands re-granted to Dougall following the death of his father either shortly before the battle of Inverlochry or as a result of wounds got at the battle where Dougall himself had been taken prisoner. These same lands were all re-granted by the 9th Earl in a charter of the 13th of September 1668 which was followed by Sasine in the 1st and 4th of July 1673.<sup>48</sup>

A traditional indication of an early Clan Connochie presence on Upper Loch Awe before 1470 is found in the burial associations with the island of Innishail on Loch Awe where, in the 19th century, carved stones were pointed out to travellers as being the burial slabs of the MacConnochie. Certainly by the 17th century the Inverawe family were being buried at Ardchattan and the former sacristy was evidently extended to make a private enclosure for their dead.

The island castle of Fraoch Eilean on Loch Awe would appear to have come into Campbell hands in, or shortly after, the time of Sir Colin *Iongantach* if Mr. McNaughton's assumptions are correct. Both the grant of some of the MacNachtan lands on Loch Awe to Sir Colin by Christina of Craignish and the fact that her step grandson was known as 'of Dunderave' rather than 'of Frechylan' by the 10<sup>th</sup> of April 1375 would seem to support this assumption. No further mention of Fraoch Eilean has been found on record until it appears in Inverawe hands. The Clan Connochie Campbells would almost certainly have lived on or near Loch Awe in the years before they were granted lands in the Lordship of Lorne following the 1470 charter to Argyll. And, if they were descended from Duncan *Skeodnasach*, Sir Colin's brother, it would seem fair to assume that they had received the island castle as a grant from Sir Colin *Iongantach* before that knight of Lochawe died in 1412. Equally the converse is true, that since the Inverawe branch of the Clan Connochie Campbells are later found in possession of Fraoch Eilean, it would seem possible to conjecture that they might have received it from Sir Colin *Iongantach* who appears to have been the first of the Campbell of Lochow family who could have possessed the place. This might equally support a possible descent from Duncan *Skeodnasach*.

There is one further tradition which supports the castle being in Inverawe hands at least as early as the mid 16th century. Wimberly states (without giving his source) that the Dougall Campbell of Inverawe 'who lived about 1575' (he appears to have been born by 1518 and died shortly before 1583) 'is said to have fought with [whether this means beside or against is not clear, his brother John 'dubh' certainly fought beside them] the Macdonalds and the Islemen, and to have had his castle burnt during his absence by Allan Maclean [sic] of Torloisk, who hanged his wife and children at the gate.'<sup>50</sup> This 'castle' could hardly have been Inverawe which was, until Victorian times, never a castle but more likely a hall, originally of drystone and thatch one would suspect, although a slated house of mortared stone was built there in the second or third decade of the 18th century. The 'castle' would seem equally unlikely to have been 'Ardchonnell' where Wimberly states that Dougall is said to have stayed for a time. Fraoch Eilean is the obvious site for this tale of horror and for more than one reason.

The raiding of MacLean lands by Campbells, including a member of the Inverawe family, is on record during this period. This raid upon Dougall of Inverawe's castle could therefore have been

either in retaliation or have provoked retaliation. Further, Dougall's son by his later marriage was a minor for several years following his father's death and it must have been he who, following this inter-regnum, rebuilt the castle by constructing a tower house in the early 17th century. In the article on Fraoch Eilean in RCAHMS *Lorne*, this early 17th century construction is described as being built within the great walls of the old hall house, which had become derelict. This dereliction could clearly have resulted from the attack and fire. Finally, Dougall's first son and heir Alan had died before his father, a fact which could be seen as support for the truth of the tale that Dougall's children had been 'hung at the gate.' Dougall may easily have preferred to make more of his place at Inverawe, rather than repair Fraoch Eilean castle that would remind him so much of his murdered wife and children.

There is a discrepancy in this tradition since, according to the *History of Clan Maclean* by J. P. MacLean, 1889, there was no 'Allan Maclean of Torloisk' living at that time. When Eachann Og MacLean of Duart died in 1573-4 his eldest son, the future Sir Lachlan Mor MacLean of Duart, was still a minor and it was Sir Lachlan's second son Lachlan who would become the first MacLean of Torloisk. This Lachlan of Torloisk is said to have been severely wounded at the battle of Trigh-Gruinnart in Islay on the 5th of August 1598 when his father, Sir Lachlan, was killed. However the *History* also states that Lachlan received the lands of Lehire-Torloisk from his father and that the lands had been 'forfiet by the son of Ailean nan Sop.' The tradition apparently confused Allan 'nan sop' at Torloisk with Lachlan MacLean of Torloisk and this would account for the name of the attacker being Ailean or Allan rather than Lachlan. But since Ailean nan Sop had died earlier, then known as Maclean of Gigha, it was more likely his son Hector of Gigha, who also held Torloisk for a time, that attacked Fraoch Eilean.

### ***Clan Connochie Lands in Lorn***

Lerags lies on the north shore of Loch Feochan and since this family were mentioned before Inverawe and Stronchormag by Colville, they may have been the senior of the three families. There is also the statement that 'Lerags is supposed to have been the first of that name who possessed Lorn,' which appears in the earliest M.S. The Lerags cross was erected by one of the early members of the family and is dated 1516.<sup>51</sup> The one fact which brings into question the Lerags seniority to Inverawe is that Fraoch Eilean on Loch Awe continued to be held by the Inverawe family, a place which might seem to be significant as a holding in their relationship. However not long after their establishment on Loch Feochan, Lerags was granted the keepership of the island stronghold in Lochnell.

The present house of Inverawe stands on an alluvial terrace or raised beach between the mouth of the river Awe at Loch Etive and the present bridge of Awe. The bridge crosses the river at the mouth of the Pass of Brander. However while there has probably been a house on the site since the sixteenth century, and certainly since the 18th, the name of the place was, one would suspect, originally associated with the mouth of the river Awe where there is the remains of a dun, possibly the place referred to in a 17th century document as 'the dunan of Inverawe' and which shows clearly on Roy's map of 1755.<sup>52</sup> The house of Inverawe appears on Blau's map. Stronchormag, like Lerags, lies on Loch Feochan but on the south side of the river flowing from Lochnell and at the head of the loch, the lands stretching up Glenfeochan as the later name taken by the family implies and, from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, including Knipoch.

The strategic nature of these lands in 1470 is made clear by a glance at a map of Lorne and Mid Argyll. The main routes west to the sea from the Campbell lands on Loch Awe lay by the Pass of

Brander, the 'String of Lorne' and southwest to Loch Craignish or south by Ardskeodnish to Loch Crinan. For Colin, Earl of Argyll, to control the Lordship of Lorne these ways must be strongly held, and particularly the northern two by the Pass of Brander and the String of Lorne. The first runs from the north end of Loch Awe past Inverawe to the sea at Loch Etive and the second directly from Innis Chonnel, then still the principal stronghold of the Earls, by Loch Avich and the hill ground of Stronchormraig to the sea at Loch Feochan near Knipoch and opposite Lerags. Sir Cailein Mor had been killed by the MacDougalls on the String of Lorne in 1296 and there is still a pile of stones in Loch Feochan where the bodies of the early kings are said to have been embarked for burial in Iona after being brought over the String. So that although no modern routes follow the way over the hill by Bragleen today, there is no doubt of the great importance of the String of Lorne in 1470 and before.

If the Clan Connochie Campbells had earlier been based in the island castle of Fraoch Eilean at the north end of Loch Awe as seems likely, the construction of the castle at Kilchurn between 1440 and 1460<sup>53</sup> would have reduced the strategic importance of Fraoch Eilean. That Earl Colin should grant them new lands in the mouth of the Pass of Brander and protecting the String at the sea would seem particularly appropriate following his being granted the Lordship of Lorne in 1470. His earlier agreement with Sir Walter Stewart to gain the lands between Lochawe and Loch Etive, which include Inverawe, clarifies how important he believed the lands of Inverawe to be. While this by itself proves little about the origins of the Clan Connochie Campbells, it must be of significance that all three branches, Lerags, Inverawe and Stronchormraig, all first appear on record in connection with these lands in Lorn and in the years following 1470. The likely conjecture that Archibald first of Inverawe's great-grandfather Duncan was brother to Earl Colin of Argyll's great-grandfather Colin *Iongantach*, clarifies why the earl would have seen the MacConnochie kindred as close enough kin to be trusted with the task of pacifying the Lordship of Lorn through the firmness of their settlement on the lands he granted them.

### ***Early Records of the Clan Connochie***

The original writs of Lerags were burnt by Cromwell's English soldiery, presumably indulging in blinkered religious fervour, while visiting Ardchattan Priory.<sup>54</sup> The destruction of these writs is mentioned in a 17th century Great Seal charter to one of the Campbells of the second Ardchattan family. A new charter was therefore issued on the 5th of February 1662. This incendiary attempt took place in 1654 when John Campbell of Ardchattan was absent on the king's service. His houses of Ardchattan and Ardrey and all his household goods were set alight, although Ardchattan largely survived. His loss amounted to 8,000 merks and the facts were proven before Parliament in Edinburgh in 1661. (OPS II,p.152, citing Acts of Parliament III,p.284). The records of Lerags which survive are those related to Achaworran in Lismore, long in the hands of first the Lerags and then the Inverawe family's cadets. Achaworran was later bought by the Campbells of Airds in whose charter chest the writs of these lands now lie. Other Lerags writs survive in copies and in the register of sasines.

When Inverawe was sold away from the Clan Connochie Campbells in 1765 by the daughter of Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe, it passed into the hands of her kinsman, Campbell of Fonab and Monzie. Apparently most of the records and furniture went with the place. At the end of the 19th century the Monzie heiress married Campbell of Dunstaffnage and subsequently the remaining Inverawe papers seem to have been destroyed by her or in the fire at Dunstaffnage in the 1940s. Owing to the date when these Inverawe writs arrived at Dunstaffnage they do not

appear in the Dunstaffnage Inventory. However transcriptions from the doquets of the earliest Inverawe charters which survived and came to Dunstaffnage were sent by Campbell of Dunstaffnage to Campbell of Kilmartin, a cadet of Inverawe, in 1899. These were later made available to Herbert Campbell, the genealogist, who used them in his notes on the Inverawe family now at the Lyon Office. More detailed copies of these transcriptions were recently discovered among the Kilmartin papers in a stable in Skye by Alasdair Campbell of Kilmartin and are among copies of the Auchindarroch-Inverawe papers in possession of that family. They are supplemented by notes on the subject of the transcriptions by an earlier Campbell of Kilmartin in a letter to Campbell of Arduaine. These transcriptions are among the earliest records of the Clan Connachie Campbells and are closely supported by registered writs in the early 16th century. The charter of 1485 and sasine of 1486 were also seen at Dunstaffnage and a note of contents taken by Frederick B. Richards of the New York State Historical Society in 1910 while researching for his paper 'The Black Watch at Ticonderoga and Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe,' first published in 1912.

Some of the Inverawe papers which had apparently been dispersed at the time of the sale of the lands in 1765, were found among the McNeil of Oakfield papers and returned to Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell of Blackhouse and Finlayston, Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe's nephew and representative of the family, who died in 1825. The MacNeils were his cousins, being descended from a daughter of Inverawe. These papers were later deposited in the National Library of Scotland and are predominantly of the 17th century. They include a pact of friendship with the McLains of Glencoe and the order from Argyll to Lt. Col. Dugald Campbell to burn Forther, a tower House of the Ogilvie's. However these papers, while most intriguing, offer no information on the origins of the Clan Connachie Campbells.

With the Stronchormaig-Glenfeochan family it is also necessary to work backwards from the registration of documents. In the words of the late Alan Campbell of Glenfeochan, the last male representative of the family who latterly lived at what was Cloichombie, just north of Glenfeochan; 'Sadly, all our old family papers were in the Dunstaffnage charter-chest, which was destroyed when the house burnt down in 1940. I do have a list of all the old title-deeds etc which are now in the Register House, which I got from Bradford's [Dunstaffnage's] lawyers when he sold the property.'

The fire at Dunstaffnage was the second that family had suffered, the first being at the castle in the 19th century. The devastation which resulted to the records of a great many Campbell and related families has been severe. Campbell of Barcaldine and Herbert Campbell the genealogist, both of whom spent their personal resources to transcribe and publish Campbell records, and whose works form the basis of much Campbell related research today, tried to persuade the Dunstaffnages to have their writs transcribed and made available for research. But, presumably through ignorance of the statute of limitations, there was an unspoken reserve in some landowning families when it came to allowing access to the family writs. Further, Jeannie Dunstaffnage, the Monzie heiress of Inverawe, appears to have feared that there was something which should be hidden about Inverawe. When the writer's grandfather of Arduaine asked her in the 1920s whether he could see any of the old Inverawe charters she brought some old papers into the room and put them straight into the fireplace where they burnt. This may simply have been the fact that when Duncan of Inverawe's daughter Janet sold the lands she sold 'in blenche ferme' which meant that she still held the feudal superiority. Although this was presumably eventually bought by the purchasing family, that is not clear. *An Inventory of Dunstaffnage Papers* survives, which is of great value since it provides transcriptions of the doquets of the

papers, however this was made before Inverawe came into the family by marriage and so those are not listed.

The majority of the charters and other writs originally in the hands of the families of Lerags, Inverawe or Stronchormaig have been burnt, either at Ardchattan in the 17th century or at Dunstaffnage House in the 20th. Apart from the small collection in the National Library of Scotland and some few papers in family hands, almost all sources for the period under review are therefore to be found in the National Archives of Scotland at the Register House in Edinburgh or in the Inveraray or Airds collections.

## EARLY CLAN CONNOCHIE CAMPBELLS ON RECORD

### *A MacConnochie of 1395*

In Sir William Fraser's *Cartulary of Colquhoun and Colquhoun of Luss*, Edinburgh 1873, there is record of one Dugald McConnoquhe of Croqhinnican, a witness in 1395. If Croqhinnican was in fact Cruachie or Cruachan as seems possible, this might well be one of the earliest of the Clan Connochie Campbells and perhaps even a son of Duncan *Skeodnasach* since the dates are appropriate. The place of Cruachan is different from Ben Cruachan and is situated on the west side of Loch Awe opposite Innis Chonnel castle. While later tradition has naturally associated Ben Cruachan with the war-cry of the clan Campbell, Cruachan-Lochow was almost certainly the hosting ground or gathering place of the early O'Duibne Campbell family and their followers in times of emergency. The Gaelic of the word meaning 'hump' or 'lump' aptly describes the topography between the old farm of Cruachan and the loch. Like so much of Argyll's history today, the site is now covered with conifer plantation. In the 17th century this Cruachan passed through the hands of the Inverawe family and was granted by Archibald of Inverawe to his half-brother of Kilmartin.

Considering that Dugald MacCondochie of Croqhinnican [Scots pronunciation would be 'Cruinichan'] was a witness in 1395 and that Sir Colin *Iongantach*, who could have been his uncle, died in 1412, he could well have been a son of Duncan *Skeodnasach* and the ancestor of the Clan Connochie Campbells. If Cruachan and Croqhinnican are the same, and as Cruachan was the rallying place of the Campbell strength, it would have been important that the site be controlled by one closely related, or of known loyalty to, the Chief. Further, certainly by the mid fourteen hundreds, the Inverawe family had begun using the name Dugald/Dougall consistently as an alternate to Archibald for the eldest son, while the main line of the Lochow-Argyll family no longer used the name Dougall. Although there seems little chance of proving conclusively that this Dugald MacConnoquhe of Croqhinnican was in fact an ancestor of the Clan Connochie, there is much in favour of the conjecture.

Although legend has Duncan *na Crosda* or *Sceodnasach* being fostered by the MacCallums in Ardsceodnish, they were not then known by MacCallum but as MacKessaigs, with various spellings. Dr. Lorne Campbell, Ph.D., the art historian and expert on Campbell genealogy has suggested that Duncan was more likely fostered by the Campbell family of Ardsceodnish who were in conflict with the Lochawe family at that time and the name MacCallum substituted later to cover up the familial division. The name Dugald or Dougall MacCondochie could therefore derive from Duncan *Sceodnasach's* foster father. Ardsceodnish and Glassary were then held by a Dougall Campbell, son or grandson of Sir Neil. However since Duncan was born in circa. 1338 and Dougall died in circa. 1342, the connection is tenuous.

But a theory has also been put forward that this Dugald MacCondochie was in fact one of the MacFarlane family and not of Clan Connochie. Here the lands of ‘Calliquohornig’ or Collechorene in the Lordship of Arrochar are suggested as being the same as “Croquihinnican”. (*West Highland Notes and Queries*, March 1989, Series 2, No. 3, pp. 26-27, A. G. Morrison). (vide infra). When it is understood that ‘qu’ was often pronounced as ‘wh’ the word “Croquihinnican” can be evolved more easily into “Crowhinnican” or Cruachan than into “Calliwhornig” or Calliquohornig/Collechorene. The aberrations resulting from the struggles of a lowland scribe attempting to deal with the Gaelic ‘ch’ are not unusual.

### ***A MacConnochie of 1470***

On the 28<sup>th</sup> of March 1470 ‘Laccan Duncanson Cambel’ was witness to the Sasine of Lorn.<sup>56</sup> This would appear to be a Lachlan MacConnochie Campbell. The name Lachlan continued in use for younger sons of the Inverawe family into the 18<sup>th</sup> century and may possibly infer a previous Campbell-MacLachlan marriage, although not necessarily to the Strathlachlan family. This Lachlan could have been the younger brother of the Archibald, possibly he who was first of the MacConnochie Campbells of Inverawe, when the available lands of the Lordship of Lorn were being granted to his kinsmen and friends by Colin, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Argyll in the early 1470s. One is tempted to wonder whether the Inveraray family named Duncanson might not have descended from this Lachlan. While he might well have been unconscious of the fact that the clerk had anglicised his name as a witness, he may equally have been a scholar and insisted upon it himself.

### ***The MacConnochie of Lerags, Inverawe & Stronchormaig***

There follows a list of the 16<sup>th</sup> century records of the Clan Connochie Campbells. Comparing these records Lerags, Inverawe and Stronchormaig demonstrates a clear and strong relationship between these three branches of the kindred. This in itself reinforces the contention that they had a common ancestry in their eponymous Duncan.

### ***The MacConnochie of Lerags***

The earliest evidence for the MacConnochie Campbell family of Lerags begins with the granting by Colin, 1st Earl of Argyll, to ‘Alano Somwerlati Johannis,’ cousin of the granter, and the heirs male of his body, ‘the eight penny lands of the two Leverax [Lerags] and four(?) penny land of Devanson (?) in the Lordship and Shire of Lorne...,’ signed at Inverawe on the 20<sup>th</sup> of June 1471.<sup>57</sup> In 1478 this same Alan then sued the Earl before the Civil Court for Warrantice of Lerags and Wachtrouch [Lerags ouchtrach] in the Lordship of Lorne against Duncan Campbell and Dougall Campbell who claimed lease of the lands. Alan is here called ‘Alone Sorlsen McCoull’ and was likely of the MacDougall kindred, possibly son of Somerled MacDougall, younger brother of John *Ciar* of Dunollie. That Duncan and Dougall Campbell were almost certainly related and were very likely the Duncan who was founder of the Lerags family and the Dougall who appears in 1485 as ‘of Inverawe.’ Whether they were father and son, uncle and nephew or brothers is not clear, although the last might seem likely since had they been father and son one would have expected the relationship to be mentioned. The action of the court went against Alan even although he was a cousin of the Earl’s, his grandmother being the earl’s likely aunt, certainly a Campbell lady.

On the 29th of November 1509 Archibald, 2nd Earl of Argyll, granted a charter to Duncan, son of the late Duncan Campbell of Lerags, and to Matilda Thomson (sic) his spouse, and his heirs male of Achaworran Mor [4 merkland] and Clachlea [2 merkland] on Lismore. Duncan the younger is called 'Duncani galt,' perhaps indicating 'Gullda,' a lowlander, so that perhaps he was brought up in the lowlands and married there.<sup>58</sup> This younger Duncan was first of the Lerags cadet line of Clachlea and must have been the younger brother of Archibald of Lerags. Among some early Ardincaple (Seil) writs<sup>59</sup> are instruments of January 1510-11 mentioning a missive of the 23rd of November 1510 directed by Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy to five baillies, the fourth being Archibald Campbell of Lerags for infeftment of Glenorchy's son in Ardincaple, among others. This Archibald was clearly the son and heir of Duncan of Lerags and the elder brother of Duncan of Clachlea.

On the 6th of August 1510 Archibald Mackenzie [MacConnochie] of Lerags appears on an inquest held by order of Archibald, 2nd Earl of Argyll, with Ian [John] Mckenzie [MacConnochie] in Stronchormoig, Gillaspog [Archibald] McCoal [son of Dougall] McChonzie [MacConnochie] in the Kneppach [Knipoch]. These would be Archibald of Lerags, John in [perhaps younger of] Stronchormoig, since he had a tack of the lands, and Archibald, son to Dugald of Inverawe, representing the three branches of the Clan Connochie Campbells. Archibald, younger of Inverawe, must have had a tack of Knipoch at the time, his father Dugald being then still alive.<sup>60</sup> By 1592 Knipoch was in Stronchormoig hands and lies across the loch from Lerags, near the point where the String of Lorne reaches Loch Feochan.

On the 12th of September 1515 Archibald, 2nd Earl of Argyll granted a charter at Stirling to Archibald McKenzie of Lerags, son of Duncan Campbell of Lerags, of Achaworranbeg and Ballimenach in Lismore.<sup>61</sup> On the same date and place in a Precept of Sasine to Sir John Campbell of Calder (Cawdor), John Campbell of Stronchormoig, Allan Campbell of Achaworran and Archibald Campbell of Inverawe were mentioned as Baillies.

On the 29th of November 1522 Archibald Campbell of Lerags was signatory at Raray to a Bond of Manrent to Sir John Campbell of Cawdor.<sup>62</sup>

In an entry in 1527 Archibald Campbell 'of Layrageive' (Lerags) is mentioned with Archibald Campbell of Inverawe at Inveraray.<sup>63</sup> In 1527 Archibald of Lerags had a fee for 'the keeping of the isle of Lochnell.'<sup>64</sup> This would have been the crannog or artificial island in the freshwater loch half way between Inverawe and Stronchormoig which was then still fortified, the place which would later become the original home of the Campbells of Lochnell. Some masonry walling remains.

Archibald MacConnochie Campbell of Lerags, son of Duncan of Lerags and brother of Duncan of Clachlea, had the Lerags cross erected in 1516.<sup>65</sup> According to H. D. Graham, writing in 1850, Archibald was 'a celebrated character, known in Gaelic as Gilleasbuig ciar glas.'

After more than a century, Lerags was sold by a Duncan Campbell of Lerags on the 20th of February 1614 and no descendants of this or the Clachlea family are known. He sold the place to his wife's uncle, Duncan Campbell of Achnagoull.<sup>66</sup> After a time the property passed through the hands of Ardchattan to the Lochnell family in whose hands it remained into the 19th century. The Lochnell cadets of Lerags are spread over the globe but are, after Argyll and Lochnell, a senior branch of the Campbell kindred.



## *The MacConnochie of Inverawe*

A charter of the 22nd of November 1485 by Colin, 1st Earl of Argyll to 'his beloved cousin Dugald Cambel of Inverawe for the singular love which he bears towards him, and for his faithful services performed, and to be performed of the wardenship of Over Lochowe with the fees and profits thereof' together with the Precept of Sasine 'wherein said Dugald Cambel is designated of Inverawe which is dated 20th of December 1486.'<sup>67</sup>

On the 6th of August 1510 Gillaspoig McCoal McChonzie in the Kneppach [Archibald MacConnochie, son of Dugald and tacksman of Knipoch] was present at an inquest held by order of Archibald, second Earl of Argyll.<sup>68</sup> This was Archibald MacConnochie, younger of Inverawe. What is also significant is that he appears with Lerags and Stronchormaig at the inquest.

On the 30th of July 1511 Duncan Campbell MacConnochie, brother to Campbell of Inverawe, was witness to a charter signed at Dunoon in which Archibald, 2nd Earl of Argyll, granted the castle of Skipness to his own son Archibald.<sup>69</sup> In sending a copy of the Dunstaffnage/Kilmartin transcripts for Herbert Campbell, Kilmartin added some notes in which he mistakenly gave this Duncan as 'of' Inverawe. This Duncan cannot have been the same as the first Duncan of Lerags since he was dead by the 29th of November 1509. (*vide supra*)

A charter was granted by Archibald, 2nd Earl of Argyll, 'to Archibald son and apparant heir to umwhile Dugald Campbell Macdonachadh of Inverowe macand mention the said umwhile Dugald in his life time obtenit ane Chartour and seasing of said landis salmond fishings etc conform to the evidents of umwhile Archibald Campbell father to the said umwhile Dugald these presents are in confirmation delecto consanguineo nobis Dowgallo Campbello filio et apperenti heredi Archibaldi Campbelli de Inverowe.' Certain rights are reserved in favour of Margaret Campbell, spouse of the said Archibald of Inverawe.<sup>70</sup> The date of this charter is not given. Previous writers have mistakenly taken this charter to have been dated 1493, the earliest possible date for the second Earl of Argyll. However since the second Earl succeeded his father in 1493 and died at Flodden in 1513, the charter must have been granted between those dates. The time frame can be narrowed somewhat by reference to the Lerags inquest of the 6th of August 1510 where Archibald, Dugald's son, is still tacksman in Knipoch which indicates that his father must still have been alive on that date. The charter must therefore have been granted between 1510 and 1513.

On the 12th of September 1515 Archibald, 2nd Earl of Argyll, was at Stirling and issued a Precept of Sasine addressed to Sir John Campbell of Calder (Cawdor). John Campbell of Stronchormaig, Allan Campbell of Achnacree and Archibald Campbell of Inverawe were to act as bailies.<sup>71</sup> This suggests that Achnacree may have been a MacConnochie.

On January the 21st 1519-20 Archibald McCouyl [son of Dougall] McCondoche of Innerawe was a signatory with Archibald Campbell of Skipness at Ardchattan to a bond of manrent in favour of Sir John Campbell of Cawdor.<sup>72</sup>

In 1527 Archibald Campbell of Inverawe is mentioned at Inverary with Archibald Campbell of Lerags.<sup>73</sup>

On the 24th of May 1534, a Precept by Archibald Earl of Argyll to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and others as baillies to infest John Campbell as heir of Duncan Campbell of Clachlea. This Duncan had been brother to Archibald Campbell of Lerags.<sup>74</sup>

On the 8th of March 1539-40 a Notarial Instrument was dated at Castle Campbell narrating a contract between Archibald, 4th Earl of Argyll, and Archibald Campbell of Inverawe. The Earl remits all rancour he has against Archibald especially with reference to the Disposition made to him by Allan Campbell, son of the deceased Archibald Campbell of Lerags, of the lands of Ballimeynach and Achiyouhir with the office of the Martyship of Lismore and Appin. These were alleged to have been wrongly withheld from Archibald by Alexander McIan VcAlister and the Earl agrees to warrand them to Archibald of Inverawe. Mention is also made of the fuelands of Achlian and Duchollie part of which Inverawe is to lease to the Earl to be united to his Forest of Benbuivie.<sup>75</sup> The lands of Achlian and Duchollie are elsewhere mentioned in connection with the island castle of Fraoch Eilean and were evidently the grazing lands pertaining to the castle so that this entry, while it does not specifically mention Fraoch Eilean, would indicate that the castle had already been in Inverawe hands before this date.

In 1539 Allan Campbell in Ballimenach granted an obligation or back-bond to his 'louit cousing' [beloved cousin] Dougall Campbell, lawful son of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe. On the 6th of September of the same year Sasine was given to Dougall on a Precept by Allan and witnessed by John Campbell of Clachlea.<sup>76</sup>

### ***The MacConnochies of Stronchormaig (later called Glenfeochan)***

The earliest evidence for the Stronchormaig family can first be found at much the same time as that of Lerags and Inverawe. John (Ian) McConnochie of Stronchormaig appears on record in 1502 and he, or perhaps his nephew, continue intermittently until 1562. A Dougall Campbell of Stronchormaig who followed them was alive on the 10<sup>th</sup> of June 1599.

On the 24th of June 1502 at Dunoon, John M'Connichie of Stronchormaig was one of Argyll's baillies for a Precept of Sasine to Alexander Campbell of Dunstaffnage.<sup>77</sup>

On the 6th of August 1510 John McKonzie of Stronchormaig appears at an inquest with Lerags and Inverawe.(vide supra)

On the 12th of September 1515 John MacConnochie of Stronchormaig appears as a baillie with Inverawe among others. (vide supra)

In 1528 John McConche of Stroncormek appears in 'My Lordes Buk of Casualities'.<sup>78</sup>

From the Duncan Campbell who married Beatrix, daughter of Cawdor, in 1603 the descent can be documented to the present representative of the family. This Duncan first appears as Cautioner for Archibald Campbell of Fanans in 1684 on a Bond for securing the peace of the Highlands. Inverawe was one of the Curators for the marriage of his son Dugald in 1633 with Patrick, son to Inverawe, as a witness. Dugald of Inverawe was also curator for Stronchormaig marriages in 1654 and 1656.

### ***The Relationships of Lerags, Inverawe and Stronchormaig***

The documentation listed here shows a strong and cousinly relationship between Lerags and Inverawe, starting with the Duncan and Dougall who had a tack of Lerags on the 20th of June 1471. John MacConnochie Campbell of Stronchormaig appears less often but with both Lerags and Inverawe. In the 17th century the documents in which Inverawe and Stronchormaig appear together are more numerous.

Like many Highlanders, the Inverawe family failed to register their arms until early in the present century, however they used a variety of arms through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on tombstones, seals etc., and in these the two consistent elements are the Campbell gyronny of eight and the Inverawe salmon. The Stronchormaig family first registered arms on the 7th of December 1789 and these also include a salmon, which must have indicated their belief in a common origin with Inverawe as one of the branches of the Clan Connochie Campbells. The salmon is relatively rare in Campbell heraldry.

A further link between Inverawe and the Stronchormaig origin in the Kilmartin-Ardskeodnish area can be found in the report in the *Statistical Account* for the parish of Kilmartin. Commenting upon the Kilmartin cadet family of Inverawe the writer of the article quoted a pre-Reformation saying in the Gaelic which states that the patron saint of the Clan Connochie Campbells was Saint Martin, not, as one might expect for a Loch Awe family, Saint Peter the Deacon or St. Munn. Since Kilmartin had come into the Inverawe family well after the Reformation, this connection pre-dated the 17th century association with Ardskeodnish. If Duncan *Skeodnasach* who was fostered in the Kilmartin area was the ancestor of the Clan Connochie Campbells, their adherence to Saint Martin (of Tours) forges another yet another positive link to him as their common progenitor.

One strong element reinforcing the existence of the kinship of the three families emanates from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century *Ane Accompt of the Genealogie of the Campbells* where they were clearly seen those days as being the Clan Connochie Campbells, mentioned together as kindred. The only confusion was about their origins.

While none of these three factors taken alone provide conclusive evidence for a common descent for Lerags, Inverawe and Stronchormaig-Glenfeochan, taken together and with the related material, they do form a forceful argument for accepting the relationship.

Lastly, there has been the question as to whether Stronchormaig came of a common ancestor with Lerags and Inverawe. The source for this question can clearly be found only in Duncanson's differentiation between his use of the word 'reckons' for his statement about the ancestry of the Clan Connochie, and his 'certain is' that Stronchormaig branched later than Sir Neil from the Lochow family, and specifically from Duncan 'Skeodnasach'. Bearing in mind that, by the time Colville and Duncanson were writing, the Lerags family were no more, Inverawe was clearly ignorant of their ancestry, and only Stronchormaig had carried on the tradition of their origins, this question tends to answer itself.

### ***Conclusions***

The premise that the Clan Connochie Campbells were descended from a Duncan Campbell who was either a son or descendant of the Lochow family and who was 'sufficiently distinguished to give the patronymic MacDonachie to his descendants' has been the point of departure for this review of the available sources.

Those known characters named Duncan who fell within the period between the earliest traditional ancestry and the members of the Clan Connachie on record were reviewed briefly and one, Duncan *Skeodnasach*, brother of Sir Colin *Iongantach* of Lochow, stood out both as appropriate in time and as being the traditional ancestor of the Stronchormaig branch of the Clan Connachie Campbells. David Sellar will not accept the Duncan of 1296 as being a brother of Sir Neil. The *Scots Peerage* finds the proposed Duncan, son of Sir Neil to be 'questionable'. Alastair Campbell of Airds in his first of three volumes of *A History of Clan Campbell*, mentions no contemporary documents showing a Duncan being a son of Sir Neil, although he shows that he had a brother Duncan who was living in 1296. His only alternative suggestion for a Duncan eponym of the Clan Connachie Campbells is the aforementioned Duncan who was granted the lands of Moleigh and Dunach in the opening years of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. These lands were back in MacDougall hands in the time of John 'gallda', Lord of Lorn. The patron saint of the Clan Connachie Campbells being St. Martin of Tours combines with the strong Stronchormaig tradition of links with Kilmartin to weigh the balance heavily towards Duncan *Sceodnasach*.

When the fact that a descent from Sir Neil was 'reckoned' by Colville is set beside Duncanson's "certain is it" that Stronchormaig was of a later branching from the Lochow line, and specifically from Duncan *Skeodnasach*, the strength appears to be with the Stronchormaig tradition. Further, when the only inference against Lerags, Inverawe and Stronchormaig descending from a common progenitor named Duncan is found in this discrepancy between the conjecture of Colville and the certainty of Duncanson, one is left in less doubt about there being a different origin for Stronchormaig. Lastly the demise of the Lerags line and the virtual ignorance of the Inverawe family about their origins during the period when Colville and Duncanson were writing must be contrasted with the clear knowledge, albeit traditional, carried down in the Stronchormaig family as to their descent from Duncan *Skeodnasach*. One is therefore left with the distinct impression that Colville, and perhaps Duncanson, felt obliged to call Sir Neil's son or brother the progenitor rather than his great-grandson in a politic attempt to rope in a suitable hero for an illustrious local family in order to give status to Lt. Col. Dougall Campbell of Inverawe, one of Argyll's foremost allies in the Highlands during the Civil War and called by Montrose 'Argyll's champion.' Making the progenitor Duncan a son of Sir Neil rather than his great-grandson was a minor varnish in those days. In this they would only have been following the finest traditions of 'Pedigree Making and Pedigree Faking' for political reasons.

The traditional and legendary sources have been reviewed. From those which it has been possible to consider from the textual point of view it is clear that all apparently stem from Colville who revised the traditional MacEwen genealogies of the Campbells in the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century. That the Gaelic Genealogies of the Lochawe-Argyll family offer no clues as to the origins of the Clan Connachie Campbells indicates either that they emerged from a distant branch of the family whose relationship had been lost, or that they branched from the Chiefly family at a more recent date than the 'reckoned', descent from Sir Neil. The considerable trust placed in the three branches of the clan Connachie Campbells by Colin, 1st Earl when he granted them strategic lands in his newly acquired Lordship of Lorne would indicate a closer relationship to him than would have been expected had they emerged from an obscure branch of the family whose only connection was nearly two hundred years old. The lack of mention in the Gaelic Genealogies may simply indicate that, at the time of the last of the Sennachies, their relationship to the chiefly line was too recent and well known to mention. In the Gaelic oral tradition recorded by Dewar both Inverawe and Stronchormaig alike descend from Duncan, brother to Sir Colin *Iongantach* and son of Sir Gillespie of Lochawe.

The lands of the Clan Connachie Campbells have been examined for clues both as to their history and for what they can tell of the descent. The most significant element here lies in the two facts that the island castle of Fraoch Eilean appears to have come into Campbell hands at the time of Sir Colin *Iongantach*, Duncan *Skeodnasach*'s brother, and that while no records have survived showing the castle being in Clan Connachie Campbell possession until the 16th or specifically 17th century, it has clearly by then been long held by the Clan Connachie Campbells of Inverawe. While this does not fix any date for the branching of Clan Connachie from the main line of the Campbells of Lochow, the clear link with Sir Colin *Iongantach* fits happily with a descent from his brother. Further it is significant that all three of the branches of the Clan Connachie first appear on record following Colin, 1st Earl being granted the Lordship of Lorne in 1470, and that the lands that they were granted in Lorn all lie in such strategic positions, protecting the main access points to the sea from Loch Awe. This could be seen to indicate a strong loyalty, or very possibly a close relationship to the Lochawe Chiefly family, supporting a more recent branching from the main line.

What is curious is that these three families, Lerags, Inverawe and Stronchormaig, should have all appeared on record at one time and with almost no previous presence other than perhaps Dugald of Croqhinnican. Where were they from the time of Sir Neil until the fatherhood of Duncan *Skeodnasach* if they did stem so early? During that period people of the name Campbell were fairly thin on the ground, the name only being used from the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Only in a number of generations later would there be younger or natural sons for whom lands could not be found and who therefore had no sasines or deeds or territorial titles to their names and could therefore escape all records. And this was a period during which the use and survival of written documents was increasing. While this lack of any documentation is not conclusive evidence that they did not exist, it is equally suspicious, providing yet another reason to lean towards a belief in the later descent from Duncan *Skeodnasach*.

All the earliest records for the three families of Clan Connachie have been reviewed both for indications of the dates when they could first be identified and for their inter-relationships. While there would need to be further records discovered to enable one to be dogmatic about the exact nature and comparative seniority of their inter-relationship, that Lerags, Inverawe and Stonchormaig were close kin is clearly evident, and one suspects that a common ancestor lay at most a generation behind the earliest names now known for them when found together. The mention in the *Statistical Account* for Kilmartin that (before the Reformation) the patron saint of the Inverawe family was St. Martin of Tours, patron of Kilmartin, adds another firm link to the Kilmartin-Ardsceodnish connection of the Clan Connachie.

As to the gaps in any descent from Duncan *Skeodnasach* to Duncan of Lerags, Dugald of Inverawe and John of Stronchormaig, Fig.1 has been drawn to show the comparison with the parallel descent of the Lochow-Argyll family. Conjectural positions have been given to Dugald of Croqhinnican and Lachlan Duncanson mentioned earlier. Dugald fits very neatly as a possible son or grandson of Duncan *Skeodnasach*. One can picture his sire being still alive and in possession of Fraoch Eilean when Dugald was a witness owning Cruachan (south of Dalavich on Lochawe) in 1395. Lachlan fits equally well as a younger son of the MacConnachie who may have been a shadowy Archibald, the first mentioned of the Clan Connachie as being 'of Inverawe.'

Finally there is the lack of any strong evidence to support any alternative conjecture such as a descent from the Duncan on Loch Feochan early in the 14<sup>th</sup> century or a more direct descent

from a brother or son of Sir Neil. In this latter case the existence of such possible progenitors have been seen as either not being directly related to Sir Neil, as Sellar mentions, or 'questionable' as stated in the *Scots Peerage*.

### **Endnotes:**

#### Chapter 1

1. Douglas Wimberley, *Memorials of the Campbells of Kilmartin*, privately printed, Inverness, 1894.
2. Sir James Balfour-Paul (ed.), *Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, article *Argyll* p.321.
3. Lamont Inventory; Robertson's Index.
4. Sir James Balfour-Paul (ed.), *Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, article *Argyll* p.330.
5. W. D. H. Sellar, 'The Earliest Campbells: Norman, Briton or Gael?', *Scottish Studies*, vol. 17 (1973), pp.109-124.
6. Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol. 1, p. 75.
7. Sir James Balfour-Paul (ed.), *Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, article *Argyll* p. 327.
8. Scottish History Society, *Highland Papers*, vol. 2, Glassary Writs, pp. 140-141. Duncan here appears in the Latin as "Duncan filio Gillesbuig Cambel." This identifies him as the son of Sir Archibald 'mor' of Lochawe and brother of Sir Colin 'iongantach' of Lochawe. The attendant footnote states "Apparently younger brother of Colin Iongatach and ancestor of Stroncharmaig" (sic.). The charter to which Duncan was witness was by John Campbell, Lord of Ardsceodnish, to Gilbert, Lord of Glassary, for his life, of the lands of Cross Gillesbuig and others, not dated. While the editor of *Highland Papers* dated this charter as being signed in 1355, this has been questioned. The charter appears to be the last in the series from a textual analysis, representing the final settlement between the two parties, and therefore it can be assigned a date after 1361 and before 26 July 1364 by which date John Campbell had died. Since Colin 'iongantach' was born in 1336, and Duncan appears to have been his next younger brother, a date of about 1338 has been suggested for Duncan's birth. Duncan would therefore have been in his twenties when he was a witness at Kilmartin. I am grateful to Andrew B. MacEwen for pointing this out.
9. The historical material from the Advocates Library is now incorporated into the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh. The three are: MSS (32:6:13), (32:6:14) and (34:5:22). Now MS 1672.
10. W. D. H. Sellar, 'The Earliest Campbells: Norman, Briton or Gael?', *Scottish Studies*, vol. 17 (1973), 109-124.
11. Scottish History Society, *Miscellany.*, vol. 4, (1926) pp. 190-91.
12. Scottish National Archives, Register House, Edinburgh (hereafter SNA) GD 202/18.
13. SNA, RH/15.
14. Diarmid Campbell, 'Oral Tradition and Parallel Record,' *Notes & Queries*, Society for West Highland and Island Historical Research, March 1989, Series 2, No. 3. p.7.
15. Mark Napier, *Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose*, vol. 2, p. 624.
16. National Library of Scotland MSS, MS (34:5:2).
17. Scottish History Society, *Highland Papers*, vol. 2, p. 70-111 'The Genealogie of the Campbells' p. 89. The relevant text is as follows: "...Mr. Colvine reckons to have come the Clanndonachie Campbells, viz. Lerags, Inneraw, and Stronchormig; but certain it is that Stronchormage was not so early as we shall hear afterwards." And 'afterwards' on page 91; "Gillespig More or Sir Archibald son to Sir Coline Oig [so called because he was alive in the time of his grandfather Sir Cailein Mor] married Isobella daughter to Sir John Lamont, called Sir John More, on whom he begat ane thrice praise worthy son called Iongantach of whom in his own place,... He had another son Duncan Skeodnasach from whom came McConochy of Stronchormaige."
18. Sir James Balfour-Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, p. 324.
19. The sources quoted are Buchanan of Auchmar's *Scottish Surnames* in *Miscellanea Scotica* vol. 4; a Dunstaffnage M.S., and an Inverawe M.S. The MSS were presumably destroyed in the Dunstaffnage fire in the 1940s.
20. Sir James Balfour-Paul, *The Scots Peerage*.vol. 1, article *Argyll*, p.324.
21. Sir Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine, *Clan Campbell Abstracts, Argyll Hornings*, 2<sup>nd</sup> of January 1734; Inverawe's claim for Heritable Jurisdiction, List of Writs 10<sup>th</sup> November 1747.
22. RMS vol. 1, Appendix 2, p. 695.
23. Alexander Campbell, 'The Manuscript History of Craignish' (ed. Herbert Campbell), Scottish History Society, *Miscellanea Scotica*, vol. 4, Edinburgh (1926) pp.187-299 (pp. 190-91 Appendix D1).

24. Scottish Record Society *Scrymgeour Inventory* (1912).
25. For the revision of this date see note 8 above.
26. Colin MacDonald, *A History of Argyll*, (1951) p. 190 note 532, quoting Scottish History Society *Miscellanea Scotica*, vol. 4, p. 232.
27. Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol. 1, p. 110.
28. Scottish History Society, *Highland Papers*, vol. 2, p. 91.
29. Lord Archibald Campbell, *Records of Argyll*, (1885), pp. 15-16.
30. Robert Douglas, *The Peerage of Scotland*, Edinburgh 1764 p. 85-88.
31. W. D. H. Sellar, 'Pedigree Making and Pedigree Faking' in Inverness Field Club *The Middle Ages in the Highlands* (1981) pp. 103-113.
32. Ranald Nicholson, *The Edinburgh History of Scotland*, vol. 2, *Scotland the Later Middle Ages*, p. 112; *Highland Papers*, vol. 4, p. 195-6; *Royal Commission on Ancient and Historic Monuments*, Argyll Inventory, *Lorne*, p. 217.
33. Niall, 10<sup>th</sup> Duke of Argyll, *The Argyll Transcripts* (hereafter *A/T*).
34. Scottish History Society, *Highland Papers*, vol. 2, p. 142, note 1, & p. 147: W.D.H. Sellar 'MacDougall Pedigrees,' in *Notes & Queries*, Society for West Highland and Island Historical Research, No. 29, p. 3-18.
35. Ranald Nicholson, *Edinburgh History of Scotland*, vol. 2, *Scotland, the Later Middle Ages*, p. 112.
36. Scottish History Society, *Highland Papers*, vol. 2, p. 142.
37. Stephen Boardman, 'The Tale of Leper John & the Campbell Acquisition of Lorn' in E. J. Cowan & R. Andrew MacDonald (ed.), *Alba – Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era*, pp. 219-247. Any references for this section of the paper on how Lorn came to be granted to Colin Earl of Argyll in 1470 can be found in this paper by Boardman. For the first time one of the most pivotal events in the history of Argyll has been clarified by his research.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Scottish History Society, *Highland Papers*, vol. 2, p. 89, the text "...Mr. Colvine reckons to have come the Clandonachie Campbells, viz. Lerags, Inneraw, and Strochormig; but certain it is that Stonchormage was not so early as we shall hear afterwards. Lerags is supposed to have been the first of that name who possessed [lands in] Lorn. It is certain they were always very active stout men and for the most stubborn and undaunted spirits and too hard to tame. They are called Clandonachie Campbells to distinguish them from Clandonnachie broastich who are the same with the Robertsons of the house of Strowan and a branch of the McDonalds."
40. Royal Commission on Ancient and Historic Monuments, Scotland, *Argyll Inventory*, *Lorne*, p. 217.
41. W. D. H. Sellar, 'The Earliest Campbells: Norman, Briton or Gael?,' *Scottish Studies*, vol. 17 (1973), pp. 109-124.
42. Duncan McNaughton, *The Clan McNaughton*, Albyn, Edinburgh, (1977) p.13.
43. Charter by Christina of Craignish granted at the church of St. Martin on the 16<sup>th</sup> of August 1361, *A/T* p. 89; Cosmo Innes, (ed.), *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh (1865) vol. 1, p. 96.
44. *Argyll Transcripts*, notarial instrument dated at Castle Campbell. (Hereinafter *A/T*)
45. NAS, GD 202/3.
46. *A/T*, notarial instrument dated on the 8<sup>th</sup> of March 1539-40.
47. *A/T*.
48. National Library of Scotland, Advocates Library MSS, M.S. (31:2:3) p 95.
49. Royal Commission on Ancient and Historic Monuments Scotland (hereafter RCAHMS), *Argyll Inventory*, *Lorne*, article Ardchattan, pp. 110-113.
50. Douglas Wimberley, *Memorials of the Campbells of Kilmartin*, privately printed, Inverness, 1894.
51. K. A. Steer & J. W. M. Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands*, RCAHMS, Edinburgh, (1977).
52. RCAHMS, *Argyll Inventory*, *Lorn*, p. 96.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 231-240.
54. J. M. Thomson, (ed.), *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regnum Scottorum: the Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, Scottish Record Society reprint, Edinburgh (1984) 1660-1688, No. 184; RCAHMS *Argyll Inventory*, *Lorne*, article Ardchattan.
55. A. G. Morrison, 'MacFarlane' article, *Notes & Queries*, Society for West Highland and Island Historical Research, March 1989, Series 2, No. 3, pp. 26-27.

56. Cosmo Innes, (ed.) *Origins Parochiales Scotiae*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, (1865), vol. 2, 1<sup>st</sup> series, p. 111.
57. *Chartulary of Colquhoun*, p. 420.
58. Achaworran Writs in Airds Charter Chest transcribed by Dr. Lorne Campbell PhD. (hereafter Achaworran Writs.
59. SNA, GD 1/421/13.
60. *A/T*.
61. Achaworran (now Achouran) Writs.
62. J. Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent 1442-1603*, Appendix A, p. 256.
63. Donald Gregory, *My Lordes Buk of Casualities*.
64. Scottish History Society, *Highland Papers*, vol. 4, p. 195, note 2; RCAHMS *Argyll Inventory, Lorne*, p. 242.
65. K. A. Steer & J. W. M. Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands*, RCAHMS, Edinburgh (1977).
66. NAS, GD 202/18, charter dated 13<sup>th</sup> of July 1614.
67. Transcription of doquet by Dunstaffnage for Kilmartin in 1899, Kilmartin papers. The documents, destroyed in the Dunstaffnage fire of 1940, were recorded in brief by Frederick B. Richards in 1910-12 for his paper given to the New York State Historical Society, since published in his *The Black Watch at Ticonderoga and Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe* p. 44, (1912) et seq.
68. *A/T*.
69. *Ibid*.
70. Transcription of doquet by Dunstaffnage for Kilmartin in 1899, Kilmartin papers.
71. Achaworran (now Achouran) Writs.
72. Cosmo Innes, *The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor*, Spalding Club, Edinburgh (1859) pp. 132-133.
73. Gregory, *My Lordes Buk of Casualities*.
74. Achaworran (now Achouran) Writs.
75. *A/T*.
76. Achaworran (now Achouran) Writs.
77. Dunstaffnage papers 3.
78. SRO/NAS, GD 103/2/49, fol. 27v.



# *The MacConnochie Campbells in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century*

## *A Chronological Discussion of the Succession*

*Draft of 24th March 1991; Revised May 2004, Sept.2008 &February 2009*

### *Chapter 2*

#### ***Introduction***

The intention here is to outline the development of this branch of the Campbells of Lochawe, and the family of Inverawe in particular, from 1470 until 1583.

The choice of 1583 as a limit seems appropriate since about that year the death of Dougall of Inverawe left his son Archibald a minor and the lands in the care of his half brother John Dubh MacConnochie Campbell, Tutor of Inverawe whose life has been considered in a further study.

The origins of this family have been discussed in an earlier paper.<sup>1</sup> The conclusions drawn were necessarily conjectural to a degree but, although lacking the basis of much direct evidence, they are supported by flanking information. The idea of the closeness of their relationship to Colin, 1st Earl of Argyll is reinforced by his trust in their loyalty, expressed in his granting them lands in the newly acquired Lordship of Lorn, along with his first cousin Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy.

A review of these conclusions about their origins would seem helpful as introduction to what is known of the family in the sixteenth century:

Briefly, the original Campbells of Lerags, Inverawe and Stronchormaig (now Glenfeochan), known with their cadets as the Clan Connochie Campbells, appear to descend from Duncan *Skeodnasach*, acknowledged grandson of Sir Colin who was granted the lordship of Lochawe in 1315. Duncan was brother to Sir Colin *iongantach* Campbell of Lochawe (d.1412). Sir Colin *iongantach* was father of Duncan, 1st Lord Campbell and great grandfather of Colin, 1st Earl of Argyll. He died in 1412 aged over seventy. Duncan would have been only a few years younger. He appears on record as a witness in the final document of a dispute between Campbells at Glassary and at Kilmartin, where he is said to have been fostered. That in Catholic days the Inverawe family used St. Martin as their patron saint strengthens again the basis of that claim.

As descendants of Duncan *Skeodnasach* the family took the patronymic MacDonnachaidh (sons of Duncan), generally appearing on record in variations of MacConnochie, the result of a slur in Gaelic pronunciation. Duncan's descendants were subsequently known collectively as the Clan Connochie Campbells.

Later claims of an Inverawe descent directly from Sir Neill of Lochawe, ally of Robert Bruce, were conjectural when first made in the mid 17th century, and would seem to have been politically useful rather than historically inspired. Obviously, since the eponymous Duncan's great grandfather was Sir Neil, there is a degree of truth in the statement.

Duncan *Skeodnasach* or his son was almost certainly granted the island castle of Fraoch Eilean in Lochawe by Sir Colin. After the first of the Campbells of Glenorchy had built the

neighbouring Castle Kilchurn in the 1440s, this older stronghold became less strategically important. This could have opened the chance for the earl to expand the MacConnochie area of responsibility.

Then in 1470 Colin, 1st Earl of Argyll, was created lord of Lorne following an exchange with Sir Walter Stewart of Innermeath who had succeeded his brother John Stewart as lord of Lorne. The change was initiated by the king so as to end a Stewart-MacDougall conflict and was confirmed by royal charter in April 1470. Subsequently, three likely cousins of the Clan Connochie family of Fraoch Eilean were made responsible for the people on various lands in Lorn by the earl, presumably so as to plant a strong Campbell presence in the newly attained Lordship.

Almost certainly the tradition that the Clan Connochie were ‘...alwayes very active stout (then meaning forceful) men of the most stubborn and undaunted spirits and hard to tame...’<sup>2</sup> must date from this period of the pacification of the Lordship of Lorn. The area had seen several years of turmoil between Sir Walter, his Stewart nephew Dougall who also claimed title to the lands but whose legitimacy Sir Walter disputed, and Allan MacDougall, a renegade son of John Allanson of Dunollie. Allan was known as ‘nan coille’ or ‘of the wood’ for his youthful leadership of a band of wild boys.

For two centuries thereafter, the descendants of these three kinsmen of Clan Connochie would interact, frequently appearing together on record or as witness to each other’s documents.

While the MacConnochie Campbells of Lerags were, by tradition, ‘the first in Lorne’ and were at one time keepers of the island castle or crannog in Loch Nell, their line died out during the 17th century. There is conjecture as to whether they or the Inverawe family were originally the senior. However Fraoch Eilean, presumably the original home of the Clan Connochie, remained in Inverawe hands, offering their claim to seniority, reinforced by their more strategic lands being in the Loch Awe to Loch Etive that Colin 1st Earlof Argyll particularly valued.

One possible explanation could be that while Inverawe lay near the border between the lordships of Lochawe and Lorne, Lerags lay well into the heart of Lorn. Also Duncan MacConnochie Campbell who was evidently first of Lerags was first established there while his probable brother of Inverawe still lived at Fraoch Eilean, even though he had already been granted the lands of Inverawe and the place was used as his territorial designation.

Archibald, first of Inverawe, must have died between 1478 and 1485 (*vide infra*). This could have meant that he, the first MacConnochie Campbell of Inverawe, was great-grandson of Duncan *Skeodnasach* Campbell, brother to Sir Colin *Iongantach* Campbell of Lochawe who died in 1412.

Given the fairly consistent alternating use of the names Archibald and Dougall for the eldest sons of the Inverawe family through two subsequent centuries, one is left to conjecture how the unrecorded generations might have run. Such conjectures can be useful in scanning early records by suggesting names which may potentially identify as yet unrecognised members of the family.

The progenitor Duncan *Skeodnasach* could have named his son Archibald after his own father Gillespic, lord of Lochawe, and this Archibald have called his son Dougall who could have been

followed by Archibald, first of Inverawe. This number of generations would parallel those known for the family of the Campbells of Lochawe during that period.

That a 'Dougall McConnoquhe of Croquhinnican' or Cruachan is on record in 1395 would lend credence to this supposition, the place of Cruachan on Lochawe being between Ardskeodnish, where Duncan *Skeodnasach* spent his boyhood, and Fraoch Eilean which was the apparent home of his descendants. A claim that this Dougall was a MacFarlane seems far-fetched but widely accepted.

Intriguingly, a family tree in the possession of the Stronchormaig - Glenfeochan branch of the Clan Connochie Campbells also conjectures that Duncan Skeodnasach named his son Archibald. The supporting research for that work has not yet been found.

### *The Place of Inverawe*

The MacConnochie Campbells of Inverawe first came into possession of Inverawe following the acquisition of the Lordship of Lorne in 1470. As this event and date marks the start of the period of family history under study here, it would seem useful to give some facts about the place before investigating the succeeding members of the family.

Evidence that the lands of Inverawe itself were a part of the Lordship of Lorne, and therefore came into the hands of Argyll in 1470, rests upon their being a part of the parish of Ardchattan whose priory was founded by Somerled's grandson, Duncan MacDougall of Lorn. The Lordship of Lorne later passed by marriage from the MacDougalls to the Stewarts.

Further, the earliest mention of the lands of Inverawe on record is contained in the charter listing the lands of Sir Arthur Campbell who was granted many of the formerly (MacDougall) Lords of Argyll communities on the mainland by Robert Bruce. These lands appear to have reverted to the MacDougalls by 1334 or 1338. There can be little doubt therefore, that Inverawe first came into the hands of the 1st Earl of Argyll as a part of the Lordship of Lorne in 1470.

In a recent paper by Stephen Boardman; 'The Lords of Lochawe: Tenure by Special Retinue and the Acquisition of Lorne,' it is shown that Colin, 1st Earl of Argyll, was particularly anxious to obtain the lands of that part of the Lordship of Lorne which lay between his own lands on Lochawe and Loch Etive, the precise area which includes Inverawe.

Access routes to the western sea from landlocked Lochawe were of obvious importance to the Earl. The routes west lay by Loch Crinan in the south, guarded by Duntroon, by Loch Avich to Loch Craignish, guarded by the castle of the Red Maiden and Castle Craignish, by the String of Lorne to Loch Feochan between Lerags and Stronchormaig and by the Pass of Brander to Loch Etive, past Inverawe and Dunstaffnage.

Commenting upon a bond of maintenance given by the earl at Innistrynich on the 11th of December 1462 to Walter Stewart, brother and 'apparend ayr' (by entail) of John Stewart, Lord of Lorne, Boardman states: 'In particular, Argyll was to have all the lands of the lordship lying between Lochawe and Loch Etive, i.e. that portion of Lorne lying on the northern border of Argyll's own Lordship of Lochawe.'

This emphasizes the importance attached to that particular part of Lorne about Inverawe in the eyes of the Earl. There is therefore significance in the fact that, once he had been granted the whole Lordship, Argyll chose a son of the Clan Connachie Campbell family of Fraoch Eilean to hold responsibility for the people on the lands of this strategic area to. The act implies a close kinship such as that which would have existed had Archibald of Inverawe's and the earl's great-grandfathers been brothers.

In the Gaelic, 'Inverawe' means mouth of the river Awe. The Awe runs in rapids from Lochawe through the Pass of Brander, slowing into longer reaches as it nears the sea at Loch Etive, its short length highly valued for the salmon fishing. So the original place of Inverawe must have stood by the river mouth. The only visible and surviving trace of any structure at this place is Dun Mor, a hillock surmounted by traces of a dun or small fortification above the east bank of the river and the south shore of the loch.

In 1507 Inverawe was appointed by Campbell of Glenorchy as the place for payment of the rent of certain lands granted by him to Dugall M'Dougall M'Ane.<sup>3</sup> A similar order by Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy at the end of the century nominated 'the Dunan of Inverawe', of the Dun at the mouth of the River Awe for delivery of rental payment. That the Dun was specified by Sir Duncan may indicate that the place of Inverawe was by then well known as being farther up river.

This has raised the question as to whether in fact Inverawe was then under the overlordship of Argyll or Glenorchy. All other evidence points to the overlordship of Argyll. There is the possibility that the payment was to be made at the 'Dun an Inverawe' in order that Glenorchy could then use it to pay a debt to MacConnachie of Inverawe. Equally, if the lands in question were up Loch Etive, Inverawe was a convenient place to transfer from a boat to pack animals or for stock to join the drove road.

The earthwork dun now known as Dun Mor was occupied into the Medieval period and so could have been the same as the place designated by Glenorchy.<sup>4</sup> The only other acknowledged dun which could have been meant is clearly an older stone circular dun known as Dun Leigh which stands farther east and away from the river mouth.

The present site of Inverawe house, on a raised beach plateau farther up river, had certainly become the place known as Inverawe by the early seventeenth century. This is apparent from Blau's map.<sup>5</sup>

There were two periods when events might have dictated a move from the somewhat limited site of the dun to the natural terrace a short way up river. The first was the settlement of the Inverawe lands by the Clan Connachie Campbells following 1470, and the second at the onset of the 17th century when an inter-regnum of a Tutor ended with his apparent death at the hands of the heir who was obliged to send an arrow into him in self defence.<sup>6</sup>

Certainly Archibald Campbell the heir who succeeded in 1603-4 rebuilt a tower house dwelling within the walls of the ruin of Fraoch Eilean castle.<sup>7</sup> Since he had been brought up in the sophisticated splendour of the bishop's palace of Carnassarie and in the manor-house castle of Kilmartin, the dun could have seemed somewhat primitive to his taste.<sup>8</sup> He it must have been who built the tower house within the walls of Fraoch Eilean. The construction at Inverawe of a drystone and cruck hall-house, in the typical style of the times in the Highlands, could have been

achieved upon the level terrace of the raised beach at modest cost; stone, timber and thatch being near at hand. The earliest evidence of a place at Inverawe is when a charter was signed and witnessed there for Colin, 1st Earl of Argyll, in 1470. There is a structure indicated there on the late 16<sup>th</sup> century survey by Pont drawn by Blau.

### *Inverawe and their Kin - the Early Generations*

In researching the records of the Inverawe family in these early years of the sixteenth century, documentary evidence of the Lerags and Stronchormaig kin of Inverawe may at times help to clarify the sequence of events. The Lerags and Stronchormaig records also go a long way towards confirming the verity of the three earliest Inverawe charters for which only a transcription of the doquets of two of these charters survive. The original of two of these charters were destroyed in the Dunstaffnage House fire in the 1940s.

In order to give clarity to the line of descent in the early generations of the family, for the purposes of this paper the generations will be numbered from Archibald, first of Inverawe who appears to have been granted responsibility for the people on the lands following 1470 (vide infra).

The earliest evidence for the Campbell family of Lerags, and perhaps for their relationship with Inverawe, is found following the granting by Colin, 1st Earl of Argyll, to one 'Alano Somwrlati Johannis', (probably a younger grandson of John Allanson of Dunollie) cousin of the granter, and the heirs male of his body, the eight pennylands of the two Leverax (Lerags) and four (?) penny lands of Devanson [Dunach?] in the Lordship and Shire of Lorne... Significantly the document was signed at Inverawe on the 20th of June 1471.<sup>9</sup> This was clearly one of a series of grants made by the Earl of Argyll in setting up a new administration for the lordship of Lorne which had come to him in some disarray. A grant of a similar year to Archibald, known as 'late of Inverawe' seems almost certain, as such a charter is later mentioned in 1485 as having taken place earlier.

In 1478 this same Alan [MacDougall] then sued the earl before a Civil Court for 'Warrantice of Lerage and Wachtrouch (Lerags Ouchtrach?) in the Lordship of Lorne,' against Duncan Campbell and Dougall Campbell who claimed a lease of the lands.<sup>10</sup> The mention of Duncan before Dougall possibly identifies him as the senior of the two Campbells.

Alan is here called 'Alone Sorslon McCoull', Alan son of Somerled MacDougall. Perhaps, due to the way his name was shown formerly, he was therefore in fact Alan son of Somerled and grandson of John MacDougall of Dunollie. This is a matter for conjecture, but his stated cousinship with the earl suggests that he was grandson of John *ciar* MacDougall of Dunollie and his wife who was of the Lochawe Campbell family. This Alan can be identified as the one mentioned on the elaborately prosperous tapered slab at Ardchattan whose Latin inscription can be read as 'Here lie the sons of Somerled MacDougall, Duncan and Dougall (MacDougall), successive priors of this monastery, together with their father, mother and brother Alan...' Dougall, creator of the monument, died in 1502.

The Duncan and Dougall Campbell in Lerags, whose presence there so distressed Alan MacDougall, were clearly related to each-other and were, with little doubt, the Duncan who was founder of the Lerags family and Dougall the same as he who appears in 1485 as 'of

Inverawe.’ Both appear here without territorial designation as they were only leasing the lands in question in 1478, and Duncan was evidently not yet ‘of Lerags.’ Similarly Dougall was not yet ‘of Inverawe’ because his father, Archibald of Inverawe, was apparently still alive at this point (*vide infra*).

In drawing conclusions about the identity of Duncan and Dougall it must be remembered that the number of Campbells then bearing the name in Argyll, let alone the lordship of Lorne, was very limited during that period. Had Duncan and Dougall Campbell been father and son, the relationship would likely have been mentioned, so there is every possibility that they were cousins. Duncan had died by 1509 and Dougall between 1510 and 1513 (*vide infra*) so that their ages may not have been far apart.

The action of the court went against Alan, even although he was a cousin of the earl’s, and one suspects that a grant and confirmation of the lands to Duncan must have followed. He was certainly being referred to as late ‘of Lerags’ on the 29th of November 1509.<sup>11</sup> Equally Dougall appears as ‘of Inverawe’ in 1485 (*vide infra*), having succeeded his father on some date after 1478.

Later documents provide evidence that the father of Dougall (2<sup>nd</sup>) of Inverawe, was named Archibald of Inverawe: A charter of between 1510 and 1513 to Archibald, (3<sup>rd</sup>) of Inverawe, was in confirmation of a ‘chartour and seasing of said landis salmond fishings...conform to the evidents of umwhile Archibald Campbell father to the said umwhile Dougall.’ Meaning that this second charter was apparently in confirmation of a still earlier charter granted (one suspects in 1470-71 or shortly thereafter) to Dougall’s father Archibald.<sup>12</sup> The date of this charter will be discussed below.

In 1485 Dougall (2<sup>nd</sup>) of Inverawe received a charter from the earl. On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November 1485 Colin, 1st Earl of Argyll, granted the Wardenship of Over Lochawe to his ‘beloved cousin’ Dougall M’Condoche (Campbell) of Inverawe, ‘for the singular love which he bears towards him and for his faithful services performed, and to be performed.’ The Precept of Sasine ‘apart relative to the old Charters’ was dated on the 20th of December 1486.

This information suggests that Archibald, father of Dougall, was first ‘of Inverawe’ and that he died after 1478 and before 1485. Since Dougall is mentioned in 1478 with Duncan, later of Lerags, as his senior but without territorial title, his father Archibald of Inverawe can be taken as still being alive upon that date. The 1485 charter was therefore likely granted to Dougall (2<sup>nd</sup>) of Inverawe as a part of his entering his inheritance of Inverawe not long after the death of his father Archibald first of Inverawe. The source for the contents of this charter are the same as for that dated between 1493 and 1510.<sup>13</sup>

Dougall of Inverawe and his wife had a young son and had called him Archibald. Colin 1st Earl of Argyll died in 1493. Since it was normal that his successor should reconfirm his charters, Archibald 2nd Earl of Argyll did so for Inverawe to Dougall, this time including his son, on some date between 1493 and 1513. Certain reservations, likely for liferent, were reserved to Dougall’s wife Margaret. She was either daughter or sister of Angus Campbell of Dunstaffnage, *Mac Aonghuis an Duin*. He was likely so named since he was likely the member of that family alive in 1470 when Dunstaffnage came to Earl Colin with the lordship of Lorn. Before 1470 Dunstaffnage had not been in the earl’s hands to grant.

Dougall, 2nd of Inverawe, must have died after the 6th of August 1510 when his son Archibald was still merely 'Gillespoig McCoal McChonzie in the Kneppach,' without mention of his being 'of Inverawe.' Further, although it seemed likely that Dougall must have died at the battle of Flodden on the 9th of September 1513, what now seems clear is that he died before that date.

This is apparent since Archibald, son of Dougall (2<sup>nd</sup>) of Inverawe, had not succeeded his father by the 6th of August 1510 (vide supra) but had done so before the second earl's death at Flodden on the 9th of September 1513. The evidence for this is that, as mentioned above, at some point between those dates, Archibald Earl of Argyll appears to be on record as having granted a charter to Archibald, son and apparent heir to the 'umwhile' (late) Dougall of Inverawe.<sup>18</sup>

The surviving evidence for this charter is a late 19th century transcription of the doquet that bore no date. The transcription was made by the owner of the document, Campbell of Dunstaffnage, for Campbell of Kilmartin before the fire that destroyed the Dunstaffnage papers in the 1940s. The year '1493' was noted on the transcription afterwards, however this year was merely that in which Archibald, second Earl of Argyll, succeeded his father Colin and therefore the earliest date upon which the charter could have been granted.

Since Dougall (2<sup>nd</sup>) of Inverawe was still alive in August 1510 when his son Archibald had not yet succeeded, and the earl was killed at Flodden in September 1513, if granted by the second earl, the date of the charter must fall between those dates; 1510 and 1513. This is reinforced by Kilmartin's added note to the transcription to the effect that the charter was by Archibald the second earl, he who died at Flodden. Were this true, then Dougall 2<sup>nd</sup> of Inverawe did not die at Flodden as has been supposed, but at some point between 1510 and 1513.

Douglas Wimberly, author of the 19th century work *The Campbells of Kilmartin* which includes notes on their progenitors of Inverawe, wrote in the *Celtic Monthly* that he believed the charter's date to have been 1561. However he based this assumption upon the name Margaret Campbell given for Archibald's wife and for whom he only found evidence after the 1550s. He was apparently unaware that Archibald had married twice, both wives being named Margaret Campbell, the first said to be of the family later at Dunstaffnage, and the second being of the Ardkinglas family whose date would have been appropriate for 1561 (*vide infra*). The next earl whose dates would fit this charter would be Archibald the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll who succeeded in 1584, just after a later Dougall of Inverawe had died circa.1582, leaving an infant son Archibald. This Archibald 5<sup>th</sup> of Inverawe was clearly too young to have married. Therefore the granter Earl Archibald must have been the 2<sup>nd</sup> earl who died at Flodden in 1513.

The text of the above doquet runs; '...Charter granted by Archibald Earl of Argyll to Archibald son and apparent heir to unwhile Dugald Campbell MacDonnachaidh of Inverowe macand mention that the said umwhile Dugald in his life time obtenit ane Chartour and seasings of said landis salmond fishings ...conform to the evidents of umwhile Archibald Campbell father to the said Dugald these presents are in confirmation delecto consanguineo nobis Dowgallo Cambell fillio et apparenti heredi Archibaldi Campbelli de Inverowe...' Certain rights are reserved in favour of Margaret Campbell spouse of the said Archibald Campbell of Inverawe.

There is no evidence for Archibald of Inverawe's first wife Margaret in Herbert Campbell's genealogy of the Dunstaffnage family at the Lyon Office, however the early years of the family are sketchy at best and few of the daughters of the Inverawe family are traceable in the late

fifteenth and early sixteenth century, so that the lack of mention in no way indicates that Margaret did not exist. Kilmartin also identifies her as daughter of Dunstaffnage in his note to the transcription.

The use of the term 'son and apparent heir to the umwhile Dougall' indicate that Archibald was not yet 'of age' or 21 although his father had died, and this offers a useful clue to his approximate date of birth. Since Dougall (2nd) of Inverawe, Archibald's father, was evidently still alive in August 1510 (*vide supra*), the charter must have followed that date and Archibald may still have been a minor when the charter was granted. 'Umwhile' means 'the late' Dougall.

That young Archibald was already married to Margaret Campbell and that certain rights were reserved in her favour may indicate that the charter was a part of the settlement of affairs following the marriage contract. As has been mentioned, Margaret is said to have been a daughter of Dunstaffnage and was no doubt Archibald's first wife. There are of course precedents for marriages taking place at this period where both husband and wife were still under twenty-one.

In the opening years of the sixteenth century the Lerags kin of Inverawe were prospering. On the 29th of November 1509 Archibald, 2nd Earl of Argyll, granted a charter to Duncan, second son of the late Duncan Campbell of Lerags, and to Matilda Thomson his spouse and their heirs male, of Achaworran More (4 merks) and Clachlea (2 merks) in the isle of Lismore.<sup>14</sup> No witnesses names are filled in.

The document is docketed as 'Carta Duncani Campbell alias Duncani galt et Matildae....' 'Galt' is likely 'gallda', an outlander or Lowlander, perhaps indicating that Duncan had been brought up or fostered in the Lowlands. One could speculate that he might have been fostered by the family of MacConnochie in Bute, although their relationship, if any, to the Clan Connochie in Argyll is not known. There were of course numerous 'sons of Duncan' but only some using MacConnochie instead of MacDonnochaidh.

As already mentioned, on the 6th of August 1510, Archibald 'Mackonzie of Leragis' appears on an inquest held by order of Archibald, second Earl of Argyll, with Ian [John] Mckonzie in Stronchormaig, Gillaspoig [Archibald] McCoal [MacDougall] McChonzie in the Kneppach [Knipoch].<sup>15</sup> These are Archibald of Lerags, John of Stronchormaig and Archibald, son of Dougall of Inverawe, representing the three branches of the Clan Connochie Campbells.

Archibald, younger of Inverawe, must have had the tack of Knipoch at the time, his father Dougall being then still alive and in occupation of Inverawe. That Archibald was over 16 at the time he attended the inquest and held the tack seems a reasonable assumption, later evidence indicates that he was then still a minor, although likely well grown to manhood. Knipoch lies directly south across Loch Feochan from Lerags near the place where the String of Lorne comes down to the sea, and marched with Stronchormaig on the east.

Archibald of Lerags continued to play a leading role in the administration of the southwestern area of the Lordship. An instrument of January 1510-11 survives in which mention is made of a missive of the 23rd of November 1510, directed by Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy to five bailies for the infetment of Glenorchy's son in Ardincaple on Seil, among other lands. The fourth of these bailies was Archibald Campbell of Lerags. This Archibald was the son and heir of Duncan Campbell of Lerags and brother of Duncan of Clachlea.<sup>16</sup>



At the same time, a member of the Inverawe family was seemingly among the personal following of the 2nd Earl of Argyll. On the 30th of July 1511 Duncan Campbell MacConnochie, [presumably brother of] Campbell of Inverawe, was witness at the castle of Dunoon to a charter by Archibald, 2nd Earl of Argyll, granting the lands and castle of Skipness to his son Archibald.<sup>17</sup> Duncan Campbell of Lerags had died before the previous year, (*vide supra*) so this Duncan would appear to have been a brother of Dougall Campbell, 2nd of Inverawe.

The first record of Dougall's son Archibald as 'of Inverawe' is on the 12th of September 1515 (*vide infra*). Therefore he must have reached his majority upon some date between the 6th of August 1510 and the 12th of September 1515. This offers the earliest possible date for his birth as in 1489 and the latest in 1494. However since this Archibald (3rd) of Inverawe was to resign his property to the earl for a regrant in favour of his son in 1529 when these dates would have made him only between 35 and 40, yet he appears to have died in circa 1575, one suspects that the later date for Archibald's birth is the more likely (*vide infra*).

In the evidence for the charter of 1510-13 Archibald is called 'Archibald Campbell MacCouyll MacCondochie,' or Archibald, son of Dougall of the family of the sons of Duncan. As has been mentioned, the slurring of MacDonnachaidh (son of Duncan) into MacConnochie became almost universal in the spellings used in the documents of the Clan Connochie Campbells. This also serves to differentiate them from the Clan Donnachaidh Robertsons of Struan whose ancestry is quite different, although also descended of another progenitor named Duncan.

This same use of the name Archibald MacDougall MacConnochie of Inverawe, appears still later in Archibald's life.<sup>19</sup> However it does not appear to have been used much after the 1530s, at least it does not appear at all in this form in any documents which have survived. This lends credence to the correctness of the transcription of the doquet of the lost charter of 1510-13 where the same style of name is used. Further, it undermines Douglas Wimberley's determination of a date in the 1560s for the charter.

### ***The Battle of Flodden***

The most important national event of the early sixteenth century must almost inevitably have involved the MacConnochie Campbells in Lorne. After serious consideration, James IV king of Scots decided to support his allies the French against his recalcitrant brother-in-law Henry VIII of England who had invaded France. James and "the flower of Scotland" marched for the border.

On the 9th of September 1513 James and his army met the English at Flodden. The Highlanders under Argyll and the Earl of Lennox formed the right wing of the army. Although the English were impressed by the quality of Scottish armour which protected them from arrows, its weight slowed the Scots' ability to fight hand to hand. The Highlanders were attacked front, flank and rear by the long "bills" or spear-axes of the English and they broke ranks and were routed. Archibald, 2nd Earl of Argyll, fell with his king, James IV, and with seven more of Scotland's twenty-two Earls.

All who owed Argyll allegiance would doubtless have been called to his service in the campaign. Being over sixteen and under sixty, apparently fit and able to bring his followers to the field, there is little likelihood that Archibald, 3rd of Inverawe, would have avoided serving under his

chief at the Battle of Flodden. Had he been born between 1494, he would appear to have been over 18 and possibly in his early twenties at the time. Archibald was apparently one of the fortunate few who survived the battle but had the misfortune of bringing home to their families in Argyll the news of the fallen. That he survived is clear from the continued use of his name in documents as ‘Archibald McCouyl McCondochie of Inveraw.’

### *Clan Connochie Campbells at Stirling*

The first surviving mention of Archibald as ‘of Inverawe’ appears on the 12th of September 1515 at Stirling in a Precept of Sasine to Sir John Campbell of Calder (Cawdor). John Campbell of Stronchormaig, Alan Campbell of Achnacree and Archibald Campbell of Inverawe are to act as bailies.<sup>20</sup>

On the same day at Stirling Colin, 3rd Earl of Argyll, granted a charter of the lands of Achaworranbeg in Lismore to Archibald, (the eldest) son of Duncan Campbell of Lerags. Angus Campbell of Dunstaffnage was a witness.<sup>21</sup> This suggests that Archibald (3rd) of Inverawe’s wife Margaret was likely sister to Angus. In another charter of the same date Archibald of Lerags is called ‘Archibald Campbell McKonze of Lerags.’<sup>22</sup>

Here all three representatives of the Clan Connochie Campbell families were present at Stirling upon the same day. Alan Campbell of Achnacree may also have been a kinsman as his son Lachlan appears later as a bailie on a Sasine to one of the Lerags family. Both Alan and Lachlan were among the limited number of male Christian names used by other Clan Connochie families, Inverawe included.

### *Inverawe and Achnacree*

The mention of Alan Campbell of Achnacree brings up another incident in early Campbell of Inverawe tradition. Although the events are said to have taken place early in the seventeenth century, this mention of Campbell ownership of Achnacree indicates that if there is truth in the incident, it could have taken place in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

More specifically, the events would likely have had to post-date Argyll’s acquisition of Lorne in 1470 and have taken place before Alan Campbell of Achnacree’s acquisition of Achnacree prior to 1515. Also, there was no father and son of Inverawe of suitable age in the first decades of the 17th century. One therefore suspects that, if there are underlying facts to the tale, the Inverawe father and son may either have been Archibald 1st of Inverawe and his son Dougall, or Dougall, 2nd of Inverawe and his son Archibald.

Further, the mention in the legend that Inverawe’s son had been ‘yellfostered’ by MacLea of Achnacree might indicate that he was now of age and therefore these events had taken place at least twenty-one years after the acquisition of Lorne in 1470. The fostering of a MacConnochie Campbell from Lochawe by MacLeas in Benderloch before Argyll’s acquisition of Lorne would be possible when fostering is taken in the sense of building alliances. As a means of building links of loyalty among the people of Lorne after 1470, the use of fostering between such families seems highly probable.

However the actual date of these events is still obscure. A MacLea 'John Mc Du'slaif of Achnacree' witnessed a Glenorchy charter on the 31st of May 1557 (GD 112/5/4 pp. 5-6). One is left with the question as to whether the 'Campbell of Achnacree' who was on record at Stirling in 1515 was in fact of Achnacreebeag, or whether John 'of Achnacree' was using his territorial title as designation although he no longer owned the place. Or he was a tacksman in Achnacree, or was there another Achnacree?

There is every likelihood that the tale contains the skeletal remains of some truth. The telling of the deaths of the entire force of the McLeas of Achnacree is likely to have been carried in the oral tradition of that family with some strength of feeling. Also the incident was recorded in the first half of the 18th century when oral tradition still survived as a discipline.

The conflict mentioned in this incident could have occurred during the process of exerting Campbell dominance over the Lordship of Lorne.

The events are outlined in the MSS 'Account of the name of McLea, 1743' published by the Scottish History Society in *Highland Papers*.<sup>23</sup> '...the then McDugald (of Dunollie) and the family of Inverawe were at variance, and both the familys brought all their sons and strenth to the field to decide their quarrel by the sword...McLea of Achnacree brought with him four score of the McLeas to McDougald's assistance against Inverawe.'

'But Campbell of Inverawe his eldest son, being Yellfostered in McLea of Achnacree his house (according to the common and antient custom that prevailed in Argyleshire) says to his Father Inverawe that he had no quarrell with his Foster-father Achnacree, and that if his Father would be satisfied, he would go to the McDugald's camp and would bring off Achnacree with his McLea's from McDugald. To which Inverawe agreed, and said that his doing so would lessen McDugald's forces against him and that he had no grudge or quarrell with Achnacree.'

By some unexplained means young Inverawe brought Achnacree to his father's camp. But by mischance, presumably not all of Inverawe's men being made aware of the visit, one of them apparently mistook McLea for an intruder and he was dirked. 'Upon which the Fray began, and both the McDugalds and Campbells fell upon one another, and Achnacree and his four score McLeas were killed that day upon the spot.'

One is left to conclude that the granting of Achnacree to a Campbell, either Allan or his predecessor, must have followed this incident. There is more than one traditional tale of how Achnacree was lost by the Macleas and came to the Campbells of Lochnell, the variety being such that they cannot all have truth to them.

The mention of the conflict between Inverawe and Dunollie brings to mind another traditional incident, perhaps related and which might have provoked this fracas, where a daughter of Inverawe was Dunollie's second wife and had to escape 'over the hills to Lochawe' after she heard the sons of the first wife plotting her death.<sup>24</sup> The direction she took points more to Fraoch Eilean or Innis Chonnell as her destination than Inverawe.

Again, a later date is ascribed to the tale. Further research into the McLeas and MacDougall families will be needed to identify more precisely the period when these incidents may have taken place. No evidence has yet emerged to allow any dating of either of these tales. The bards of the Lords of the Isles virtually obliterated the MacDougall historical identity through

their efforts to extol the grandeur of their patrons. The real history is only now emerging.

### *The Lerags Cross*

Archibald MacConnochie Campbell, second of Lerags, was a man of faith. Perhaps having fought at Flodden and survived, he erected a slim stone cross not far from Lerags out of gratitude for his survival. Carved upon the head and upper shaft of the cross is a crucified Redeemer whose head originally bore a metal crown of thorns. Below the figure is an inscription: 'archibaldus campbel de laerraig me fieri fecit ano dni mvxvi.'<sup>25</sup>

Translated, the Latin reads: 'Archibald Campbell of Lerags caused me to be made in the year of Our Lord 1516.' Steer and Bannerman and RCAHMS Lorne indicate that the Crucifix, upon a similar but simpler cross at Taynuilt near Inverawe, bears a marked resemblance to the carving of the Lerags cross and may well have been of similar date. No name appears upon the Taynuilt cross. Inverawe was in the parish of Baliveodan (Ardchattan) not in Kilespicerell (Muckairn – Taynuilt).

On the reverse side of the Lerags cross appears Archibald Campbell of Lerag's coat of arms. While they are, like most Highland arms of the period, conceived without reference to the Lord Lyon's court authority and so inconsistent with the laws of heraldry, they show the Campbell gyronny of eight with two apparent boar's heads for difference and then two galleys with furled sails, these last being an obvious reference to the Lordship of Lorne.

These are the earliest known depiction of any arms of the Clan Connochie Campbells. Curiously enough the boar's head survives in one of the gyronnys of the Stronchormaig-Glenfeochan arms, the second being replaced by a salmon, an apparent reference to the relationship with Inverawe. Stronchormaig, now Glenfeochan, is across the valley from the original site of the Lerags cross.

Since the cross stood not far from the burial ground of the chiefs of Clan Dougall, former Lords of Lorne, the inclusion of the galleys of Lorne in the arms may well have been a political statement reinforcing Campbell dominance of the area. The present position of the cross is not far from its original station. According to H. D. Graham, writing in 1850, Archibald MacConnochie Campbell of Lerags was 'a celebrated character, known in Gaelic as Gilleasbuig ciar glas.' That might mean his hair was dark grey.

### *Archibald, Third of Inverawe*

Returning to the chronological history of the Inverawe family from the available documentary evidence of them and their kindred, we continue from the period immediately following the visit of Archibald, 3rd of Inverawe, to Stirling in 1515.

On the 21st or 27th of January 1519-20, Archibald Campbell of Inverawe was almost directly across Loch Etive from Inverawe. He was at Ardchattan Priory, then already almost three hundred years old. The Prior at the time was Duncan MacArthur who had been appointed by king James IV in 1508, following the death of Prior Dougall MacDougall, brother of the Alan Sorleson MacDougall, formerly at Lerags.

There at Ardchattan, Inverawe and Archibald Campbell of Skipness signed a Bond of Manrent given by 'Swein McConcoche McQueyn, Ewen McCondoche McQueyn and John McAlister

McCondoche (McQueyn?) for themselves and on behalf of their sons and heirs, to Sir John Campbell of Calder.’ These McQueens were, so far as is known, no immediate kin to Inverawe.<sup>26</sup>

Archibald appears in the document as ‘Archibald McCouyll McCondoche of Inverawe,’ indicating that he was the same Archibald who had been so designated in 1510-13, son of Dougall of Inverawe.

Archibald Campbell of Lerags also gave a Bond of Manrent to Sir John of Cawdor, allegiance to Argyll excepted, dated at the MacDougall place of Raray, down and across Loch Feochan from Lerags on the 29th of November 1522.<sup>27</sup> In May of the following year Lerags and his son Alan also received a charter from Colin 3rd Earl of Argyll.<sup>28</sup> In the same month Alan was granted Sasine of Achaworranbeg and Ballimenach on Lismore, Lachlan Campbell of Achnacree being a bailie.<sup>29</sup>

From time to time Archibald 3rd of Inverawe is mentioned in ‘My Lordes Buk of Casualiteis’ at Inveraray, the account or fines book of Earl Colin. The first entry appears in 1526.<sup>30</sup>

Since the Christian name Lachlan was used for younger sons of the Inverawe family for a number of generations, there has been some speculation that a very early marriage of the family might have connected them to the Lorne MacLachlans or to those of Castle Lachlan, Strathlachlan.

No proof of such a marriage has been found, however on the 28th of March 1527 ‘Katherine Lyle, Lady of Stralauclan,’ served and was granted suspension of a Horning raised against her by Duncan Campbell of Ormidale, More M’Lauchlane his spouse and Archibald Campbell of Inverawe for the payment of some alleged debts.<sup>31</sup> A Horning was, in effect, a notice of impending arrest and a suspension meant that the threat was lifted by the court, presumably upon some proof of innocence or conditions of settlement. The reason for Inverawe’s involvement in this case is not clear, but could possibly have had to do with payment of a tocher based on a marriage contract for a younger son of Inverawe. The custom seems to have been that few debts were paid until pressure was applied. Hornings were not infrequent.

On the 7th of December Archibald of Inverawe again appeared in ‘My Lordes Buk of Casualiteis,’ this time in company with his kinsman, Archibald of Lerags, here spelt ‘Layragieve.’<sup>32</sup>

Also in 1527 Archibald of Lerags had a fee for the keeping of the isle of Lochnell.<sup>33</sup> This would have been the fortified crannog or artificial island stronghold in the freshwater loch half way between Inverawe and Stronchormaig which would later become the original home of the Earl’s progeny the Campbells of Lochnell. Keepership was different from Constablenesship and involved being ready to provide hospitality for the earl in his place of Lochnell.

By 1529 Archibald of Inverawe must have been between 35 and 40 years old. As has been mentioned, on the 2nd of May of that year he took the precaution of resigning his property to the Earl of Argyll for a re-grant in favour of his son Archibald who may recently have come of age.<sup>34</sup>

Here is a break in the ‘Archibald, Dougall, Archibald’ possible naming pattern, suggesting that

perhaps there had been an eldest son Dougall who died as a child after the birth of his brother Archibald, who had then become heir of Inverawe in Dougall's stead. There was then a further custom that the next son born following that young death would be given the name of the dead child, which could have happened in this case. The question arises whether a son must be of age before lands could be resigned by his father for a regrant in his favour. This was apparently not always the case. However the text of the transcription of the doquet which survives is not adequate to determine whether the heir was, or was not, still a minor.

Clearly, if a father died before his son came of age then the son could not be fully entered as heir to his father but remained 'heir apparent' under a Tutor until he reached his majority. For this reason one would think that only in exceptional cases, perhaps where the father's life was in danger, would a father resign his lands for a regrant in favour of his son before his son had reached his majority of twenty-one. Indeed in some cases the procedure of the resignation and regrant appear to have been conducted so as to mark the heir reaching his majority.

Late in that year of 1529 the 3rd Earl of Argyll died. His successor found himself out of influence at court for a number of years, largely due to Alexander MacDonald of Islay's suggesting to the king that the 3rd Earl had fomented trouble so as to do his will in putting it down.

### *Archibald Third of Inverawe & his Heir Archibald.*

As has been mentioned, since for almost three hundred years after circa 1582 the Inverawe family alternately used the names Dougall and Archibald for their heirs, the break in that sequence, with one Archibald following another, raises a question. Was there, perhaps, an elder son Dougall who had died young, leaving his younger brother Archibald as heir apparent to Inverawe?

The practice of giving the eldest son the same name as his father was rare in Highland families unless attended by a nickname such as 'oig' or 'og' for the younger. The alternation of names served both to honour the grandfather and to avoid confusion. Therefore it is entirely possible, although conjectural, that this Archibald was the second son of Archibald 'MacCoyll MacCondochie' 3rd of Inverawe.

On the 24th of May 1534 Archibald, 4th Earl of Argyll, issued a Precept to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and others, as bailies, to infest John Campbell as heir to Duncan Campbell of Clachlea.<sup>35</sup> Duncan was, as has been mentioned above, younger son of Archibald Campbell of Lerags.

Then on the 1st of June of the same year Archibald 3rd of Inverawe crossed the River Awe to Muckairn where he was a witness to a Contract of Marriage between Sir Iain [John] Campbell of Calder's [now called 'Cawdor'] daughter Janet and Ewen Cameron, son of Donald Cameron, heir apparent to the Captaincy of Clan Cameron and grandson of Ewen Allanson, then Captain of Clan Cameron.<sup>36</sup> Like Ardchattan, Muckairn was among the lands owned by Cawdor in Argyll.

This Ewen Cameron does not appear in the *History of Clan Cameron* by John Stewart of Ardvorlich. His mother was apparently a daughter of Hector Mor Maclean of Duart. His father

Donald *Dubh* would succeed to the Captaincy following the murder of his brother Ewen beag in 1553. Donald would himself be succeeded in the Captaincy by his son Allan MacDonald *dubh* after he was killed in 1569, leaving the impression that Ewen was a younger son or that he died young leaving no heirs. This is the earliest Campbell-Cameron marriage to be found in contemporary record.

The last use of the elder Archibald of Inverawe's name as son of Dougall 2nd of Inverawe; 'Ard mc dowil vcdonche of Inueraw,' appears in the 'Buk of Casualities' in 1535. 'Item x oauld to Ard mc dowil vcdonche of Inueraw for xxij3 viij0 to be pait to my Lord at Sanctaindross day a0 vcxxxv of my Lordis ferme meil of Lochaw ower of the crop a0 xxx qto - ij.'<sup>37</sup> Being before the Reformation, Saint Andrew's Day was still a significant festival in the Scots' calendar.

One can therefore safely assume that all mention of Archibald of Inverawe between 1510-13 and 1535 refer to Archibald, 3rd of Inverawe, and son of Dougall, 2nd of Inverawe. However this does not necessarily mean that later references to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe did not also refer to the same man.

Apparantly Archibald Campbell of Inverawe had sold the 'borrowgang' or state of suretyship of Archibald Campbell of Skipness to Alan McDonald of Dunkeld. Alan in turn sold the borrowgang to Donald Balf McAne Vcneil for ten pounds Scots and his discharge is dated the 13th of June 1536.<sup>38</sup> Inverawe's action in the matter was unremarkable at the time, despite the modern misconception of eternal prejudice between Campbell and MacDonald.

In a Precept dated the 2nd of June 1538 George Gordon, Earl of Huntly and sheriff of Inverness, instructed an Archibald Campbell and Ewen Campbell McCondochie as his deputies to give Sasine to Marion McEan as heir to her father in lands in Islay.<sup>39</sup> These sound suspiciously like members of the Inverawe family, however not enough information is given to identify them conclusively. Since the Archibald Campbell is not mentioned as being 'of Inverawe,' it is possible that, if he were of the family, this may refer to Archibald son and heir of Archibald 3rd of Inverawe. The elder Archibald could then have been almost 50. Yet they may have no connection to Inverawe.

### ***Argyll and Archibald of Inverawe.***

Evidently Archibald 3rd of Inverawe and Archibald 4th Earl of Argyll must have had a disagreement in the late 1530s. On the 8th of March 1539-40 Archibald of Inverawe was at Castle Campbell where he and the Earl had an agreement drawn up in the form of a Notarial Instrument.<sup>40</sup>

The castle keep had seemingly been repaired since the place was burnt by Sir Walter, Lord of Lorn, in 1464.

This document narrated a Contract between the two; 'Whereby the said Earl remits all rancour he has against the said Archibald, especially with reference to the Disposition made to him by Allan Campbell, son of the deceased Archibald Campbell of Lerags, of the lands of Ballimaynach and Achiuohir, [Achouran] with the office of the Martyship of Lismore and Appin alleged to be wrongly withheld from him by Alexander McAne VcAlister, all which the said Earl is to warrand

to the said Archibald.’

This dispute appears to have been an exercise in control by the earl. Allan, a younger son of Lerags, had been granted Achaworranbeg and Ballimenach by Earl Colin in 1523. He had since made a disposition of the lands to his cousin Inverawe’s son in 1539, seemingly without reference to the earl (*vide infra*).

The office of Martyrship of Lismore and Appin was an administrative position with undoubted advantages. The exact nature of the service and rewards involved are obscure but doubtless included the coordinating of military service to the Earl, the collection of rents, fines and the holding of courts for the settlement of offences.

The text of the document continued; ‘And the said Archibald promises on 15 days warning of any fault committed by him against the said Earl to enter himself in free ward in the Castle of Dunstaffnage and there remain until he pay 100 merks, and 50 merks at whatever other times the said Archibald fails against the Earl.’

This mention of Dunstaffnage as the earl’s place is significant, indicating the strong emphasis then being placed upon the lands of Lorne. Had Inverawe’s lands upon Lochawe, mentioned in the agreement, still been his principal properties as when the family was primarily based upon Fraoch Eilean, one would have expected the earl to have specified that Archibald give himself up at Innis Chonnel, the Earl’s chief residence and fortress on an island in Lochawe.

Further, mention was made of some claim by Archibald to the lands of Inchdrinich (Innistrynich) on Lochawe and a fishing on Stranmoir ‘fra the hill of Benbreck on the south side thereof to the Water of the Strasan’ which then ‘pertained to his (Archibald of Inverawe’s) feulands of Achlian and Duchollie.’ These he was now to lease to the earl to be united to the latter’s forest of ‘Benbuivie’ [Benbuie]. Mention was also made of a house built on ‘Inocharynich’ (Innistrynich) by the earl.

The northern march of Achlian and Duchoille with Glenorchy lands was Teatle Water. Loch Sron Mor is in Glenshira. The Water of Strasan appears to have meant the Alt an Stacain which makes a natural border to the east and south of the Achlian and Duchollie lands, flowing into Lochawe near modern Cladich, the apparent southerly limit of Clan Connachie-Inverawe lands beyond Bovay (Bovuey), a property mentioned elsewhere. Or it could have been a clerk’s rendering of Shira. Benbreck was Ben Bhreac, northwest of Lochan Shira. The forest of Benbuivie can be identified with Ben Buie, which is still part of the deer forest of the Argyll estates about Inveraray.

The document is particularly interesting in that it details lands which were not in Lorn but on the east side of Lochawe and must therefore have been those held by the Clan Connachie Campbells before they were granted the Lorn lands of Lerags, Inverawe and Stronchormaig following Argyll’s being granted the Lordship of Lorn. These feulands of Achlian and Duchollie were the mainland supporting properties of the island stronghold of Fraoch Eilean and this document gives a strong indication that island and castle were already then well established in Inverawe hands.

The extent of these original Clan Connachie lands upon the eastern shore of the north end of Lochawe was considerable. They reached the watershed between the loch and the Shira and



almost to the mouth of Glenlochay in the east. They marched with the lands of the Glenorchy family and Kilchurn in the north at the Teatle Water, a small river flowing into Loch Awe.

This dispute with the earl might be seen as showing a recalcitrant trait in Archibald's character and so foreshadowing his fight with the clan Arthur on Lochawe in 1567 when he would be a hoary warrior of about 78. Even after that slaughter he would sign himself 'yours assured to power...' The fight was likely due to a later earl granting Innestrynich to his 'doers,' a branch of the MacArthur Campbells whom he elevated to being landowners by that grant among others.

The second wife of Archibald, 3rd of Inverawe was, like her predecessor, also called Margaret Campbell, a circumstance which has added to the confusion in determining the succession in these years. This lady Inverawe was a different Margaret, a daughter of Campbell of Ardkinglas and sister of Sir James of Ardkinglas.<sup>41</sup> Some have taken her as being the wife of the younger Archibald, however the dates make this highly unlikely. That she was the mother of Dougall 4th of Inverawe's younger half brother John *dubh* seems almost certain since Ardkinglass was granted ward of Dougall's son and heir upon his death at the same time as John *Dubh* became Tutor of Inverawe.

### ***Dougall, Son of Archibald Third of Inverawe.***

In 1539 Allan Campbell of Ballimenach, cadet of Lerags, gave an obligation or back bond to his 'louit cousing' Dougall Campbell, lawful son of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe.<sup>42</sup> This is the first mention of Dougall who would become 4th of Inverawe. The use of 'cousin' in this context reinforces the inference in Alan Sorleson MacDougall's case of 1478 that Dougall 2nd of Inverawe and Duncan 1st of Lerags were close kin.

Then on the 6th of September 1539 Sasine was granted to Dougall Campbell, lawful son of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, on a Precept of Sasine by Allan Campbell of Ballimenach, Lismore. One of the witnesses was John Campbell of Clachlea.<sup>43</sup>

The use of the phrase 'lawful son' indicates that at that time Dougall was not heir to Inverawe but a younger brother of the heir Archibald. Although not always the case, because of the military responsibilities implied by being granted Sasine of lands on the isle of Lismore, there seems little doubt that Dougall must have reached his majority and turned 21 by the period 1539, suggesting his birth in about 1518, which makes sense in terms of his being a second or third son and given his parent's known dates.

The strategic and vulnerable nature of the island of Lismore on the periphery of the earl's lands reinforces this conclusion as does Dougall's holding the Sergeandry of Lismore only five years later, an active position requiring forceful use of power and administration of justice and therefore unlikely to be given to one still in his early twenties (*vide infra*).

As has been stated above, an heir whose father had died could not fully enter into his landed inheritance until he was of age. He was typically appointed a Tutor during his minority who administered his lands and might, if the heir were under 16, fulfil his military obligations for him. Similarly, when a son whose father was still alive was granted land, he could not fully enter into ownership until he was of age, yet might still be granted Sasine.

This indicates that Dougall must have been born in or before 1518, making clear that he was the son of Archibald (3rd) of Inverawe and could in no way have been the son of that Inverawe's son and heir Archibald.

Dougall would first be mentioned as 'fiar of Inverawe,' or the heir male, in 1567<sup>44</sup> when his elder brother Archibald must have died childless and before their father Archibald, (3rd) of Inverawe, who would then have been aged between 73 and 78. Dougall first appears on record as 'of Inverawe' himself in 1575. His father Archibald therefore died between 1567 and 1575.

As has been mentioned, a further clue to this Dougall's age and therefore to his parentage may be provided by events which took place in the summer of 1544 when Dougall was apparently infested in the former Lerags lands in Lismore.

Dougall first appears on record in 1539. Some years later, as Dougall Campbell, son of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, he brought an Action 'against Ewin Gar alias Ewin McGillemychel, for wrongful ejection of the said Dougall from his lands of Auchaworranbeg in Lesmoir and from the office of sergeandry of Lesmoir' in January 1548-49 'of which the said Dougall was in possession as his proper heritage for at least 3 1/2 years prior to that date.'<sup>45</sup> Three and a half years prior to January 1548-49 would have been the summer of 1544.

The office of Sergeandry of Lismore was perhaps of lesser degree than that of the Martyrship of Benderloch and Appin held by his father. Yet considering the need for the earl's authority on Lismore to be strongly maintained, being an exposed island on the borders of his territory at an important crossing of vital seaways, one suspects that a young man would have to have had some experience and be respected for his forcefulness to be granted the Sergeandry.

The functions of the office of Sergeandry can be discerned from comments in *Highland Papers* about the Inverawe drowning of Clan Arthur in the 1560s (*vide infra*), the comparable office of 'Sergeandry or Mair of Fee' of part of over Lochawe would then include the maintaining of a hall or chamber and kitchen for the earl and accompanying him in hunting and in 'forensic service' against his enemies. This would indicate that, were the duties of his Sergeandry of Lismore similar to those of the MacArthurs, Dougall would have to have both the leadership and the resources to serve the earl in a similar way in Lismore. This surely shows that he must have been at least in his mid twenties in order for him to assume the office in 1544. The phrase 'in possession as his proper heritage for at least 3 1/2 years prior to that date' can be taken as indicating the length of time since Dougall was granted Sasine of the lands and appointed to the office.

If Archibald, son of Archibald 3rd of Inverawe, were indeed of age when his father resigned in his favour in 1529, he would appear to have been born in about 1508. But had the elder Archibald (3rd) of Inverawe been born between 1489 and 1494 as seems likely, this would mean that the younger Archibald had been conceived when his father was between 14 and 19. The scenario is not impossible, particularly since other factors quoted above indicate that the elder Archibald was more likely 18 or 19 in 1508.

However, if Archibald, heir to Archibald 3rd of Inverawe, were born in, or not long before, 1508 and his brother Dougall was born circa 1518, there is a potential ten years difference in their ages. This may indicate that either Dougall was born before 1518 or his brother Archibald was

born later than 1508 and was not of age when his father resigned in his favour.

The possibility that the discrepancy in age indicates that Dougall was the son of the second wife of Archibald 3rd of Inverawe can be discounted since she seems not to have become the lady Inverawe until the 1550s.

Since Dougall was son to Archibald 3rd of Inverawe, then his elder brother Archibald, heir to Inverawe at the time of the regrant of 1529, must have predeceased his father and died without heirs. Further, so long as Dougall appears as 'son of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe' and not 'heir to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe,' his elder brother Archibald could still have been alive.

On the 26th of June 1549 Duncan McDonche of Lerags resigned some of his property to Archibald, 4th Earl of Argyll, for a regrant in favour of Ewen McEan (?) VcDonche. This also apparently concerned Ballimenach. Witnesses were Ewen Alan McDonche and Lachlan McDonche, brothers of Duncan.<sup>46</sup>

The date of Archibald 3rd of Inverawe's second marriage is not known but can be ascertained with some certainty from grants to him and his second wife Margaret of the Ardkinglas family which are of a style to be expected as the result of a marriage contract. One of these involved a visit to the court at Holyrood.

#### ***Mary of Guise, Dowager Queen of Scots, and Archibald Third of Inverawe.***

On the 29th of April 1556 a Precept was directed to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe to give Sasine to Archibald, 4th Earl of Argyll, of the lands of Fewnand &c.<sup>47</sup> This was Fanans, up river and across the Awe from Inverawe, which had been in the hands of the MacCorquodale family as early as 1497.

On the 19th of May 1556 a Precept of Sasine from Mary of Guise, Queen Dowager of Scots, was directed 'to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe as her Sheriff for the purpose, ordering him to infeft Archibald (4th) Earl of Argyll in the 5 Markland of Fannand with the fishing there of in the water of Aw, and in the 1 Markland of Auchindryne in the Barony of Lochawe, which lands had belonged to and had been resigned by Duncan McCorkatill of Fantelane.'<sup>48</sup> In 1556 Archibald (3rd) of Inverawe, would have been about 67.

Another Precept was issued to Inverawe for the same purpose on the 29th of May and he gave Sasine to Argyll on the 16th of June 1556.<sup>49</sup> Giving Sasine then still involved a ceremony of handing the new owner a handful of earth or a turf from the ground in which he was being seised. This Inverawe must have done for the old earl or his representative.

On the 1st of December 1556 'Archd Makondoquhy of Inneraw,' Lachlan his brother and Robert Campbell of Craigoll appear on record. On the 8th of December 1556 Lauchlan McKondoquhy was a witness at Inveraray with his brother Archibald McKondoquhy of Inverawe.<sup>50</sup> This is the first mention of Lachlan MacConnochie Campbell. Lachlan would clearly have been a younger son of Dougall 2nd of Inverawe.

This entry has Lachlan as 'brother of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe.' However in 1561 (*vide infra*) there is a Lachlan 'son to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe.' Either there were two

Lachlans or one of the two entries has a clerical error in the mention of the relationship. Had the entries been reversed, with 'son of' in 1556 and 'brother of' in 1561, this might have been taken as evidence that Archibald 3rd of Inverawe's son Archibald had succeeded him as 4th of Inverawe. However since Dougall, the younger Archibald's younger brother, eventually succeeded his father to Inverawe, this cannot be the case and in the way the records appear, the dates do not fit that scenario.

What seems most probable is that there were two Lachlans, one brother of Archibald 2nd of Inverawe in 1556 and another son of Inverawe in 1561, a younger brother of Archibald and Dougall.

Then on the 28th of October 1557 Archibald of Inverawe was 'personally present' at the palace of Holyrood in Edinburgh where he was presented to 'Mary, Queen Dowager and Regent of Scotland.'<sup>51</sup>

This information is contained in an Instrument which narrates that...'Campble of Icharin [Ichrachan? Acharn?] Procurator for Archibald Maccawis [MacTavish?] of Auchtnacraif, constituted by letters of procuratory dated at Dunbertane 5th September 1556, appeared in the personal presence of Mary, Queen Dowager and Regent of Scotland, and there delivered up by staff and baton and purely and simply resigned the 2 merklands of old extent of Auchnacraf [Achnacruive, the field of the salmon trap], lying in the Lordship of Lochquhou [Lochawe] and the sheriffdom of Argyll, in favour of Archibald Campbell of Inverraw and Margaret Campbell his spouse; which resignation the said Queen Dowager received, and gave delivery of the foresaid lands by staff and baton to the said Archibald (personally present) for himself and spouse. Done...within the palace of Holyrood.' Witnesses were the courtiers and members of the Household; George Earl of Huntly, Gilbert Earl of Cassilis, Robert Graham of [Inchbrakie?], William Brussoun the macer, John Skrymgeour, teacher and James Maccall.

This grant could possibly have been urged by the lady Margaret of Inverawe's brother, Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas, who was Comptroller at court. It is the type of action which could be initiated by the marriage contract of Archibald third of Inverawe and Margaret, indicating that their marriage probably took place at about this time.

If this were the case it could offer approximate dates for the birth of Archibald 3rd of Inverawe's sons by his second marriage; John *Dubh* MacConnochie Campbell and his younger brother Patrick. John would become Tutor of Inverawe on the death of his half brother Dougall and was certainly still an active man in January 1602 when Argyll appointed him to be one of three captains to lead his forces to Ireland for the king. He was killed before 1607.

Had John *Dubh* been born in about 1555-60 he would have been between 47 and 52 years old in 1602, not quite yet too old to captain a force of a thousand men into war in the days when such leaders had none of the physical support systems of a modern infantry colonel.

### ***The 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll and Archibald of Inverawe***

In 1558 Archibald 4th Earl of Argyll died and was succeeded by his son Archibald as 5th Earl. For the next twenty-four years the 5th Earl would make a deep and lasting impression upon the life of the Highlands and Scotland. Like his father he was convinced of the urgency of church reform and his leadership would come to assure the Reformation's success in Scotland.

The 5th Earl's stature was recently re-evaluated in a paper by Jane Dawson published in *The Scottish Historical Review*. She demonstrates that he won the allegiance of the Islesmen following the dissolution of the Lordship of the Isles and subsequently could bring as large an army to the field as the king of Scots or of England. Further, the earl was the first noble in Britain to own and wield artillery.

In 1559-60 the Reformation took place in Scotland. In the words of Gordon Donaldson, 'The revolution of 1559-60 had taken place with little bloodshed and there had been nothing that could be dignified by the name of civil war...' Almost nine hundred years of Papal control of the church in Scotland came to an end that winter.

In Argyll the changes in the church were modified by geographic isolation. The few priests seem not to have had much difficulty in adopting the new doctrines and administration which had long been supported by the earl and his father. Inevitably in isolated areas the adjustments were more gradual and therefore less disruptive. Bishops did not vanish overnight. John Carswell, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, continued as bishop but took advantage of the Reformation to find himself a wife. In all this he was supported by his patron, Argyll.

In 1561 Archibald Campbell of Inverawe resigned his property to the 5th Earl in favour of his son Dougall, fiar of Inverawe.<sup>52</sup> Archibald 3rd of Inverawe would by then have been about 72 years old and Dougall about 43. Clearly the younger Archibald, to whom old Archibald had previously resigned his lands in 1529, had recently died and without a male heir.

That this Dougall was the same as he who was born circa. 1518 is clear from the fact that his case about being ejected from his lands in Lismore was continued in 1566 (*vide infra*).

On the 13th of November of that same year 1561, Archibald of Inverawe's son Lachlan was one of those in attendance on Earl Archibald at Stirling: 'In presence of Archibald Earl of Argyll, Donald Campbell of Icherachin [Ichrachan], Duncan McArthur of Terolbedychtane [Tirevadich, Duncan was Captain of Innis Chonnel for Argyll], John Campbell of Lochtnyneill [Lochnell, John 'Gorm' was Argyll's younger son and founder of that family] and Lachlane McCondochy son to Archibald McCondochy of Inveraw, compeared John Stewart of Appin and John Oig Makane (MacIain) Abbrycht and mutually discharged one another of all penalties and agreed to a truce anent lawborrows.'<sup>53</sup> Lawborrows were legal security given by a person that they would not injure another person or their property.

Being listed last indicates that Lachlan was of less standing than those mentioned before him. He may have been a member of Argyll's household. The entry also demonstrates the spread of the law into the Highlands beyond the Earl's own kin. Lachlan being in company with Duncan MacArthur of Tirevadich, the Earl's Captain of his castle at Innis Chonnel, is interesting in the light of events which took place only six years later between Tirevadich and Inverawe. The MacArthurs of that family were the earl's 'doers' or 'writers' dealing with their documents and MacArthur may have been a patronymic like MacConnochie since they had Campbell arms on their seals.

This Lachlan MacConnochie appears to have been a younger brother of Dougall and a son of Archibald 3rd of Inverawe and his first wife Margaret of the Dunstaffnage family. Since Inverawe's marriage to Margaret of the Ardkinglas family only seems to have taken place in the 1550s (*vide supra*), there is little likelihood that her second son could have been old enough to

be a witness in 1561.

That Lachlan was granted lands by the Earl seems unlikely and he was almost certainly a tacksman. There is a tradition which survived into the early 19th century among his apparent descendants that Lachlan was the progenitor of the MacConnochie Campbells in the island of Luing. The evidence for this is found in the letter of a claimant to the Inverawe fund.

More research needs to be done to clarify the descent of this branch of the family who appear to have become tenants of Breadalbane in Luing by the 18th century and some were in literal poverty there by the early 19th. Lachlan's descendant Dugall Campbell 'Dougall Muillear' was miller in Baile phuil, Tìree until August 1681 and then at Barachrail near Kilninver. He married a daughter of the Raray family. He is said to have been 'the first to apply intelligent engineering to grinding corn in Nether Lorne.'

Whether any descendants in the male line survive is an intriguing question. The last known member of the family in Argyll was a tenant at Ardinamer on Luing when, in 1829, he petitioned for assistance from the Inverawe fund set up in the early 18th century by Captain Dougall the Merchant for the assistance of 'old men and boyes' of the Inverawe family. Another member of this family, Archibald Thomson Campbell, died in Australia in 1891 aged 64, leaving four sons and three daughters. There are now no male heirs of this family but the line continues through the daughters.

Of the others at Stirling with Lachlan in 1561, John Gorm of Lochnell's second son, John *oige* of 'Catachan' (Cabrachan), would marry Margaret, a daughter of Inverawe, and presumably child of the second marriage of Archibald MacCouyl MacConnochie Campbell 3rd of Inverawe and so a sister of his son Dougall (4th) of Inverawe.<sup>54</sup> She would appear to have first married Bishop John Carswell, Bishop of the Isles and builder of Carnassarie Castle as his second wife. She must have been the Bishop's widow when she married John *oige* of Cabrachan.

She would later be a witness in the enquiry into the murder of Cawdor in his kinsman Stronchormaig's house in 1592. At the enquiry she was said by her cousin the younger Ardkinglas to be witch whom he had approached to cast a spell for his success in reinstating him in the good opinion of his chief. She gave her testimony in Gaelic, having no English.

On the 14th of May 1562 Dougall's case of wrongful ejection from his lands in Lismore finally came to court. The case was continued before the Lords on the 8th of July the following year.<sup>55</sup>

Eventually, in 1566, the case appears to have been settled in Dougall's favour. In that year Archibald, 5th Earl of Argyll, granted a charter to Dougall Campbell, lawful son of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, in liferent, and to his son and apparent heir Allan and their heirs male, of the lands of Achaworranbeg and Ballimenach in Lismore. There is no mention of the Sergeandry which Dougall claimed but this may be an omission of transcription.<sup>56</sup>

Dougall is here still 'lawful son' but not 'son and heir' of Archibald in this entry of 1566, even though Archibald had already resigned his lands in his favour in 1561. Perhaps this is merely a clerical error or omission, since some entries were likely copied directly from the papers of the start of the case all those years earlier.

That Dougall had named his son and heir Allan may indicate his fondness for his *louit* cousing'

Allan Campbell of Ballimenach. Also, at the time of Allan's birth, Dougall could not expect to inherit Inverawe as his elder brother Archibald was still alive. If Archibald had a son, he and not Dougall would inherit Inverawe.

So Dougall may have expected to begin a new branch of the family on Lismore where there would be an advantage to his heir having a name other than Archibald so as to differentiate him from his cousin at Inverawe. However when Dougall's brother Archibald apparently predeceased his father Archibald 3rd of Inverawe, leaving no heir, and Dougall himself succeeded as 4th of Inverawe, he named his only surviving son and heir, by his second marriage, Archibald after his father.

### *MacConnochies on Lismore*

The cadets of the MacConnochie Campbells of Lerags were the first of the kin to own land in Lismore. Archibald 2nd of Lerags, mentioned in 1510 and 27, had a younger son Allan who appears as of Ballimenach in 1528 and 39. He was succeeded by his son Dougall Keir [cair or left handed] and grandson Allan and his great grandson Dougall Keir of Ballimenach who is on record in 1617 and 1620.

The Duncan Campbell, younger son of Duncan 1st of Lerags, mentioned above with Matilda Thomson his wife in 1509 were granted the lands of Clachlea in Lismore. Their son John of Clachlea appears in 1534 and 63. John's son Ewen appears in 1563 and 97. He was followed by a son John and grandson Archibald who is on record on the 4th of November 1638.

In 1567 Colin Campbell of Glenorchy leased to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and his wife Margaret, his four merk lands of old extent of Ballikillechan in the island of Lismore. The lease was for nineteen years, the normal term of a tack. The yearly payment was to be 28 bolls of victual, 20 in [oat]meal and 8 in bear [a kind of barley], to be paid at Inverawe together with four merks in coin.<sup>57</sup> The size of a boll of oats or barley was the equivalent of six bushels and each bushel was 32 quarts of dry measure. This would seem a considerable amount to produce on one farm on Lismore.

The payment in coin was the beginning of the change over to monetary payments which would increase over the next two hundred years, eventually replacing payment in kind altogether. Some might see these four merks as the thin end of the wedge making possible the change from an agricultural to an industrial-commercial economy.

However since the lands were then waste due no doubt to the spluttering conflicts between Argyll and the Duart Macleans, Inverawe was only obliged to pay one third of the amount due the first year and two-thirds the second year. After that the whole payment was due each year unless the lands should again be laid waste. Sir Colin of Glenorchy was also to have half the hereyelds. A hereyeld or heriot was a casualty or fine payable to the superior on the death of a vassal. Payment of the hereyeld was still usually in kind and generally involved the superior claiming first choice among the vassal's horses and cattle.

The lands in Lismore still being 'waste' in 1567, combined with Dougall's ejection from his lands there in 1548-9 indicates a period of conflict. Lismore was then on the frontier of Argyll's overlordship and, as an island, was particularly vulnerable to raiding by sea. However the land

was more productive than much of the adjacent mainland, due to the island consisting extensively of limestone rock, and this made grants or leases of land there attractive. One is left to assume that Dougall's lands of Achaworranbeag [now Achouran] and Ballimenach in Lismore may well also have been laid waste in the same conflict.

Lismore had formerly been much in the ownership of the church. However two years earlier the Reformation had taken place in Scotland through the efforts of Archibald of Argyll, John Knox and his colleagues. Argyll's former chaplain at Stirling, John Carswell, had been the priest of Kilmartin and, as we have seen, was then made Bishop of Argyll and the Isles.

For centuries Lismore had been the seat of the bishops of the diocese and the site of the shrine-like cathedral of St. Moluags for Argyll and the Isles. However perhaps due to the raids upon the island, John Carswell chose to remain in a more secure area. Just north of Kilmartin he built himself a handsome palace castle at Carnassarie, which at that time was finer than any of the earl's houses in Argyll. The 'cathedral' church remained upon Lismore. Carswell was an unusually tall and astute man who changed with the times, becoming the leader of the new protestant church in the west. He translated the 'order' book of John Knox into the Gaelic. There is evidence that his second wife Margaret was of the Inverawe family and Dougall of Inverawe would eventually marry his daughter Christian by his first wife (*vide infra*).

### ***'The Drowning of Clan Arthur'***

The Wardenship of Over Lochow had been granted to Dougall, 2nd of Inverawe, in 1485, quite possibly in continuation of an hereditary office held by his predecessors with their likely base on the island castle of Fraoch Eilean. The Wardenship of 'Over Lochow' or the north end of Lochawe had been held by the Inverawe family, conceivably since their likely progenitor Duncan *Skeodnasach*, brother to Sir Colin *Iongantach*, was likely granted Fraoch Eilean castle and the pertaining lands of Achlain and Duchollie in the late fourteenth century. The office certainly continued as hereditary in the family for generations after Dougall, however apparently the title of the office had been changed to Bailiary by the middle of the sixteenth century.

In 1567 a feud broke out between Archibald Campbell 3rd of Inverawe and the Chief of 'Clan Arthur' who was then Duncan MacArthur of Tirevadich, Argyll's Captain of Innis Channel.<sup>58</sup> The fracas apparently took place on Lochawe, for Tirevadich, his son Iain MacArthur, and a number of their MacVicar kinsmen were drowned. Inverawe and his son Dougall survived.

The lands of Tirevadich lie in the angle of the western shore of Lochawe and the Pass of Brander. Curiously enough they appear to have been a part of the original Lordship of Lochawe which ran along the western watershed of the loch from the Pass south to Loch Avich and probably to the place of Cruachan, the Hosting Ground of the early Cambels opposite Innis Channel.

The Lochawe MacArthurs were almost certainly the descendants of Sir Arthur Campbell, ancestor of the Campbells of Strachur. Arthur was a senior cousin of Sir Cailein Mor Cambel of Lochawe. Robert Bruce granted him the greater part of the MacDougall lands of Lorn, including Inverawe and the keepership of the castle of Dunstaffnage. His son sold or exchanged most of them.



These MacArthurs on Lochawe had been 'doers' or writers for the Earls of Argyll and appear to have been granted lands by him on Lochawe not long before this incident. Evidence for the origin of the Lochawe and Tirevadich MacArthurs is not genealogical but heraldic. The MacArthur seals upon documents include the Campbell gyronny.<sup>59</sup> The assumption of their descent from Sir Arthur Campbell, colleague of Robert Bruce and progenitor of the MacArthur Campbells of Strachur, is a conjecture.

The Strachur line was apparently supplanted as the chiefly line of the Cambels by the line of Cailein Mor. This may well have taken place following Sir Arthur's death as his son granted many of the lands in Lorne and Benderloch to others. In the thirteenth century the Norse (and so Norman) system of primogeniture had not yet completely replaced the Celtic system of tanistry and the chiefly mantle of the Campbells did not always fall to the eldest son. Later massaging of their pedigree to conform to feudal concepts of primogeniture has tended to obscure these facts to some extent.

The cause of the conflict between Inverawe and Tirevadich was likely only the culmination of a series of confrontations. That these were related to Inverawe's exercise of his duties as Warden or Bailie of Over Lochawe seems clear. Possibly his justice was not considered even-handed by the MacArthurs and MacVicars. However if we hark back to the agreement at Castle Campbell where Archibald of Inverawe allowed the earl to build a house on his land at Innestrynich, there may lie the source of Archibald's sense of injustice. Evidently the MacArhter 'doers' for the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll had failed to point out to him that the lands of Inestrynich were not his to grant. When he granted them to the MacArthurs this could naturally have enraged the choleric Archibald of Inverawe, a man who signed himself forthrightly as 'Yours assured to power.'

Inverawe was apparently found to have been in the wrong in the view of the earl. On the 2nd of December 1567 Dougall Campbell, fiar of Inverawe, was obliged to appear at Inveraray and to submit himself to four Campbell arbiters with Archibald fifth Earl of Argyll as oversman.<sup>60</sup> He was made to agree to resign the Bailliary of all the lands on the side of Lochawe pertaining to Clan Arthur and as many other lands as ordered by the Judges.

Dougalls father Archibald, then presumably a man of 73 or even 78, was also 'guilty of the misdeeds,' however as he had resigned his lands in favour of his heir and was clearly a man of great age, Dougall was representing the family in the case.

That the Archibald who was of age and 'of Inverawe' in 1515 could have been fit and active enough to lead his men in a bloody fracas involving hand-to-hand fighting in open boats upon the dangerous waters of Lochawe in 1567 would seem indicate that he was a man of exceptional strength and stamina. His likely age at the time has been one of the factors which have misled some to clutch at the idea that it was in fact his son Archibald who had become Inverawe by this time. Nonetheless, since Dougall (4th) of Inverawe could not have been son to the younger Archibald if the assumptions made as to his being of age when granted Sasine of lands in Lismore are correct (*vide supra*), this theory is untenable.

There is, perhaps, reason to suspect that it was Archibald 3rd of Inverawe who had decided to bring matters to a head while he had the strength left to him for the fray. While this is conjectural, Archibald can be read from the above evidence as being more fractious, for example the conflict with the Earl settled at Castle Campbell, while Dougall appears more responsible and conscientious, considering his later court offices and obedient military service to the earl.

In the following year, 1568, Argyll led his army in support of Mary Queen of Scots at the battle of Langside. One suspects that Dougall MacConnochie Campbell, fiar of Inverawe, would have seen service there but there is no information upon this point. Argyll's forces were defeated and his younger son John 'Gorm' Campbell, 1st of Lochnell, was killed in the battle. After Langside the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots fled the country, only to be imprisoned and eventually executed by her jealous cousin Elizabeth of England.

Then in 1569 the settlement of the 'drowning of Clan Arthur' continued. There is record of 'Letters of slain or discharge for drowning Clanarthour' in the parish of Innishail. These include the names 'Johne Campbell of ..... Archibald and Johne Campbell his sons, Patrick M'Taylor, John Dow ..... , and others; John Makfinla M'Arthur of Terowadych, William M'Vicar, James Campbell of Ardkinglas, &c., as principallis being ..... next of kin.'<sup>61</sup>

The interpretation of this passage is not straightforward. Some are clearly defendants and others victims or witnesses. John or Iain McFinlay McArthur was the next of kin who succeeded to Tirevadich. The John Dow ..... is quite possibly John *dubh* MacConnochie Campbell, the younger half brother of Dugall of Inverawe's who would become Tutor of Inverawe following Dougall's death in circa 1583. The presence of Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas is most intriguing since he was John *dubh*'s uncle and Dougall's kin as brother to his stepmother Margaret, the lady Inverawe.

On the 18th of July 1569, Iain McFinlay McArthur appears as 'of Tirevadich.' On that date the Earl of Argyll granted him a charter of 'all and haill the office of Bailiarie of all and sundry lands and heritages lying on the sides of Over Lochow pertaining and belonging to Clan Arthur with their haill pertinent.'<sup>62</sup>

Then on the 18th of January 1569-70, Archibald 5th Earl of Argyll granted a Charter to 'Iain McArtur of Tirivadich and the heirs male of his own body, of the office of bailiary of lands in Lochow pertaining to Clanartur, vix. Barbraick [Barbreck Lochawe], Auchnagann, Larachran, Teirwidych [Tyrevadich], Mowey [now Bovuy], Drumart, Capehin, Bocardie, Caupurruck and Ardbreckanight [Ardbreacnish],' proceeding upon a Resignation by Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and Dougall Campbell his son.'<sup>63</sup>

That Archibald of Inverawe is mentioned with his son Dougall may partly be accounted for by his earlier resignation of his lands to Dougall in 1561, however it may also indicate that Archibald, having shot his last bolt, was in his dotage. He would probably have recently turned 80 and would die between 1570 and the end of 1575 when Dougall appears as 'of Inverawe' (*vide infra*).

Clearly the lands of the MacArthurs included properties on both sides of the northern end of the loch. Barbreck and Tirevadich are on the western side and Mowey or Bovuy is on the eastern side. Bovuy and Innistrynich were at one point in the hands of the Clan Connochie Campbells.

According to the editor of *Highland Papers*, the MacArthurs of Tirevadich or Innistrynich from thence held the hereditary office of Serjeantry or Mair of Fee of all the lands on the sides of Upper Lochow [Lochawe] which pertained to Clan Arthur. They were bound 'for ever' to uphold a Hall or Chamber and Kitchen in the Isle of Inistrynich with the help of their chief Argyll. They were also bound to come and ride with him and his heirs in forensic service; hunting, besieging of enemies both in hosts and with his enemies 'as the rest of the tenants do

when armies chance to be.’<sup>64</sup> This house would be the one the earl had built earlier with Inverawe’s agreement.

Never again would the Inverawe family administer the complete Bailiary of Over Lochawe. All future charters were careful to except the authority of the MacArthurs to be Baillies over their own lands. The Clan Connochie, the ‘men of the most stubborn and undaunted spirits’ were finally daunted through their own ferocity by the hand of their Chief.

The justice granted by Argyll to the Lochawe MacArthurs in preference to Inverawe in this matter is one of the strongest arguments in favour of their being Campbell cousins and not merely natives who were overtaken by the overlordship of Argyll due to their vulnerability and need for the earl’s protection. That their lands were in the heart of the original Campbell Lordship on Lochawe lends further support to this irrefutable relationship.

Archibald of Inverawe was to show that he was still in full command of his faculties. On the 5<sup>th</sup> of March 1569, he wrote to Colin Campbell of Glenorchy. The letter is here translated into modern spelling for ease of understanding and is quoted from page 145 of Jane A. E. Dawson’s *Campbell Letters 1559-1583*, published by the Scottish History Society in 1997. His attitude to the Earl of Argyll and his signing himself as ‘your own very assured to power’, suggests that he was little cowed by his condemnation over recent events on Lochawe.

To the honourable man Colin Campbell of Glenorchy [shown as ‘Glennurquhay’]

Right honourable Sir – after hearty commendations of my humble service.

You shall know that the Prior of Ardchattan [John Campbell] has requested and obtained a Precept from my Lord [Earl of Argyll] to Donald Oig MacIan to follow and pursue your servant and tenant Malcolm MacIan *dubh* in ‘Acharyra’ [possibly Acharra in Appin] for an alleging that he was at the taking of certain cattle from the said Donald Oig’s father when Donald *dubh* MacDougall was convoyed and laid out of Inveraray, which was false.

And therefore when they would spoil your ground and uplift all the said Malcolm’s goods and gear by the ‘crauvare’ [‘crave’ – a legal demand perhaps] and my Lord’s citation – I held the same to your coming to the country on the ground and find sureties that the said Malcolm should underlie the law for the said alleging.

But because this was wrought by the said Prior, if you think it good or necessary you should write to the said Prior to be not so sore on your servants in your own absence – and specially on your man or else he may not manure your ground. And [tell him] that he put [press] no further at him there anent until your own coming to these parts – and that you advise me if you will require the said Malcolm to come to speak with yourself there anent – or when he shall meet you.

Further I pray you effectively to send some attentive servant of your own to receive the rest of my silver [money] from Neill MacAllister viz. a hundred merks – because I have sent my Discharge to this effect which you shall send them and get your own Discharge again. And cause keep the said money until I come there myself or until you see some sure servant of your own between [us]. Further, please give credence to the bearer.

And [this] commits you to the protection of Almighty God. From Inverawe the fifth of March 1568. Yours own very assured to power.

[Archibald MacConnochie Campbell]

But the loss of authority to Inverawe had been severe. On page 43 of Manuscript 31.2.3. in the Advocates Library in Edinburgh the terms are laid out: On the 18<sup>th</sup> of January 1569-70 the earl signed a charter to Iain MacArthur of Tirivadich and the heirs male of his own body, of the office of bailiary of lands in Lochow pertaining to Clanarthur, viz. Barbraick, Auchnagann, Larrachran, Teirwidych [Tirevadich], Mowey [Bovuy], Drumart, Capehin, Bocardie, Capurusk and Ardbrecknight [Ardbrecknish], proceeding on a Resignation by Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and Dougal Campbell his son. These lands are on both sides of Loch Awe.

### *Dougall – Fourth of Inverawe*

In 1573 Archibald, the great 5th Earl of Argyll died, leaving no legitimate heirs of his own. He was succeeded by his brother Colin as 6th Earl, a man who lacked his elder brother's statesmanship and almost immediately embroiled his people in local conflicts.

Between writing his letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> of March 1569 and the 10<sup>th</sup> of November 1575, old Archibald, 4th of Inverawe, had died and was succeeded by his son Dougall. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of November 1575 Dougall is first found on record as 'of Inverawe'.<sup>65</sup>

There are two traditions about Dougall which were recorded by Douglas Wimberley in his book on the *Campbells of Kilmartin*.<sup>66</sup> Like other Inverawe incidents of which mention survived only in the oral legacy of the family until recorded in the 19th century, some of the verity of these 'traditions' are supported by ancillary evidence.

The discipline of memory practiced by Highland people into the 19th century has long been mistrusted by historians as being similar to the vagueness of traditions remembered elsewhere. However analysis of two of the 16th and 17th century 'traditional tales' of the Inverawe family in comparison to contemporary record has shown a surprising degree of accuracy and similar findings of reliability are coming to light. There could therefore be good reason to re-examine this mistrust where the memory discipline of Gaelic Highland and Island people is concerned.

So, while these tales may only be considered as indications towards possible fact, they are worth review and analysis as lending further dimensions to the picture of the family in the sixteenth century. The first tradition may offer a clue as to why Dougall's son and apparent heir, Allan, did not survive his father:

'Dougall...is said to have fought with (sic) the MacDonalds and the Islemen, and to have had his castle (of Fraoch Eilean) burnt during his absence by Allan Maclean (sic) of Torloisk, who hanged his wife and children at the gate.'

The second tradition concerns Dougall of Inverawe's relations with MacDougall of Dunollie. This tale has been mentioned already in relation to the MacLeas of Achnacree.

'The Dougall of Inverawe who lived about 1575 is said to have lived at Ardchonnell Castle, and

to have made peace in his old age with MacDougall of Dunollie, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage as his second wife. She, hearing the sons of her husband by his first wife arranging to drown her, escapes over the hills to Lochawe. Mac Dougall looses his bloodhounds in pursuit, during which her cloak, with the brooch of Lorn in it, is left behind...'

The first tradition could explain the early deaths of Dougall's heir Allan at some date following 1566 and of Dougall's first wife. The raid described is also a highly likely event, either as reaction to or provocation of the part Dougall may have played in Argyll's invasion of the MacLean lands in Mull in 1577.

Further, there was not as yet a 'Maclean of Torloisk', however during the second half of the sixteenth century, Alan nan sop lived at Torloisk and had a reputation as a raider and pirate. Since Dougall took part in more than one raid against the Macleans in Mull and Luing, a raid upon his island stronghold on Lochawe could either have been the provocation or in reprisal. Alan nan sop, however was already dead by this time so that the likely perpetrator was his son.

In the second tradition, Dougall's living at the earl's castle of Innis Chonnel 'in his old age' might well have followed the destruction of Fraoch Eilean by Alan nan sop, Inverawe being unfortified and therefore more vulnerable to attack by the Macleans. This might explain why his daughter set off for Lochawe rather than for Inverawe.

In further support of this story, the ruins of Fraoch Eilean castle show signs of having fallen into disrepair and then being re-inhabited early in the seventeenth century.<sup>67</sup> As with other surviving traditions of the Inverawe family, these tales appear to be sufficiently supported by ancillary evidence to be taken as being based upon some factual event.

The name of the first wife of Dougall, 5th of Inverawe, has not survived. She is said to have been a daughter of Campbell of Lochnell. He later married a much younger girl, Christian, daughter of Bishop John Carswell of Argyll and the Isles.<sup>68</sup> Her step mother Margaret was Dougall's sister. By Christian Dougall had a son Archibald who succeeded him, possibly posthumously.

The comment in the above tradition about fighting 'with' the MacDonalds and the Islemen is not lucid. Either it could mean fighting against or alongside those neighbours of Inverawe. The problems Dougall experienced in Lismore, and his later raids upon Mull and Luing under Argyll, could indicate the former. The fact that his brother John *dubh*, later Tutor of Inverawe, fought alongside the Islemen in Ireland could indicate the latter. However Dougall's participation in the combined Clan Donald and Campbell invasion of Mull for the Earl in 1577 may have produced this comment.

These issues are discussed more fully in a separate paper regarding relations between the MacConnochie Campbells of Inverawe and the Macleans of Duart and Torloisk. (*vide infra*).

On the 10th of November 1575 Dougall was at Ardchattan Priory. The Commendatory Prior was by then John Campbell, Bishop of the Isles, a son of Sir John Campbell of Cawdor. His position as Prior had been secularised following the Reformation of 1560. There, Colin Campbell of Barbreck, Donald Campbell of Achterachin [Ichrachan], John Campbell of Innerliver, John Campbell, 'Captain of Dounstaffinch' and Dougall Campbell of Inverawe gave their Bond as Cautioners for John Campbell of Calder to Prior John, Bishop of the Isles, that he

and his tenants will pay certain dues owing by them. The Bond was dated at Ardchattan on the 10th of November 1575 and registered on the 27th of March 1576. The witnesses were; Archibald Campbell, apparent of Ottir, John Campbell, son of Donald Campbell of Achirachin [Ichrachan], and Duncan Campbell, Minister of Ardchattan.<sup>69</sup>

### *Clan Connachie Burial Grounds*

A far less reliable source than Gaelic oral memory or family tradition holds that the early members of Clan Connachie were buried upon the sacred isle of Innishail in Lochawe, not far from Fraoch Eilean. This claim may well be true for other reasons, nonetheless.

*The Bridal of Caolchurn* (London and Edinburgh 1822) by John Sobieski Stolberg Stuart under an alias, contains an attempt at poetry but with long notes on the history and geography of the Kilchurn area. These may well be as fanciful as the Sobieski's treatise on tartans. However for what it is worth, the notes state under Innishail that the 'MacNaughtons of Fraoch Elan' and the Campbells of 'Inbherau' were buried there and that 'The place of the Campbells...is yet pointed out. It lies on the south side of the chapel, and its site is marked by a large flat stone, ornamented with the arms of the family in high relief. The shield is supported by two warriors, and surmounted by a diadem...' In fact this appears to refer to the stone identified by the Royal Commission in their Inventory of Lorn as an 'altar frontal' dated between 1500 and 1560.

The shield, supported by two men at arms of the period, show no Campbell gyronny but the galley of the Lordship of Lorne. Again, like the galley upon the Lerags cross, one suspects that the depiction of the galley was symbolic of the Argyll dominance of the Lordship following its acquisition in 1470. One temptation is to suggest that the date may therefore be a decade or two earlier than 1500. The idea that the galley could depict a MacDougall or other influence seems highly unlikely on Innishail at that period of time. This is particularly so upon as important a stone as an altar frontal. However, what is intriguing is that the style of dress of the armed men, with their conical knob-topped and even feathered helmets and chain mail or leather armour suggests what may well have been worn by Archibald and Dougall of Inverawe when on active service. What is unusual compared to normal grave slabs is that the armour or jerkins are relatively short below the belted waist, leaving long legs exposed, so leaving the warriors more agile.

The MacNachtans had held Fraoch Eilean for two centuries before it passed through an intermediary from Christina of Craignish, a McNaughton widow to Sir Cailein *Iongantach* Campbell of Lochawe who presumably granted it to his younger brother Duncan *Skeodnasach*, apparent progenitor of the Clan Connachie Campbells in whose hands it is later found.

Apart from the one tradition mentioned, there is no evidence to confirm any Clan Connachie connection to the altar stone or arms depicted. However the island of Innishail was once owned by the inhabitants of Fraoch Eilean and the use of the place as a burial ground by the Clan Connachie Campbells seems entirely natural for their early generations. There was still a 'vicar' of the island in Archibald's day, whose grave slab has been dated to between 1543 and 1558, his name inscribed as 'Duncan MacAuis,' possibly MacTavish.

At some point, perhaps when Inverawe rather than Fraoch Eilean became the principal residence of the Inverawe family, they began to use the ruins of the Priory of Ardchattan as a burial

ground. This change may well have come with the Reformation, in which case Dougall MacConnochie Campbell, 4th of Inverawe, could have been the first to be buried at Ardoch. So Archibald 3<sup>rd</sup> of Inverawe may well have been buried on Innishail, raising the possible image of a piobrochaidh sounding over the loch as a boat with a coffin and others with mourners were rowed out to the island.

### *Dougall Fourth of Inverawe and the Earl's Service*

On the 20th of April 1576 a Justice Court was held by Colin, 6th Earl of Argyll, probably at Inveraray. On that day Dougall Campbell of Inverawe was nominated and created an officer (of the court) and swore before the Court that he would lawfully use the said office.<sup>70</sup>

In March of the following year, 1577, the Earl of Argyll apparently sent a combined Clan Donald and Campbell force to attack the MacLeans on Mull. His nephew, Lachlan *mor* Maclean of Duart would lodge a complaint with the Privy Council in December of 1578, stating that Argyll had sent MacDonell of Dunivaig and 200 men with Campbell of Lochnell's brother by land, and 'John MacConnachie of Inverawe' by sea, to attack Maclean's house of Lochgorm on Islay.<sup>71</sup> This is by no means the only occasion upon which members of the Inverawe family joined in combined operations with the forces of clan Donald.<sup>72</sup>

That Inverawe led the party by sea – although for Islay both parties must have crossed the water – suggests that their galleys were available on Loch Etive and they had known skill as sailors. The Earl's sister Janet Campbell was Lachlan's mother, having married his father Hector *Og* Maclean of Duart in 1557. Hector died in 1574 and Lachlan was brought up by his uncle the great 5th Earl of Argyll. Lachlan can hardly have been twenty at the time of his uncle Colin's attack. The reasons for the conflict are not presently clear.

Presumably the 'John' of Inverawe mentioned here must have been the result of confusion between Dougall of Inverawe himself and his brother John *dubh*, later Tutor to Dougall's son Archibald. Dougall was by now an older man, so the leader of the galleys may have been his much younger half-brother John *dubh* MacConnochie as his representative. From this point onwards, John *dubh* would frequently appear on record as 'of Inverawe' his character suggesting that he would not hesitate to so introduce himself, at the same time as appearing more accurately as 'Tutor of Inverawe.' The fact was that he created so much stour that it was an easy mistake.

Apart from this reference there is no evidence whatsoever that Dougall was succeeded by a John of Inverawe, whereas there is ample evidence that John *dubh* would shortly be Tutor of Inverawe to Dougall's son Archibald. Given an approximate date for his parent's marriage in the mid 1550s, John *dubh* was likely in his late teens or early twenties at the time of the 1577 invasion of Islay. John would soon create a reputation for himself as a successful leader among the Islesmen against Elizabeth of England's forces in Ireland. Possibly it was in the service of Argyll during this attack on Mull that he met and became allied with MacDonell of Dunivaig. John *dubh*'s career is discussed in a separate paper.<sup>73</sup>

Perhaps the Inverawe experience with their galleys on Lochawe during the drowning of Clan Arthur may have been influential in suggesting to Argyll that they lead the seaborne force in the raid upon Islay. The family must have owned galleys both on Lochawe and Loch Etive. They

held lands on both sides of Lochawe and had lived on the isle of Fraoch Eilean until it was burnt, both needing water access. Their kinsmen and tacks on Lismore and their attendance at services at Ardchattan Priory would involve journeys on Loch Etive and in the Firth of Lorn. One suspects that their sea-going galleys were either beached or sheltered in the river mouth when not in use. Unlike many other charters in Argyll, none of those concerning the Inverawe lands have survived which detail galley service as a *redendo*. However it would not be surprising if galley service had been specified, considering their use on the Ilay expedition.

Young Lachlan Maclean of Duart had further reason to complain before long. On 4th January 1579, ‘M’Condoquhy of Inneraw’, with three score followers, harried the ‘Isle of Loyne’ (Luing), belonging to ‘M’Clayne of Dowart’.<sup>74</sup> The Privy Council acted swiftly in the matter, for Duart’s official complaint was considered on the 16th of February of the same year at a meeting at Stirling Castle.<sup>75</sup>

The complaint read that ‘upoun the fourt of Jany. inst. M’Condoquhy of Inverraw with his complices to the nowmer of three scoir persons or thairby, bodin in feir of war, with bowis, dorlochis, habersconis and other wappynis invasive, off the speciale cawsing, hounding, sending, art, partaking, command, assistance, and ratihabibition of Coline, Earl of Ergile, Lord Campbell and Lorne, &c., his minister came to the said Lauchlanes Isle of Loyne, and after great spoilationis and reif of guidis, cruelly slew umquhile Robt. Taileour and ... M’Ingoun his servant, and also put violent hands on George Smollet, captain of said isle, and after wounding him deadly, transported him to the Earl’s place of Inchconnell, and there kept him prisoner, &c.’

What is intriguing here is that Inverawe, and apparently at least some of his followers, are identified as wearing coats of mail and that the weapons, apart from the swords which went without saying, were bows and arrows. A ‘dorlach’ was a quiver for arrows and ‘habergeon’ was a coat of mail. The splendid word ‘ratihabibition’ meant approval, in this case by Earl Colin.

Argyll, being charged to appear before the Privy Council to answer the complaint, was represented by his ‘procurator’ Robert Boyall (Boyle). Lachlan Maclean of Duart was ‘oftymes callit and not compeirand’, at which Boyall protested that the earl might be released of the letters of summons as no one appeared against him. The protest was admitted by the Council.

Since neither Argyll nor the young Duart were present, one cannot help wondering whether the speed with which the Privy Council took up the complaint and Duart’s inability to appear might not have been neatly connected, with Duart detained in the west by some nicely timed ‘accidental’ circumstances. But this is conjectural. Certainly Earl Colin seemed almost to work to alienate his late brother’s friends in the Isles.

### ***Dougall of Inverawe and his Heir Archibald***

This incident in 1579 is the last surviving record of Dougall Campbell (4th) of Inverawe, as being alive, if indeed it referred to him and not John *dubh*. In fact he must have lived until circa. 1582-3. Before the 17<sup>th</sup> of July that year he had died, for on that date his brother John Dubh is on record as ‘Tutor of Inverawe’ to Dougall’s infant son Archibald who was heir to Inverawe.

Dougall’s second wife, Archibald’s mother, was Christian, daughter of John Carswell of Carnassarie, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles. She appears on record as his widow in 1587 when



she had returned to Carnassarie to live in the castle of her brother Archibald Carswell.<sup>76</sup> She would later marry Neil Campbell, parson of Kilmartin and the builder of Kilmartin Castle.

Dougall MacConnochie Campbell, 4th of Inverawe, died between January 1579 and July 1583, apparently leaving his infant son and heir Archibald in the care of foster parents.<sup>77</sup> Had he been born circa 1518 as has been conjectured, he would have been a man in his late fifties or early sixties when he died.

On the 28th of December 1583 Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas, 'Comptroller', was at Holyrood where he was granted the gift 'of ward and nonentry of the two merkland of Auchinnecreif, Argyll, for terms from the decease of Dougall Campbell of Inverawe until entry of the heir; with relief of the same, and marriage of Archibald Campbell, son and apparent heir of the said Dougall, or of other heir succeeding.' The composition was to be ten merks.<sup>78</sup>

This clarifies that Dougall had died before this date and that his son and heir Archibald was a minor at the time. The gift to Sir James of Ardkinglas supports Duke Neill's reading of a 'fragmentary Inverawe pedigree found at Dunderave' which indicated that Margaret Campbell, sister to Ardkinglas, was second wife of Archibald, 3rd of Inverawe, and so step grandmother to the young Archibald and mother of John Dubh the Tutor.<sup>79</sup>

The fragmentary pedigree has not turned up at Inveraray. Duke Neill identified Archibald as 'sixth of Inverawe' which he could hardly have been as 'of Inverawe.' However, significantly he could have been 'sixth' of the MacConnochie family if Duncan *Skeodnasach* were taken as first.

Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas died on the 20<sup>th</sup> of February 1590-91. His being granted 'ward' for the marriage of Dougall 4th of Inverawe's son Archibald and 'ward and non entry of the lands of Achnacruive,' supports the conclusion that Margaret, the lady Inverawe and Dougall's step mother, was Ardkinglas' sister.

There are two places named Achnacruive, or the field of the salmon trap. One lay up the Nant and the other, and more likely in this case, lay up river from Inverawe and was, this entry confirms, the only Inverawe property held directly from the crown. It had been granted to Dougall's father Archibald and to Margaret, his wife, by Mary of Guise in 1558. The young Archibald, fifth or sixth of Inverawe, would part with the lands of Achnacruive to Hugh MacCorquodale of Phantillands on the 6th of November 1617.<sup>80</sup> The other Achnacruive up the River Nant, lies adjacent to the MacCorquodale lands, so that it is not clear which of these was meant at the time.

### ***Ian or John dubh, Tutor of Inverawe***

Upon Dougall's death, John *dubh* MacConnochie Campbell became Tutor of Inverawe, a position in Highland families that combined guardianship of the heir with the responsibility for the people and stewardship and protection of the communities on the lands during the minority of the heir.

John *dubh* was already a well established figure as a leader of gallowglass or redshanks (mercenary) Islemen and others in Ireland who fought under the Earl of Tyrone against the English forces of queen Elizabeth.<sup>81</sup> Exactly when he had first gone to Ireland has not yet been

discovered, however one suspects that he was there between his involvement in the Earl's invasion of Islay in 1577 and his assumption of his duties as Tutor in 1583.

When John *dubh* returned from Ireland is not clear. He was named Baillie in a charter by Lachlan Maclean of Duart to Colin Campbell of Lundy on the 17<sup>th</sup> of July 1583.<sup>82</sup> He is called John Campbell, Tutor of Inverawe, the earliest surviving evidence that his brother Dougall was dead. John was a man who, from the record, seems larger than life.

John *dubh* MacConnochie Campbell, Tutor of Inverawe, was clearly a man of a fiery and cantankerous disposition on the one hand and an acknowledged and trusted leader of men on the other. What is known of his life and the legend of his death have been examined in further papers which also discuss the evidence for the date of birth and parentage of the heir Archibald MacConnochie, (5<sup>th</sup>) of Inverawe.<sup>83</sup>

### *The National Status of Inverawe in the Late 16<sup>th</sup> Century.*

James VI King of Scots was brought up by his Tutor Buchanan to have a very Lowland style view of Highland people and the threat they offered to the Lowlands. This was partly a matter of tradition emerging from centuries of cattle raiding, and to some degree due to people like John *dubh* MacConnochie Campbell, Tutor of Inverawe and his father Archibald.

The first evaluation of the position of the Inverawe family from a national perspective appeared, not long after Dougall's death, in 1587. Appended to the Acts of King James VI at the Eleventh Parliament on the 29<sup>th</sup> of July 1587 is a 'Roll of the names of the landislords and baillies of the landes dwelling on the Borders and in the Hielands, quhair broken men hes dwelt and presently dwellis, to the quhilk roll the 95<sup>th</sup> Act of this Parliament relates.'<sup>84</sup>

Among 'the Landislordes and Baillies, Hielands and Iles,' mentioned, was 'Mackondachy of Inneraw:' The other Campbells from Argyll who were mentioned were; the Earl of Argyle, the laird of Glenurquhy, Colin Campbell of Ardbeith, the lairds of Glenlyon, Lochnell, Cawdor, Auchinbreck, Barbreck, Duntroon, Elengreg and Otter.

There followed the 'Roll of Clannes that hes Captains and Chieftaines, quhom on they depende, oftymes against the willes of their Landislords, alsweill on the Bordoures as Hielandes, and of some special persons of Branches of the saidis Clannes.' The only Campbells among those enumerated under 'Hielandes and Iles' are 'Campbelles of Lochinell, Campbelles of Inneraw,' the rest being 34 other clans in the west and north Highlands from Argyll and Dunbarton to Sutherland, apart from those on the Borders.

The prominence given to Lochnell was understandable as near kin to Argyll. That given to Inverawe as the second of the only two Campbell cadet families mentioned in Argyll, offers a measure of their standing at that time. Had the chieftains of clan Campbell not maintained such an extraordinary loyalty to their Chief up to the murder of Cawdor in 1592, and had each branch been listed as an independent clan, the standing of Clan Connochie and Inverawe would have ranked high among the more powerful independent clans below those led by great nobles like Huntly and Argyll. The strength of the Inverawe following was listed as 500. By the second quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, while the lands had expanded by purchase and grant, the number that could be raised was only about 100. Either the late 16<sup>th</sup> century estimates were optimistic, or

the raids of Alastair MacColla and Atholl in the 17<sup>th</sup> century had greatly reduced the population to a level the land was better able to bear. Even then, in some years to fend off starvation, grain had to be imported.

A further measure of the power of the Inverawe kindred is given by the fact that John *dubh*, Tutor of Inverawe, was reported not long afterwards to be able to raise a thousand men to follow him into Ireland.<sup>85</sup> Naturally these were not all tenants of the Inverawe lands but many of them 'redshanks' from the Isles who had earlier become his followers in Ireland. However more power lay in a force of volunteers who chose to follow a chieftain for his reputation than in tenants who, judging by the comments in the 'Roll' above, might have divided loyalties.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

From the writs mentioned above we can venture that Inverawe came to the MacConnochie Campbells after 1470 and before 1485. We can further conclude that Archibald Campbell of Inverawe who died between 1485 and 1493 was first 'of Inverawe', although there were earlier MacConnochie Campbells, probably 'of Fraoch Eilean'. He in turn was succeeded by his son Dougall, 2nd of Inverawe, who died between 1510 and 1513. Dougall was then succeeded by his son Archibald, 3rd of Inverawe, who must have been born circa 1489 as he came of age between 1510 and 1513 and had an eldest son who may have been born as early as circa 1508.

Archibald 3rd of Inverawe, would resign his lands for a regrant in favour of his son Archibald in 1529. Had this younger Archibald turned 21 in 1529, he must have been born in 1508, however he need not have been of age for the regrant to have taken place.

Archibald 3rd of Inverawe married twice. His first wife was apparently Margaret Campbell of the family who would come to be of Dunstaffnage, probably Angus an Dun, a name suggesting his appointment as first Captain. By her he appears to have had his son and heir Archibald who predeceased him and secondly Dougall who succeeded him, with a son Lachlan and a daughter Margaret. The younger Archibald may have been born as early as 1513 and Dougall is calculated to have been born circa. 1518.

The second wife of Archibald (3<sup>rd</sup>) of Inverawe was also a Margaret Campbell, sister of Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas. Their marriage must have taken place in the 1550s. By her he appears to have had John *Dubh*, Tutor of Inverawe, Lachlan possible ancestor of the Luing MacConnochie Campbells, and Margaret who married John Carswell of Carnasarie and later Campbell of Cabrachan, a younger son of Lochnell. She was called a 'white witch' at the trial following the murder of Cawdor arranged by Cabrachan. She spoke no English, only Gaelic.

In 1567, Archibald (3rd) of Inverawe was involved in the incident which has come to be called 'the drowning of Clan Arthur,' a fight on Lochawe with the MacArthurs. That a man who could hardly have been less than 78 years of age could have taken part in a bloody engagement involving hand to hand fighting in open boats upon the treacherous waters of Lochawe seems extraordinary but not impossible. That some Highlanders lived to a great age and strength can be found on record.

Archibald 3rd of Inverawe's son Archibald Yr. of Inverawe must have died before 1561. In that year Archibald of Inverawe resigned his lands again for a regrant in favour of his second son

Dougall who appears to have been born in or before 1518, the son of Archibald's first wife Margaret of the family who would be Captains of Dunstaffnage. The date of Dougall's birth is calculated by the granting of Sasine to him involving duties for which he must have been of age. He could not have been son of Archibald Yr. of Inverawe as the dates would not fit, so must have been his brother.

Archibald 3rd of Inverawe died in or shortly after 1569 and certainly before 1575 when Dougall is found as 'of Inverawe'.

Dougall MacConnochie Campbell 4th of Inverawe married twice. The name of his first wife has not survived although a daughter of Lochnell has been mentioned without supporting reference. According to a tradition largely substantiated by ancillary record, she and her children were hung at the gate of Fraoch Eilean and the castle burnt by Alan nan Sop from Torloisk, or more likely his son, Maclean of Gigha, both of whom had the reputations as raiders. Dougall's first son and heir Alan apparently died at the same time.

Dougall's second wife was Christian, daughter of Bishop John Carswell of Carnasarie, by whom he had one son, his heir Archibald, born in or shortly before 1583. Dougall fourth of Inverawe had died not long before 1583 when his brother John *dubh* MacConnochie Campbell is found as Tutor to Dougall's son and heir Archibald who would succeed to Inverawe in the opening years of the seventeenth century. In the same year John *Dubh*'s uncle Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas was granted ward and entry of those Inverawe lands of the heir Archibald's inheritance which were held direct from the crown, and also ward of his marriage.

### ***Endnotes:***

1. 'Origins of the Clan Connochie Campbells. An Analysis of the Sources and some Conjectural Conclusions,' Diarmid A.Campbell, April 1989. A draft of this previously unpublished paper is among the Inverawe papers in the Campbell archives of Alastair Campbell of Airds, Islay Herald.
2. Scot.Nat.Lib. M.S.(34:5:22)
3. For 1507 and Glenurchy appointing Inverawe as the place where rents are to be paid; Ardchattan article in Orig.Paroch.p.157. For the use of the term 'Dunan of Inverawe' for the same purpose in 1589; Wimberly's Proofs, Wimberly *The Campbells of Kilmartin*.
4. *RCAHMS Lorne Inventory* No.206 p.96 fig.83.
5. *RCAHMS Lorne Inventory* No.324 p.259 Note 5.
6. *Notes and Queries* of the Society for West Highland and Island Historical Research; 'A Traditional Tale Compared to Recorded Events.' This short paper analyses the tale 'Uncle and Nephew' from Lord Archibald Campbells collection of oral tradition in *Records of Argyll*, 1885.
7. *RCAHMS Lorne Inventory* No.290 pp.212-217.
8. See Note 6 above.
9. Cartulary of Colquohoun p.420.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Achaworran writs in the Airds Charter Chest, transcribed by Dr.Lorne Campbell PhD, unpublished. (Hereafter Achaworran writs in Airds Charters).
12. From the doquet of a charter transcribed by Dunstaffnage for Campbell of Kilmartin, the original later burnt in the fire at Dunstaffnage House in the 1940s. A copy of the transcription is with the Inverawe papers in the archive of Alastair Campbell of Airds, Islay Herald.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Achaworran writs in Airds Charters.
15. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.
16. S.R.O. GD 1/421/13.
17. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.

18. Achaworran writs in Airds Charters.
19. For 1519-20; Thaness of Cawdor pp.132-133: For 1535; My Lordes Buk of Casualiteis, Gregory.
20. Achaworran writs in Airds Charters.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Highland Papers*, Scot. Hist. Soc. Vol. 4, p.100.
24. *The Campbells of Kilmartin*, Wimberly p.5: also *Records of Argyll*.
25. RCAHMS Lorne Inventory No.253. p.143.
26. *Thaness of Cawdor* pp.132-133.
27. *Lords and Men in Scotland*, Wormald (Bonds of Manrent) p.256 Ap.A.
28. Achaworran writs in Airds Charters.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *My Lordes Buk of Casualiteis*, Gregory.
31. Acts of the Lords of Council as quoted in *Clan Campbell* Vol.VIII p.3-4, Paton Ed.
32. *My Lordes Buk of Casualiteis*, Gregory.
33. *Highland Papers* Vol.IV p.195 Note 2: also RCAHMS Lorne Inventory No.296 p.242.
34. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.
35. Achaworran writs in Airds Charters.
36. *Clan Cameron*, Stewart of Ardvorlich p.10-29.
37. *My Lordes Buk of Casualiteis*, **Gregory**.
38. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.
39. Argyll Inventory II f.488.
40. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.
41. Reg.Mag.Sig.lib.XXXI No.420; Taymouth Register and Orig. Paroch. Evidence that Margaret was an Ardkinglass is secondary but is reinforced by the granting of ward and nonentry of her grandson Archibald to Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglass, Reg. of Privy Seal VIII, Donaldson Ed.1982. Among the Auchindarroch and Inverawe papers in possession of the family is a letter from Neill Campbell, Druim na Vuilin, which quotes Duke Neill having found a fragmentary Inverawe pedigree at Dunderave mentioning the Ardkinglas connection.
42. Achaworran writs in Airds Charters.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Highland Papers*, vol. 4, p.54, Edinburgh 1934.
45. Acts and Decrees quoted in *Clan Campbell*, vol. 4, p.387, Paton Ed.
46. Achaworran writs in Airds Charters.
47. Reg.Mag.Sig. 1546-1580 No.1055.
48. *Highland Papers*, vol. 4, p.33, Edinburgh 1934.
49. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.
50. *Ibid.*
51. Reg.Mag.Sig. 1546-1580 No.1307.
52. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.
53. *Stirling Protocol Books*, D.Watson. SRO/NAS GDI/426/1.
54. Barr M.S.: *Highland Papers* I pp.159-175.
55. Reg.of Acts and Decrees Vol.24 Fol.54 & 278; *Clan Campbell*, vol.8, p.38, Paton Ed.
56. *Ibid.*
57. O.P.S., vol. 2, i.p.165.
58. *Highland Papers*, vol. 4, p.54.
59. 'Notes and Queries of the Society for West Highland and Island Historical Research, MacArthur Seals', an analysis of heraldic seals of the Tirevadich MacArthurs found in the Airds Charter Chest, by Alastair Campbell of Airds, Unicorn Pursuivant.
60. *Highland Papers* IV p.54, Edinburgh 1934.
61. Monzie Inventory; O.P.S.II ii p.827.
62. *Ibid.*
63. Scot.Nat.Lib. M.S.31.2.3. p.43.
64. *Highland Papers*, vol. 4,
65. *Coll. de Rebus Alb.* pp.8-9.
66. *The Campbells of Kilmartin*, Wimberly p.5.
67. RCAHMS Lorne Inventory No.290 pp.212-217.
68. Argyll Inventory, O.P.S. vol. 2, 1.92.94: Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray 1587: *Royal*

- Commission on Historical M.S.S. Fourth Report part I p.481.*
69. *Coll.de Rebus Alb.* p.8-9: *Clan Campbell*, vol. 4, p.30.
  70. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.
  71. Reg.of Privy Council 1578: *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent 1442-1603* Wormald p.112.
  72. 'John Dubh MacConnochie Campbell, Tutor of Inverawe', an unpublished biographical paper by Diarmid A.Campbell. A draft is with the Inverawe papers in the collection of Alastair Campbell of Airds, erstwhile Unicorn Pursuivant.
  73. *Ibid.*
  74. Reg.Privy Council, vol. 3, p.94.
  75. *Ibid.*
  76. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.
  77. Dougall was alive in January 1579 (see note 75 above) and was dead by 17 July 1583 when John Dubh was Tutor (Inveraray Transcripts).
  78. Reg. Privy Seal, vol. 8, Donaldson Ed 1982.
  79. *The Campbells of Kilmartin, Wimberly: Notes on the Campbells of Inverawe* first ed. by Ian M. Campbell W.S. 1951-3, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. by Diarmid Campbell and Niall Campbell 1999.
  80. Reg. of Deeds, vol. 277, 1555-1660.
  81. 'John Dubh MacConnochie Campbell Tutor of Inverawe' (see note 72 supra.).
  82. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.
  83. Acts of Scots Parliament 29 July 1587.
  84. Calendar of Scottish Papers for 18 April 1596 pp.188-89. '...Tyrone and O'Donnell are entered again to offer obedience and submission to her Majesty (Elizabeth), yet they call for MacCondochy ('McKendoquhy') to come to them with his companies in readiness being above a thousand men.'
  85. 'John Dubh MacConnochie Campbell Tutor of Inverawe' (see note 72 supra.).

## *An Incident in Maclean—Campbell Conflict*

*A Search for Documentary Support for the Incident in Legend where Dougall of Inverawe (circa 1518-1582) has his Castle of Fraoch Eilean Attacked and his Wife and Children 'Hung at the Gate.'*

### *Chapter 3*

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Douglas Wimberley, in his *Memorials of the Family of the Campbells of Kilmartin* published in 1894, is unusual for that period in that he normally gives sources for his documented facts. However in one instance of legend, no source is given and none has been found as yet. The purpose here is to examine ancillary sources for evidence that might support or deny that legend. The quotation is contained in the following paragraph, which is preceded by a statement that the family of the MacConnochie Campbells of Inverawe 'lived long in the castle of Fraoch Eilean, previously the stronghold of the Macnaughtons, and afterwards at ... Inverawe.':

'The Dougall of Inveraw who lived about 1575 is said to have lived at Ardchonnell Castle, and to have made peace in his old age with MacDougall of Dunollie, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage as his second wife. She, hearing the sons of her husband by his first wife arranging to drown her, escapes over the hills to Lochawe. MacDougall looses his bloodhounds in pursuit, during which her cloak, with the brooch of Lorn in it, is left behind. Dougall, her father, is said to have fought with the Macdonalds and the Islemen, and to have had his castle burnt during his absence by Allan Maclean of Torloisk, who hanged his wife and children at the gate<sup>1</sup>.'

The essential sentence here is the last. No proof has yet been found of the Dunollie marriage nor of Dougall having 'fought with the Macdonalds,' however his brother John – Ian *dubh* MacConnochie' was a leader of the Islemen when in Ireland<sup>2</sup>. Dougall's 'castle' was clearly Fraoch Eilean<sup>3</sup>, Innis Chonnell belonging to the Argyll family and Ardchonnell being a house built later by the Maclachlan 'Keepers' of Innis Chonnell. Inverawe was never a castle, the only local strength being 'the dunan Inveraw,' a mound or dun.

Dougall's life is fairly well documented for the period. Fraoch Eilean had passed from the MacNachtans in 1361 when MacNachtan's widow, Christina of Craignish, granted it to an intermediary through which it passed to Sir Colin *iongantach* of Lochawe (1336-1414)<sup>4</sup>. Some years later it appears in the hands of the MacConnochie Campbells of Inverawe who almost certainly descend from Colin's brother Duncan, the eponym of the MacDonnachaidh, called MacConnochie, Campbells<sup>5</sup>. Inverawe was not granted to the family until after the Lordship of Lorn was granted to the Earl of Argyll in 1470<sup>6</sup>.

Dougall was the son of Archibald of Inverawe whose father Dougall had died shortly before Flodden, in 1513. This earlier Dougall MacConnochie first appears on record in 1485, having a father Archibald MacConnochie who must have been first of Inverawe<sup>7</sup>. The Dougall of this legend first appears on record on the 6<sup>th</sup> of September 1539 when, as lawful son of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, he is given Sasine as 'louit cousing' by Allan Campbell of Ballimenach, a younger son of Archibald MacConnochie of Lerags<sup>8</sup>. This act upset the earl who summoned Archibald of Inverawe to Castle Campbell where, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of March 1540 the earl agreed to

‘remit all rancour’ against Archibald for accepting Allan’s Disposition of Ballimenach and Achouran on Lismore, with the office of the Martyrship of Lismore and Appin. Inverawe had characteristically ignored the earl’s right to agree to the transfer of ownership. Mention is made of Inverawe’s lands of Achlian, Duchoille and Innestrynich which last he agreed to lease to the earl who wanted to build a house there. In all later charters and sasines, Fraoch Eilean castle is associated with Achlian and Duchollie which had likely long been the supporting lands for the castle on its small island in Lochawe. Although Fraoch Eilean is later mentioned specifically in Inverawe charters and sasines, this mention of these lands is the earliest confirmation that they pertained to the family<sup>9</sup>.

In 1544 young Dougall came into possession of his lands of Achouran and the office of Seargendry of the isle of Lismore, suggesting that he was now ‘of age<sup>10</sup>.’ But in January 1548-49 Dougall, son of Inverawe was ‘wrongfully ejected’ from his lands of Achouranbeg in Lismore and from the office of Sergeandry<sup>11</sup>. In 1561 Archibald of Inverawe resigned his lands in favour of his son Dougall<sup>12</sup>. Finally on the 14<sup>th</sup> of May 1562 Dougall’s case came to court in an Action against Ewin Gar alias Ewin McGillemytchel for wrongfully ejection of Dougall from his lands of Achouranbeg and from his office of Sergeandry of Lismore<sup>13</sup>. Then in 1566 Argyll granted a charter to Dougall as lawful son of Archibald of Inverawe, in liferent, and to Allan Campbell his son and apparent heir, of Achouranbeg and Ballimenach<sup>14</sup>. This is the only mention of Dougall’s son Allan, who died before his father, supporting the legend that Dougall’s wife and children were ‘hung’ at Froach Eilean. Dougall’s wife also died before him since he was shortly marrying again.

But first old Archibald of Inverawe was in trouble with the earl again. He had drowned a number of the MacArthurs in a fight on Lochawe. They had long been ‘doers’ for the earls and had finally been promoted by a grant of lands, including Innestrynich which Archibald of Inverawe had allowed the earl to lease and use, and so must have considered to be his. At Inveraray on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December 1567, Dougall was at Inveraray where he was obliged to submit to four Campbell arbiters with Archibald the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll as oversman and to resign all the lands on the side of Lochawe pertaining to clan Arthur<sup>15</sup>.

Dougall’s father’s character is epitomized by his signature on a letter to Glenorchy dated the 5<sup>th</sup> of March 1569. He signs himself ‘Yours own very assured to power<sup>16</sup>.’ But he and his son Dougall’s ordered Resignation of the Wardship over the MacArthur lands followed, and they were granted to the surviving heir of the MacArthurs by charter dated on the 18<sup>th</sup> of January 1569-70<sup>17</sup>. By the 10<sup>th</sup> of November 1575 old Archibald of Inverawe had died and Dougall appears as ‘of Inverawe<sup>18</sup>.’ Since Dougall would be dead by July 1583<sup>19</sup>, any attack by Maclean on Fraoch Eilean must have taken place between 1575 and 1583.

In March 1577 Argyll sent Macdonnell of Dunivaig and Lochnell’s brother of Cabrachan, married to Dougall’s sister Margaret, widow of Bishop Carswell, with 200 men by land, and John *dubh* MacConnochie, Dougall’s half brother by sea, to attack Maclean’s crannog house of Lochgorm on Islay<sup>20</sup>. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of February 1578-9 Lachlan Maclean of Duart entered a complaint against ‘Makondoquhy’ of Inverawe (although likely John *dubh* again) and his accomplices who, to the number of 60 persons or more, raided the isle of Luing and slew two of Lachlan’s servants and fortified the place of Luing<sup>21</sup>.

These events alone would give reason for a Maclean attack Dougall’s castle of Fraoch Eilean. But there was as yet no Maclean of Torloisk at that time<sup>22</sup>. However another Maclean, Hector



*mor* of Duart's brother known as 'Alein nan Sop' or Alan of the straw due to his birth in a barn, had lived at Torloisk. He was a known incendiary. He was also known as Alan of Gigha, but was dead by 1551<sup>23</sup>, and so perhaps it was his natural son Hector Allanson, known as 'Eachan MacAilein nan sop' who was the raider. He would have been a man of about 46 when he was beheaded on Coll in 1578<sup>24</sup>, further limiting the period of attack on Fraoch Eilean to between 1575 and '78, suggesting 1576-77.

Dougall of Inverawe's sister Margaret had been second wife of John Carswell Bishop of Argyll & the Isles, the builder of Carnassarie Castle near Kilmartin. By his earlier wife, a Hamilton, the Bishop had a son and a daughter Christian. The now childless Dougall may well have visited his sister Margaret at Carnassarie and there met her step-daughter Christian, clearly still much younger than him. They married as his second wife and she gave birth to a son whom they called Archibald. By the 17<sup>th</sup> of July 1583 Dougall was dead and his brother John 'dubh' was named as a bailie by a Lachlan Maclean of Duart. John was now 'Tutor of Inverawe' and as such called back from leading the Islemen fighting the English in Ireland on Dougall's death. Then on the 28<sup>th</sup> of December 1583 James Campbell of Ardkinglas was granted the [ward &] marriage of Archibald Campbell, son and apparent heir of ... Dougall Campbell of Inverawe. This suggests that John and Margaret's mother Margaret had been a daughter of the Ardkinglas family.

Finally, the RCAHMS Lorn Inventory mentions abandonment of the 13<sup>th</sup> century hall house of Fraoch Eilean. "Some time towards the end of the Middle Ages the castle appears to have gone out of use, remaining unoccupied long enough for the hall-house to become derelict. About the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, however, the place was reoccupied..." If the legend has truth, as the parallel facts suggest, perhaps the dereliction was a result of a fire accompanied by the hanging of Alan, heir to Inverawe, his mother and any siblings.

### ***Endnotes:***

1. Captain Douglas Wimberley, *Memorials of the Family of Campbell of Kilmartin and some Notes on the Family of the Campbells of Inverawe*, printed privately at the offices of the *Northern Chronicle*, Inverness, (1894), p. 5.
2. Nicholas Maclean-Bristol, *Murder Under Trust, the Crimes and Death of Sir Lachlan Mor Maclean of Duart 1558-1598*, Tuckwell, (1999) pp.13, 67 & 155. Also Diarmid Campbell, unpublished paper, John *dubh* MacConnochie, Tutor of Inverawe, address to Inveraray Hist. Soc.
3. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neil, Argyll Charters, Notarial Instrument, at Castle Campbell between 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll and Archibald C. of Inverawe.
4. Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol. 1, pp. 102-104.
5. *Ibid.* p. 100; & Scot. Hist. Soc. *Highland Papers*, vol.2, p. 91. Duncan appears as a witness to one of the Glassary Writs on p.141, also Note 3, where in Note 2 the undated charter is suggested as being of 1355. I am grateful to Andrew MacEwen for pointing out that the content makes clear that this is the last in the series of the writs and therefore the date should rather be after 1361 and before 26 July 1364 when John died.
6. Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol. 1, pp. 138-140; & Stephen Boardman, *The Campbells 1250-1513*, pp.184-190.
7. Inverawe charter and sasine (destroyed in Dunstaffnage fire 1940 but recorded 1912) 22<sup>nd</sup> Nov. 1485, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Argyll to Dougall of Inverawe, son of Archibald, officer of Over Lochow, followed by Sasine of 1486, see Richards, NY State Hist. Assoc. vol. 10, *The Black Watch at Ticonderoga & Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe*; & Kilmartin-Arduaine corr (private papers, C. of Kilmartin); Achouran writs, Airs Charter Chest, Archibald signs as McCoul McConachie of Inverawe a bailie 12 Sept. 1515.
8. Achouran writs in Airs Charter Chest, 6 Sept. 1539.
9. *Ibid.* Notarial Instrument at Castle Campbell, Earl of Argyll and Archibald of Inverawe, 8 March 1539-40.

10. Barcaldine & Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol. 5. p. 387.
11. Acts & Decrees, Act Reg. 14 May 1562.
12. Writ dated 3 Nov. 1561 noted from Inverawe papers destroyed at Dunstaffnage in 1940.
13. Acts & Decrees, vol. 24, f. 54 14 May 1562.
14. Achouran writs in Airds Charter Chest, Charter by Archibald Earl of Argyll 1566 (day and month illegible).
15. Scot. Hist. Soc., *Highland Papers*, vol. 4 p. 54; & Monzie Inventory OPS p. 877.
16. Scot. Hist. Soc. Jane E. Dawson, *Clan Campbell Letters*, p.145 (1997).
17. NLS (Adv. Lib.), MS 31.2.3: p. 43.
18. Coll. De Reb. Alb. Pp. 8 & 9; & Barcaldine & Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.4, p. 30.
19. Inveraray Abstracts, 17 July 1583, John 'dubh' half brother of Dougall of Inverawe is on record as 'Tutor of Inverawe' indicating that he is steward of the lands for his nephew Archibald, Dougall's infant son.
20. Wormald, *Bonds of Manrent*, p. 112; & Argyll Transcripts.
21. Reg. Privy Council, vol. 3, p. 94.
22. J. P. MacLean, *History of the Clan MacLean*, p. 312. While Torloisk had been held by 'Ailein nan Sop' Maclean and later his son Hector Allanson, the latter forfeited the lands and they were granted to Lachlan 'oig' who was second son of Sir Lachlan 'mor' of Duart and first of the Macleans of Torloisk.
23. Nicolas Maclean-Bristol, *Murder Under Trust*, for Ailein nan Sop see pp.21, 25, 38, 43 & 64.
24. *Ibid.* For Hector Allanson, see pp. 43, 47, 57-60, 67, 69, 71 & 272.

## *Was Bishop Carswell's Widow a Witch?*

*Margaret, sister of Dougall of Inverawe and wife of Campbell of Cabrachan*

### *Chapter 4*

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On the 26<sup>th</sup> of July 1570, Bishop John Carswell, builder of Carnassary Castle, wrote to the lady Glenorchy, “I was past Inchald yesterday and because ane littill young lass of myne was seik I was constrained to return therunto...”<sup>1</sup> Only one daughter of his appears on record, Christian who married first Dougall MacConachy Campbell of Inverawe,<sup>2</sup> and secondly Neil Campbell, parson of Kilmartin and builder of the little castle or manor house there.<sup>3</sup>

Who Christians’s mother was is not clear, but she herself must have been daughter of the Bishop’s first wife, since Dougall of Inverawe’s sister Margaret was Carswell’s second wife who outlived him. Margaret appears as Carswell’s widow in September 1573.<sup>4</sup> No record of the Bishop’s first wife has survived, but we know that when young he was an adventurous character, since after gaining his Masters at St. Andrews he did not immediately take Orders, but joined the rebellion of Donald *dubh* with Darnley’s father, the Earl of Lennox, in support of Henry VIII’s ‘rough wooing.’ On the 28<sup>th</sup> of July 1545 he drew up and witnessed a commission by ‘Donald Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross,’ signing himself as ‘Mr. Johnn Carsuell, notary public.’<sup>5</sup> After making a name for himself for his translation and adaptation of the *Book of Common Order* and as Bishop of the Isles, he died between the 21<sup>st</sup> of June and the 4<sup>th</sup> of September 1572.<sup>6</sup> That he did not take Orders directly following his time at St. Andrews is clear, yet by the Reformation of 1560 he was a senior churchman and his ‘littill young lass’ suggests that Christian was likely under 14 in 1570.

However here our more focused interest is on his widow, Margaret. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of September 1573 she was granted the lands of Teirfour and Teirlaggan in Lismore<sup>7</sup> as Bishop Carswell’s widow. These lands are significant.

In the early fifteen nineties, rivalry over the control of the young Earl of Argyll combined with wider national conflict to cause a deep rift in the Campbell kindred. In February 1591-2, John Campbell of Cadell [Cawdor] was murdered by the shot of a hagbut through the window of the house of Campbell of Stronchormaig at Knipoch while sitting by the fireside.<sup>8</sup> Cawdor’s host at the time was Dougall of Stronchormaig, one of the MacConachy kin of Inverawe, who appears as cautioner for Dunollie in 1599.<sup>9</sup> As the *Book of Cawdor* states, “The actual assassin was MacEllar and the immediate director of the murder, a certain John *oig* Campbell of Cabrachan.” That Dougall was unaware of the plot seems clear, since in 1602 Duncan, son of Stronchormaig [likely Dougall’s grandson] married Beatrix, daughter of the then Cawdor. John *oig* of Cabrachan was younger brother of the Archibald Campbell, 2<sup>nd</sup> of Lochnell who was killed at Glenlivet in 1594. Their mother was a sister of Campbell of Ardkinglas, and their cousin young Ardkinglas was implicated in the murder plot. John *oig* had married a Margaret Campbell, called ‘Nein VicConoquhy’ who in *Highland Papers* is therefore given as being a daughter of Inverawe.<sup>10</sup> She had only Gaelic, and her highly detailed and lengthy account of the part played in the murder conspiracy by her cousin young Ardkinglas can be read there. The dates suggest that she was a daughter of the second marriage (to an Ardkinglas daughter) of Archibald of Inverawe. This Archibald of Inverawe first appears, presumably as an infant, in a

charter of 1493<sup>11</sup> and is last heard of writing to Glenorchy in 1569 when he signed himself “Yours own very assured to power.”<sup>12</sup> In his old age he was held responsible for “the drowning of clan Arthur” on Lochawe in 1567.<sup>13</sup> The earliest surviving record of his son and successor Dougall as ‘of Inverawe’, appears on the 10<sup>th</sup> of November 1575.<sup>14</sup> This was the Dougall who married Christian Carswell and was Margaret’s brother.

The investigation into the murder of Cawdor dragged on for some years. In October 1595 Margaret was called to testify at Ardmaddy in Nether Lorn: ‘Follows the confessionne and depositione of Margaret Campbell relict of umquhill John Oig Campbell of Cabrachan brither german to the Laird of Lochnell maid be her in the place of Ardmadie the fyft day of the moneth of October in the Zeir of God 1595 Zeirs anent the crewall murthur of the Laird of Cadell ...’ Margaret testified how she had been called to Ardkinglas after the murder, where the Laird asked her to obtain from the notorious witches of Lorne a means to ‘convert My Lord Argyll his favor to us.’ To this she answered that such an effort would only be effective were Ardkinglas to tell her his full part in the murder. She stated that the witches with whom she consorted used ‘the name of God’ meaning that they were, in modern terms, ‘white witches.’ She differentiates between ‘witches’ and those with only the second sight. Among the witches Margaret employed were some on Lismore.<sup>15</sup>

So was the Bishop’s widow also the witch consulted by Ardkinglas? Or were there two Margaret Campbells, daughters of Archibald of Inverawe perhaps by different wives, both their mothers being called Margaret? The intriguing final item suggests that both may well have been the same person:

As widow of Bishop John Carswell Margaret had been granted the lands of Teirfour and Teirlaggan in Lismore.<sup>16</sup> That was on the 18<sup>th</sup> of September 1573. On the 4<sup>th</sup> of July 1595, Donald, son of John *oig* Campbell of Cabrachan, was granted a charter of the lands of Teirfour and Teirlaggan in Lismore.<sup>17</sup>

### ***Endnotes:***

1. SRO/NAS GD.112/39/8/15
2. R.C.H.MSS 4<sup>th</sup> Rep.Pt.1, p.481, & O.P.S. vol.2 (i) p. 94
3. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill
4. O.P.S. vol.2, (i) p.166, & Barcaldine/Paton *Clan Campbell* vol.5, p.260
5. Matheson, *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, ‘Bishop Carswell’ 24 Feb. 1956, pp.182-191
6. *Ibid.*
7. O.P.S., vol.2, (i) p.166
8. *The Thanes of Cawdor* pp. 208-209
9. Index of Dunstaffnage Papers (82)
10. MacPhail Ed., *Highland Papers*, Scot. Hist. Soc. vol. 1, pp.159-175
11. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill
12. Jane Dawson, Ed., *Campbell Letters 1559-1583*, Scot. Hist. Soc. 1997, p.145
13. MacPhail Ed., *Highland Papers*, Scot. Hist. Soc. vol. 4, p. 54
14. Barcaldine/Paton, *The Clan Campbell* VI 30; full text in Coll.de Reb. Alb. pp.8 & 9.
15. MacPhail Ed., *Highland Papers* Scot. Hist. Soc., vol.1, pp. 159-175
16. O.P.S., vol.2, (i) p.166
17. *Great Seal*, 4<sup>th</sup> July 1595.

# *Iain / John dubh MacConnochie Campbell*

*Tutor of Inverawe (circa. 1557–1604)*

*A ‘Captain’ with the Islemen in Ireland and Sought as an Agent for Elizabeth of England*

## *Chapter 5*

*Revised, 4th of September 1998 and June-July 2004. Again in January 2010.*

Dougall of Inverawe’s younger half-brother Iain, was known on record as John *dubh*, or dark John. He was even more phlegmatic than their father Archibald. He appears to have plunged keenly into raiding when still in his teens. Then the Elizabethan fears about Spain and Catholic Ireland offered him a way to advance into notorious leadership with the forces of the Islemen supporting the Earl of Tyrone against the English army in Antrim. Brought home through his responsibility as ‘Tutor’ or guardian for his nephew, Dougall’s son Archibald, heir to Inverawe, he served the young Earl of Argyll on various ventures. The only thing he seems to have feared was being landless. Only young Archibald lay between himself and the lands of Inverawe. Meanwhile attempts were made to turn him to betray the Islemen and aid the English in Ireland. In a scheming and blood-laved era, he was ruthless.

John *dubh* was a highland ‘Captain’ who was apparently able to raise large numbers of followers to go over to Ireland with the Islemen and Angus MacConnell. The *dubh* suggests black hair and a black beard. He was a much younger half-brother to the Dougall Campbell of Inverawe who died in circa 1582-3 and, as ‘Tutor,’ was guardian of the heir, Dougall and Christian’s infant son Archibald.

Although he is variously known as MacConnochie (with various spellings) and John *dubh*, the spelling used here will be John *dubh* MacConnochie. Judging by his reputation with the Earl of Tyrone, he must have had considerable success in leading Highland ‘redshanks’ or mercenaries against the Elizabethan forces between 1579 and 1583. The O’Donnell mentioned in the main source of the *Calendar of State Papers for Scotland* is likely MacDonnell, chief of the southern or Antrim MacDonalds, whose descendants would eventually become earls of Antrim. The O’Neill was by this time Earl of Tyrone, while the then O’Donnell later became Earl of Tyrconnel.

Iain *dubh* is usually known in record as John *dubh*. He was the son of a second marriage of his father Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, likely to Margaret, daughter of Campbell of the Ardkinglas family. Activities seemingly related to his parent’s marriage contract occur in 1556, so that Iain could have been 18 to 20 when he appears on raids on MacLean lands in 1577 and 1579, after which he could have made his name in Ireland between his 21<sup>st</sup> year and the age of about 27 when he returned to Inverawe as Tutor.

As presently researched, Iain first appears on record as Tutor of Inverawe in July 1583<sup>1</sup>. He had become Tutor following the death of Dougall, who must have died shortly before, since a Gift to James Campbell of Ardkinglas of the Ward and Marriage of Dougall’s heir Archibald was dated at Holyrood on the 28th of December 1583<sup>2</sup>. Dougall’s eldest boy had seemingly died young, for in 1566 his heir was Alan but in 1583 it was Archibald, who was a minor. There is a legendary reference to Dougall’s castle of Fraoch Eilean on Loch Awe being burned by one

Alan *nan Sop* in Torloisk, a pirate with the Macleans, who hanged Dugall's wife and children at the gate while he was away at 'Ardochonnell' or perhaps in fact at Innis Chonnell the stronghold of his kinsman of Lochawe, the Earl of Argyll.

Like his contemporary and namesake of the Duart family, Iain *dubh* left a reputation in tradition and record appropriate to the darkness of his byname which no doubt merely described his looks and black hair. That he was a man of great energy and charismatic leadership, but equally of a bloodthirsty and potentially treacherous disposition is clear from the record. Reading between the lines he may also have been something of a threat to the ladies. Following the death of her husband, Dougall's young widow, Christian Carswell, did not stay on at Inverawe or even at Fraoch Eilean, but took herself off to her brother Archibald at Carnassarie Castle, which he had inherited from his father, Bishop John Carswell in 1572<sup>3</sup>. Since the heir Archibald does not appear on record at the time as being with his mother or with Iain *dubh*, he was seemingly with foster parents. This is supported by a traditional tale 'Uncle & Nephew' translated from the Gaelic and published in *Records of Argyll* (1884), in which he was said to have been fostered initially by a family of MacPhersons at Bunawe.

Then in 1588-9, Donald Campbell in Ardeonaig<sup>4</sup> brought an action against Iain *dubh* for wrongful ejection of himself and his sons from the lands of Carie, a part of Ardeonaig on the south shore of Loch Tay<sup>5</sup>, and in 1590 he brought another action against his own second wife Agnes Graham for absconding with his goods and with Iain *dubh* MacConnochie to whom she had borne an illegitimate son.<sup>6</sup> Agnes and Iain may have later been married, since their sons are not afterwards mentioned as being of born out of wedlock.

In the autumn of 1591 James, Lord Ogilvie of Airlie, put forward a complaint against Argyll and among others Iain *dubh* for coming into Glen Ilay and murdering a number of people, and for having remained among the hills from where they were committing depredations.<sup>7</sup> In the same year there was another complaint by Charles Campbell, servant to the Laird of Abercairny, that Iain *dubh* MacConnochie, Tutor of Inverawe, and others had raided his dwelling place in Breadalbane.<sup>8</sup> The following year Iain's brothers Duncan and Patrick stole horses and cattle from the lands of Gibnestoun. Then in December 1593, James, son of Campbell of Arngibbon and others interfered with Lennox of Blairshogill while he was holding a Court upon his lands and afterwards a party including 'McCondoquhy Inuerraw's son' broke into his house and then continued to interfere with his tenants for some time afterwards.<sup>9</sup> While it might be argued that this must have been Archibald the heir rather than Iain or his brother, there is no other evidence of raiding by Archibald, while the action is highly characteristic of Iain's style. Archibald would appear to have been still a child of about ten at this date, having been born after his father's death in circa. 1583. This conclusion is based upon the young age of his mother at the time and the above 'ward and marriage' of 1583.

What is clear from these incidents is that Iain *dubh* led an unruly group of kin and, although not a Breadalbane, he believed in 'birsing yont,' presumably finding a pastoral life at Inverawe lacking in stimulation or adequate wealth after the exhilaration of campaigning in Ireland. Nine years later some of these incidents would be brought as evidence against Argyll, who protested that Iain was not in fact 'his man.'<sup>10</sup>

The Elizabethan intelligence network of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, had evidently reached through Robert Bowes, the English Ambassador to the Scottish Court and his agent Colville, to enlist James Campbell, younger of Lawers, as a field agent for Elizabeth in Scotland.<sup>11</sup> James

was the son of John Campbell, 2nd of Lawers, who died before 1611 when James is on record as Laird of Lawers himself. His mother was Beatrix, daughter of Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy.<sup>12</sup> He married (contract 21st and 23rd of June 1595) Jean, daughter of James, first Lord Colville of Culross and this relationship with the wily Colville was likely significant in his enlistment as an agent. His eldest son John would be raised to the peerage as Earl of Loudoun in 1633 and serve as Chancellor of Scotland (1641-60).<sup>13</sup>

On the 21st of March 1594, young Lawers wrote to Colville that 'I am this week again to go to the Isles...(where) ... there is but three to dress for our effect,' namely Donald Gorm, Angus MacConnel and MacConnochie [Tutor of] Inverawe. 'To hold MacConnochie to order I have caused my brother-in-law... Glenlyon to give him... dwelling in his lands.'<sup>14</sup> In 1594 Campbell of Glenlyon was 'mad Colin,' 3rd of Glenlyon, who had built the tower of Maggernie in 1582, two years after his father Duncan's death. Colin had married a sister of Sir Duncan of Glenorchy and would die in 1597.<sup>15</sup>

Young Lawer's actions, in attempting to reduce Highland and Island support for the Irish fighting Elizabeth of England, were in accord with the policies of his 27 year old king, James VI, but where James was holding back (to avoid spreading the conflict to Scotland?) Lawers was enthusiastic. His motives no doubt combined the inevitable Highlander's need for cash with, perhaps, an ambition to create a good impression upon both Colville and the English administration before the likely union of the crowns when Elizabeth of England died.

In May 1594, Bowes was writing to Burghley that 'Mar has returned from Argyll and has prevailed to stay his personal invasion of Huntly. Nevertheless, MacConnochie gathers Argyll's forces with purpose ... to ride against Huntly.'<sup>16</sup> Then in June he was writing that MacConnochie 'with some of Argyll's forces has come into Huntly's bounds and taken some prey of cattle which was rescued...'<sup>17</sup> Apparently Iain *dubh*, who had already made a reputation for himself both as a cattle raider in Scotland and as a Captain in Ireland, was also used by Argyll to lead his expeditions. These events were building towards the Battle of Glenlivet on the 3rd of October 1594. Argyll, then 18 and a personal rival of Huntly, was sent ahead by the King and his army to chastise Huntly for his opposition to the reformed Kirk, but found himself chastised.

John Erskine, 2nd Earl of Mar, had been brought up with James VI who called him 'Jockie o' the slates' for finding his way over the roof into the young king's bedroom. He had succeeded his father at the age of 12 in 1572, joined the 'Ruthven Raiders' and so gone into exile from 1583-85, but now, aged 34, appears to have been back in favour at this point and mediating between Argyll and Huntly. George Gordon, 6th Earl and later 1st Marquess of Huntly, was a man of 32 who had been responsible for the murder of the 'bonnie' Earl of Moray two years earlier. Under pressure from the King after Glenlivet, he would go into exile in 1595, but in 1596 would return and come to terms with James VI, who favoured him despite his Catholic leanings. Archibald *grumach*, 7th Earl of Argyll, was 18 and 19 years old in 1594 and had narrowly escaped death by poisoning two years earlier in the same plot which ended the lives of Sir John Campbell of Cawdor and the Earl of Moray. He would escape death again at Glenlivet, when Campbell of Lochnell's signal to Huntly, showing Argyll's position, resulted in Lochnell's own death instead of the Earl's. Lochnell was next in line should Argyll die without heirs.

In January of the following year, 1594-5, Ambassador Bowes received a covering note from

Colville enclosing a letter from Lawers. Colville wrote of Lawers 'you may perceive what service he is minded to do in these Irish matters. He has gone to the Isles and if he cannot stay their 'overgoing' he will cause MacCondochy, who will be one of their chief captains, to keep intelligence with any trusty Irish in that country... Unless you provide [a way to get his intelligence from him in Ireland] I do not see that either the king or the other [Argyll] will take great care of it...'18 An attempt was being made to enlist Iain *dubh* as a spy.

Lawers reported that a messenger from O'Neill, O'Donnell and O'Dochertie had come to Argyll on the 8<sup>th</sup> of January 'desiring to know his estate since the last battle [Glenlivet]. [And] if MacCondochy was slain (as they had heard he was), because he had oft done them good service in Ireland. [They desired that Argyll] be good to his [Iain's] wife and bairns, and to send over such of them as were meet for the wars.' This is the only indication that Iain *dubh* was present at the defeat of Glenlivet, but it would be surprising were he not, considering his other service for Argyll. The plea for Iain *dubh*'s sons to be sent over to Ireland - if he was dead and they were of age - and the request that Argyll take care of his family, throws an interesting light on Iain's reputation with the Earl of Tyrone and the Highland and Island mercenaries in Ireland.

Those whom young Lawers planned to see in the Isles were Donald Gorm, Clanranald, Angus MacConnell, MacLean of Duart and all Clan Donald, and if he failed to dissuade them from going over to Ireland, he planned to report their numbers and plans, using Iain *dubh* MacConnochie as his agent. He ended by suggesting that he himself should go over and join the Elizabethan forces with 500 men.<sup>19</sup>

Lawers was in touch with Colville again on the 4<sup>th</sup> of February 1595 when he informed him that MacConnochie 'and other Chieftains accustomed to go over to Ireland ... are even now pressed by this new order against them to seek relief for themselves and broken men and go, 3000 of them, to Ireland...'20

Then on the first day of April 1595, Colville wrote to the Ambassador passing on further news from Lawers in the Isles that 'great travail is made to make concord betwixt MacLean and MacConnel by marriages between their sons and daughters' and all with the intention of forming a unity before going over to Ireland. 'As to MacConnochie, who is the Chieftain, he keeps him with... (Glenlyon) ...for without him there can be no great matter enterprised...'21

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of April, Lawers himself reported to Colville: 'I have been occupied ... in dealing with MacConnochie who this last week has received advertisement from O'Donnell and O'Neill willing him to come to Ireland with 400 men. These MacConnochie himself has presently in readiness...but remains stayed by me.' The same messenger who came to Iain *dubh* had also asked Argyll for 1,200 men to be sent over in May.<sup>22</sup> Argyll was to discuss the matter with his friends on the 20<sup>th</sup> of April, but had not taken action by the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 1595 when another of the English Ambassador's agents, George Nicholson, reported that he had heard from young Lawers that 'Argyll is drawn by persuasion of Angus MacConnel...to send out of a number ... into Ireland ... under Duncan Campbell of Danna...'

But Lawers was getting tired of taking all the trouble for no reimbursement or recognition and sent Bowes a message that if all he had done was not 'considered reasonably to him ... you will not further look for any more dealings therein at his hands, but plainly give him leave to trouble himself no further therein.'<sup>23</sup>



The truth may also have been that despite the land (presumably only a tack) which Lawers had provided for Iain *dubh* himself, and the further place he had got Glenlyon to provide him, Iain was being swayed by the flattery of being asked for by O'Donnell and O'Neill, by the old glamour of leading on the battlefield, by the impatience of his followers and hopefully by a distaste for the idea of betraying his old comrades in arms. Lawers was losing his control over Iain *dubh*.

On the 23rd of June 1595, Nicholson had significant news for Ambassador Bowes; '...Argyll tells me that MacConnochie has gone from him and intends to go to Ireland. The Earl sent for him but he would not come 'till he gave assurance that he would not hurt or stay him. Whereupon he came to the Earl and received armour and other things 'on' him so that the Earl thought he had won him. But suddenly he sought to have some lands. The Earl not granting these, he departed without leave or farewell, insomuch that the Earl means, if he can get him, that he shall neither hurt us nor him. He is a most brave governor for the Highland service, and Argyll thinks these men 'making over' [to Ireland] have twisted him [Iain Dubh] from the Earl to lead them. It may be that young Lawers keeps him for his own use. But that I know not, though I am sure they are very 'inward' and kind together.' Later in the same letter he mentions that those leading 2,000 men to Ireland are Donald Gorm and Angus MacConnel.<sup>24</sup>

Then in another letter two days later he adds; 'As to young Lawers, I see no progress...I suppose for want of consideration of his travails already taken. And MacConnochie is to go over, I hear, [to Ireland] with very great credit. He might, if he would, do good, and for certain Lawers has especial interest in him and in Angus MacConnells sons.'<sup>25</sup>

Failure to obtain land from Argyll may have thrown Iain back upon Lawers, for in early July, Nicholson was writing that Lawers had told him that '...for certain 3,000 are prepared to go out of the Isles to Tyrone... that MacConnochie is tempted and prepared to go, and that nevertheless he can stay him - or cause him to be for her Majestie's service. But, because it must be with some [financial] charge, he will not deal therein until he sees how he shall be relieved again otherwise than he has been. the Chief [men] of the Islands are at convention in Kintyre and purpose... to get over some men to Tyrone...'<sup>26</sup>

Then on the 19th of July 1595, Nicholson was writing to Ambassador Bowes that '... they still write earnestly out of Ireland for MacConnochie to Argyll, not knowing that Argyll is out with him.'<sup>27</sup> The more that the Irish called for Iain *dubh* the more Lawers could use his potential to elicit funds from the English and in this he seems to have been successful for a second time, for on the 24th of July yet another agent, John Archibald, was writing to Bowes that 'Angus MacConnel has likewise sent for MacConnochie to be in readiness to pass with him. But young Lawers, who has lately received your token (of 100 angels), has gone to him for staying of his journey.'<sup>28</sup>

Meanwhile the navy of the Islemen, consisting of about one hundred and twenty vessels, small and large, and containing 2,400 men, had left Kintyre on Monday the 21st of July 1595 for the Isle of Man, from where they were said to plan a landing in Ireland. Archibald reported further that 'The haill principallis of the Iyllis' are in this army, Donald *Gorm* MacLeod of Harris and MacLeod of Lewis, the Captain of Clanranald with another clan, called Clan Ian [from Ardnamurchan], which are 'ane disordowrit kynd of peipill.' Angus MacConnell had not gone but had sent 500 men under his son while he stayed behind to persuade MacLean to go with him. If he did not follow the fleet to Ireland, they were expected to return north to him.<sup>29</sup> Angus MacConnell evidently did arrive in Ireland but did not stay long, being dissatisfied with

the failure of O'Donnel and O'Neill to meet his conditions. On the 22nd of August 1595 the agent Archibald was writing to Nicholson that Angus had 'retired from Ireland with the loss of the most part of his best men.' He went on to report that Argyll had informed the King of the fact and proposed to force Angus to 'repair of some injuries done to his friends' or he would invade his lands.<sup>30</sup> Iain *dubh* was still being sent for and yet still being held by the persuasion of Lawers.

In the middle of October 1595, Nicholson had seemingly got instructions from Bowes to bypass Lawers and meet with Iain *dubh* face-to-face. However, he did not hold out much hope of success because 'I cannot think that Mar's promise without some comfort will draw that party to the matter; for you know these people will not play for nothing but will have something in hand.'<sup>31</sup> What Mar's promise was is not clear, but by October Iain *dubh* was causing trouble to one of John Earl of Mar's tenants, John Fraser in 'Lochanis' [Lochness presumably] by running off with some of his goods,<sup>32</sup> and on the 3rd of November, Iain *dubh* was at Auchindun in Banffshire as one of three cautioners for Alexander McRanald of Keppoch.<sup>33</sup> Cautioners were usually named by the subject, so that this indicates a trust of Iain *dubh* by Keppoch.

However, by the 28th Iain was probably back in Argyll or Perthshire where he joined with his brother Patrick and with Patrick Campbell of [or in] Achallader in bringing an action against Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch and others for 'spoliations' of the lands and barony of Glenorchy.<sup>34</sup> But on the 2nd of December he himself was put to the horn with John Dow McGilliquhonell and Patrick McAwish [McTavish] for 'spoilation of the dwelling and toun' (steading) belonging to Charles Campbell of Ardeonaig in Breadalbane.<sup>35</sup>

Yet still young Lawers persisted in his efforts to milk the English of whatever he could on the strength of Iain *dubh*. On the 16th of March 1595-6 Bowes, the English Ambassador, was writing to Sir Robert Cecil, then 32 years old and acting as assistant to his aging father Lord Burghley who, at 75, was still chief minister of Elizabeth's government. Cecil may already have been made the Queen's secretary by this date. The Ambassador described how Lawers had offered the services of MacConnochie either to lead his company on the Elizabethan side in Ireland or 'by secret policies and discoveries to give advantage to her Majestie's forces for the surprise of the rebels. And that for the accomplishment of the same with all sincerity MacConnochie will deliver up his only son in hostage to young Lawers. Upon the execution of his services, MacConnochie looks to be bountifully rewarded in that thereby he shall sell Ireland and all his friends therein and live in dangerous feud at home. How I shall entertain ... this offer it may please you to direct me speedily.'<sup>36</sup> Whether the 'only son' referred to here was the only legitimate son John [likely known as 'Iain og'] John *dubh* had by his second wife Barbara Graham, is not clear, but he certainly had other sons born before this date.

Bowes was writing to Cecil again on the 18th of April 1596 with the news that although Tyrone and O'Donnell appeared to be submitting to Elizabeth, 'yet they call for MacConnochie to come to them with his companies in readiness being above a thousand men ... It is again offered that the two chieftains of these numbers prepared to pass to the aid of the rebels in Ireland shall be at her Majesty's devotion and to perform especial service for her before they shall require any ... reward of her. For that ... they offer two hostages to be delivered to me. They are in such readiness as they cannot long delay their passage into Ireland and thereby they press me much to give them resolute answer ... which I beseech your Honour hasten to me with expedition.'<sup>37</sup>

The second chieftain besides Iain *dubh* would appear to have been ‘Archibald Rowee, base son of Angus MacConnell’, who was to be ‘general colonel’ leading his 1,000 while John led the other 1,000. One suspects that ‘rowee’ was an attempt at the Gaelic *ruadh*. Another 1,000 had already gone to Ireland accompanied by some of Lawers agents. This news was contained in Bowes’ letter of the 18th of May 1596 and continued; ‘...MacConnochie is still pressed to come with all expedition and before the full end of this month, otherwise the place and pay reserved to him will be lost ... In case her Majesty please not to accept... their offers and service, then they shall be driven to resort to O’Donnell with Archibald Rowee as is desired.’<sup>38</sup>

But despite the urgent pleas, the summer came and with it no firm direction from Cecil. The son whom Iain was prepared to put up as hostage appears to have an elder brother called Duncan, for on the 15th of July 1596, Alexander, Master of Elphinstone, produced a Complaint against Argyll for ‘heirschipis’ committed by his servants including, with four MacGregors, Iain *dubh* MacConnochie Campbell, Tutor of Inverawe, Duncan Campbell his son, Patrick MacConnochie brother to the said Iain *dubh*, and Lachlan Campbell, his brother’s son.<sup>39</sup>

Almost a year later, on the 8th of June 1597, Iain has three sons when he visits Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy at Finlarig. Young Lawers appears to have given up his attempts at being a broker of mercenaries and Iain *dubh*’s patronage is escalated to Sir Duncan who then gave an Obligation to ‘John Dow McCondichie alias Campbell, Tutor of Inverawe... that as soon as John Dow becomes the King’s man and is under sic obedience, he will grant him letters of maintenance. John Dow, taking burden for his three young sons presently minors; Dougall [Duncan?], Lachlan and John *dubh* MacConnochie, alias Campbell, and for Patrick MacConnochie in Auchreoch, brother to the said John Dow, binds them to defend Sir Duncan of Glenorchy.’<sup>40</sup>

On the 4th of August 1597, an inventory was compiled of writs delivered to Argyll by Iain *dubh* ‘McDonachie’ Tutor of Inverawe concerning the lands of Ardeonaig.<sup>41</sup> While John continued to be known as ‘Tutor of Inverawe’ even after his death, it is not yet clear when the heir, Archibald of Inverawe succeeded. He is mentioned in January of this same year, 1596-7 in a Gift by Argyll to Glenorchy of the Keeping of the Forest of Cruachan except four merklands of Inverawe and half merkland of ‘Brandir’ [Branrie] which, with the pertinents belong to ‘Archibald Makconnoquhie,’ but without any ‘of Inverawe’ so Archibald was then still a minor.<sup>42</sup> Had he been born in 1583, he would have been 14 or 15 in 1596-97.

On the 19th of August 1598, Sir Robert Cecil wrote to Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy. Cecil’s father, Lord Burghley, had recently died, leaving him at the head of the government for Elizabeth of England.<sup>43</sup> Sir Duncan was then a man in his mid forties who had succeeded his father in 1583 and been Knighted in 1590.<sup>44</sup> Two of his granddaughters would marry successive Lairds of Inverawe, Iain *dubh*’s grand-nephew and his son.<sup>45</sup> The letter concerned ‘MacConnochie’s service in Ireland’ and concluded; ‘I do promise that if by his means that he performed there shall be [£]1,000 disposed at your direction.’<sup>46</sup> While this seems to make clear that John Dubh had not yet returned to Ireland and was now subject to Glenorchy’s organizing rather than to Lawers, there is a complicating note made by Nicholson writing to Cecil on the 30th; ‘and MacConnochie is MacLean’s, yet for your hire may be theirs.’<sup>47</sup> The one previous direct record of a connection between MacLean of Duart and MacConnochie was on the 17th of July 1583 when John Campbell, ‘Tutor of Inverawe’ is named as Baillie in a charter by Lauchlan of Duart to Colin Campbell of Lundy of an annual rent.<sup>48</sup>

Meanwhile, Iain *dubh* was helping to support his family with a little protection money. At a Court held at Kenmore on the 21st of November 1598, John McTierlich was procurator for John pursuing John McConnel vic Tierlich for seventy merks promised to Iain *dubh* 'to be free of his molestation for his [par]taking with the clantierlach ane year syne.' The defender was ordered to make payment before St. Patrick's day.<sup>49</sup> But Iain's relations with clan Tierlach, the descendants of Craignish who are now represented by the Inverneill family, would reach their climax the following year when, on the 7th of April 1599, he and his brother Patrick and others 'of the name' committed an act of barbarity containing elements of ancient Celtic ritual. They slaughtered Patrick Campbell, brother of Thomas Campbell, alias M'Cairlich, at the head of Glenalmond and, cutting his head from his body, carried it before them upon a staff.<sup>50</sup>

In a Bond dated on the 22nd of April 1601 there is mention of 'John Dow McCondochy VcGregor in Inneraw and others.'<sup>51</sup> This may either be a mistake or in fact refer to an Inverawe tenant McGregor, Ian son of Duncan son of Gregor. Iain *dubh*'s father had been Archibald Campbell of Inverawe whose wife was Margaret Campbell in 1558 and 1567. The eldest surviving son, Dougall, appears to have been born in about 1518 and had a son of his own alive by 1566, so Iain *dubh* was a son of the second marriage of his father, seemingly to a daughter of Ardkinglass, a conjecture supported by both Ardkinglass being given ward and marriage of young Archibald, Iain *dubh*'s nephew, and by Ardkinglass consulting a daughter of Inverawe as a witch over the Cawdor murder in 1592.<sup>52</sup> However if this was Iain *dubh* with VcGragor added in error, the mention of his being 'in' rather than 'of' Inverawe is, of course, more correct since he was never in fact 'of' Inverawe.

Iain *dubh* was still very much alive on the 31st of January 1602, when the Earl of Argyll, being present at the Privy Council with the Laird of Glenorchy, made promise of three hundred men for service with the Elizabethans in Ireland and nominated Iain *dubh* MacConnochie of (sic) Inverawe, Alastair MacIain Og McMaurich 'of Glencoe' and Patrick Campbell, brother to the Laird of Glenlyon to be their Captains. These three gentlemen make an interesting combination, considering the events of ninety years later when refugees from Glenlyon in Glencoe would seek succour on Inverawe lands. Twelve other Chiefs were to send a hundred men each, except the Laird of McGregor who would send 50 and The Captain of Clanranald who would send 200.<sup>53</sup>

On the 6th of February 1602, Nicholson sent a copy of the Privy Council minutes to Cecil with a covering letter reporting that the levies were arranged 'with very great care and dilligence in the King both for good and choice of men for the service and for faithful and honest men, and for secret bonds to be taken of their chiefs to tie them thereunto. In which he was the more careful for that he saw an unwillingness in some of those Islanders to be employed against that people [their former allies the free Irish]...' He also reported that some of his Council might rather have seen the troops sent against Spain instead of the Irish. Further, Glenorchy had told the King that 'one of his country whom he meant to have employed had plainly protested (that) though the King, Argyll and he should force them to go, yet they would not serve against that people they were come of (folk-memory of Dalriadic origins?) and whose language was one with theirs but be true to them against the Saxons (English) ...'<sup>54</sup> Perhaps Iain *dubh*, by now presumably an older man, had not been Glenorchy's first choice.

Archibald, the heir of Inverawe, had a tack of the fourth part of Balliveodan on the 24th of May 1603 for 19 years, granted by Neill, Bishop of Argyll, who had married Christian Carswell, Archibald's mother.<sup>55</sup> Had he been born in 1582-83, Archibald would have been about 20

years old at the time. The first record of Archibald as ‘of’ Inverawe is in a Bond dated the 19th of April 1607 ‘by Archibald MacConnochie alias Campbell of Inverawe obliging himself because of friendships that have always existed between the house of Glenorchy and his predecessors to be a faithful friend and servant to the said Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy; and the latter reciprocates the Obligation.’<sup>56</sup> It is likely that this document, the equivalent of a bond of manrent, was arranged by Sir Duncan shortly after Archibald succeeded to Inverawe. Iain/John *dubh*’s death must have happened between his appearance as a Captain for Argyll in 1602 and 1607, since on the 29th of August of that year, 1607, a Bond was dated at Stirling for 500 merks to Barbara Graham, as ‘widow’ of ‘John Campbell Tutor of Inverawe.’<sup>57</sup> The relationship of Barbara Graham to John’s earlier (hand-fast?) wife Agnes Graham is not clear.

Archibald, of Inverawe, if born in 1583, would have turned 21 in the year 1604. In the story of ‘Uncle and Nephew’ in *Records of Argyll*, the tradition is translated from the Gaelic of one Lizzie Campbell in Inverawe, that Archibald was invited to Inverawe by his uncle upon his coming of age. When a dogfight in the hall laid bare a dagger under the heavy cloth by the uncle’s place, Archibald’s servant warned him to flee back to Carnassarie. But when the uncle discovered their escape he gave chase and gained upon them. The servant is said to have told Archibald that ‘If you do not kill him, he will kill you.’ Archibald put an arrow to his bow and was obliged to kill his uncle in self-defense. Iain *dubh* is said to have been buried under the small cairn known as ‘Carn Mhic Connachie’ upon the ridge between Awe and Nant. The site of the cairn is in keeping with the legend and can be seen beside the forest track on the ridge between Awe and Nant today.<sup>58</sup>

As a postscript to Iain *dubh*’s life it is interesting that his widow Barbara Graham appears to have been an astute woman who invested her funds wisely. Besides the Stirling Bond there was another from the same Shaw of Knockhill in 1609<sup>59</sup> and she was collecting 1,000 merks from Hugh MacDougall of Craiganich on Lismore in 1618.<sup>60</sup> The Craiganich family were the surviving branch of the MacDougalls of Raray who had sold out to Breadalbane, no doubt under some pressure of debt, and had a tack of Craiganich on Lismore. Barbara also got a Bond from the heir of Buchanan of that Ilk for 1,000 pounds Scots in 1625.<sup>61</sup> In all these her son John is to be her heir. This might suggest that Iain *dubh*’s earlier sons were by his first wife Agnes Graham. On the 6th of September 1623 John, son of the deceased ‘John Campbell, Tutor of Inverawe,’ became contracted to marry Margaret McClellan, widow of William McClellan of Mullok and a daughter of McClellan of Bombie.<sup>62</sup>

Iain *dubh*’s other sons continued in his style for a time and in the records of the Privy Council for November 1613 there is a Complaint by Alexander Colquhoun of Luss against the Earl of Argyll and certain persons who are alleged to be his tenants and who remain unrelaxed from the horn for murders and thefts committed by them. Among the defendants are Archibald MacDonnachie Campbell, son of the Tutor of Inverawe [in fact presumably Archibald of Inverawe himself], Archibald’s brother [in fact Iain *dubh*’s son] Dougall, Lachlan MacDonnachie Campbell [presumably Iain *dubh*’s brother Patrick’s son], Duncan his brother who was servitor to Archibald, Patrick MacDonnachie Campbell, brother to Iain *dubh*, Archibald McEwne MacDonnachie Campbell in Achacharne, Duncan McEwne MacDonnachie Campbell servant to Inverawe and Duncan McOLOUR MacDonnachie Campbell. The Earl was ‘assoilized’ [cleared] of responsibility after declaring an oath that the said rebels were not his tenants or such persons for whom he ought to answer.<sup>63</sup>

The MacConnochie’s of Achacharne or Achacha in Benderloch are a branch of the kindred about

whom little is known. Archibald of Inverawe's grandson Archibald of Inverawe who died in 1705 was, in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, responsible for winding up their affairs, the place being sold to his first cousin Breadalbane and he himself being responsible for the future of young Archibald of Achacha.

Considering that in 1603 the MacGregors, led by Alastair MacGregor of Glenstrae, had killed eighty Colquhouns at the Battle of Glenfruin, and how Iain *dubh* had Gregorach among his colleagues in arms, one suspects that his sons may either have been involved with the Gregorach there, or taken their part in revenge for the subsequent execution of Glenstrae in 1604. Glenfruin resulted in a stepping-up of the persecution of the Gregorach which had begun with the commission of fire and sword to Argyll in February 1592-93.

The Archibald said to be 'son of the Tutor of Inverawe' was likely in fact Archibald of Inverawe himself, there being no other mention of an Archibald son of the Tutor. One cannot help wondering how he viewed the wildness of Iain *dubh*'s legacy to him. Were the story of Archibald's killing of his uncle true, which seems highly likely (see the separate paper on the subject), He would have had to return to Inverawe immediately after the killing of his uncle Iain *dubh* and informed Iain's brother Patrick and the household of their boys that he had killed their brother, father and uncle, and that he was now their leader. To hold their loyalty might have meant taking part in a raid such as the Glen Fruin event. One is also left wondering about his relationship with Iain's sons. The youngest, John, was taken away by the departing widow, Barbara.

The above incident is one of the few examples of a 'clan raid' in the Victorian sense of being carried out as a unit by related men, which appears in the records of the Inverawe family. Most of Iain *dubh*'s followers having presumably been from all the 'names' of his district since there were never very many of the Inverawe/MacConnachy kindred themselves, comparatively speaking. Of those named in this raid, only Archibald of Inverawe's uncle Patrick appears again in any of the currently researched documents, and then agreeing to Archibald's decisions. It is possible that Patrick, who was 'in Auchreoch' in 1597,<sup>64</sup> may have been the same as the Patrick Campbell in Duchollie whose son Dougall gave Archibald of Inverawe's son Dougall sasine in 1633.

A further possibility yet to be investigated, is how many of these MacConnochies ended up among the MacConnachie tenants in brought onto the temporarily forfeited Largie MacDonald lands in Kintyre after the defeat of Alastair MacColla in the 1640s. A number of such families appear as tenants on the lands of Argyll in Kintyre when listed in 1792.<sup>65</sup> It is also possible that the 'rebels' of the family left Argyll for Ireland where there are MacConnochies to this day, although there the name is often spelt 'MacConaughy.' No descendants of the marriage of young John MacConnachie, *Iain og* in Gaelic, and the lady of Mullock have as yet been found. There is a possibility that the MacConnochies of Meadowbank descend from him.

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### **Endnotes:**

1. Niall, 10<sup>th</sup> Duke of Argyll, *The Argyll Abstracts* (hereafter *A/A*) quoted in the Inverawe transcripts by Herbert Campbell, the genealogist. (unpublished).
2. Gordon Donaldson (ed.) *The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, vol. 8, Edinburgh, 1982;
3. Cosmo Innes (ed.), *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, Bannatyne Club, 1865, vol. 2, pp. 92 & 94; Report

- of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS, 1874, Fourth Report, Part I, *Argyll Muniments*, p. 481, 16 June 1597, quoted in *OPS* (above), Argyll charters, Argyll Inventory.
4. Colin Campbell, 'Mackerlich Campbells in the Breadalbane Court Books,' *The Scottish Genealogist*, vol. 27, (No.1) 1980.
  5. *Acts and Decrees* (hereafter *AD*), vol. CXVI, fol. 237.
  6. *AD*, Vol. CXVI fols. 273-274; *AD*, vol. CXXVI fol. 235; *AD*, vol. CXXXI fol. 350.
  7. John Hill Burton et al. (eds.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (hereafter *RPC*), HM General Register House, Edinburgh, 1877-date, vols. 3 & 4, p. 683.
  8. *RPC*, vol. 5, p. 241.
  9. *RPC*, vol. 5, p. 194.
  10. *RPC*, vol. 6, pp. 426, 442, 451, 489.
  11. *Calendar of State Papers – Scotland*, (hereafter *CSP*) Public Records Office, London, England, Vol. (1591-1592) p. 517. See also p. 555.
  12. Harvey Johnston, *The Heraldry of the Campbells*, (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. 1971), (hereafter *HC*), pp. 70 & 71, No. 236.
  13. *Ibid.* p. 71, No. 237.
  14. *CSP*, (1591-1592) p. 555
  15. *HC*, p. 68, No. 215.
  16. *CSP*, Vol. (1591-1592), p. 331.
  17. *Ibid.* p. 364
  18. *Ibid.* p. 517. Lawer's report enclosed with Colville's, so similar ref.
  19. *Ibid.* p. 517.
  20. *Ibid.* pp. 528-9
  21. *Ibid.* p. 562,
  22. *Ibid.* pp. 573-4.
  23. *Ibid.* pp. 604-5.
  24. *Ibid.* p. 619.
  25. *Ibid.* pp. 623-24.
  26. *Ibid.* p. 630.
  27. *Ibid.* p. 643.
  28. *Ibid.* pp. 654 -55, also 673-74.
  29. *Ibid.* pp. 654-55.
  30. *Ibid.* p. 686.
  31. *CSP*, Vol. (1591-1597), 44-45.
  32. *RPC*, Vol. VI, July-Sept. 1602, July 1606, May 1607 Vol. VI pp. 426, 442, 451, 489.
  33. Iona Club, (ed.), *Collectanea de Rebus Albinicis*, Thomas G. Stevenson, Edinburgh, 1847, No. 15, p. 200.
  34. *AD*, vol. CLXI fol. 32.
  35. Sir Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine, (ed.), *Clan Campbell*, (hereafter *CC*) *Perthshire Hornings* Vol. 17.
  36. *CSP*, vol. (1591-1597), pp. 165-66, 187.
  37. *Ibid.* pp. 188-89.
  38. *Ibid.* pp. 219-20.
  39. Records of Justiciary as cited in *History of Clan Gregor*, vol. 1, p.246; Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials* Vol. II, pp. 62-3.
  40. National Archives of Scotland, (hereafter *NAS*): GD 50/124; Abstracts from Glenorchy Register of Bonds and Manrent etc., No. 116.
  41. *Ibid.*; Inverawe Appendix of Entries (hereafter *IA*).
  42. *Ibid.*; *IA*.
  43. David Cecil, *The Cecils at Hatfield*, Sphere Books, 1975.
  44. Sir James Balfour Paul (ed.) *Scots Peerage*, article 'Breadalbane.'
  45. General Register of Sasines, Argyll, 1617-61, vol. 37, fol. 25.
  46. *CSP*, vol. 13, (1597-1603), p. 265.
  47. *Ibid.* p. 272.
  48. *IA*.
  49. *NAS*: GD 112/17/2 f. 200.
  50. *CC*, *Perthshire Hornings*, vol. 10.
  51. *RPC*, vol. 6, p. 403.
  52. *AD*, vol. 24, fol. 54; Dugald 'in possession of his Proper Heritage... for at least 3 1/2 years prior' to January 1548-9.
  53. *CSP*, vol. 13, (1597-1603), p. 942.

54. *Ibid.* p. 937.
55. IA.
56. Breadalbane Inventory, cited by Herbert Campbell in 'Campbell Pedigrees,' unpublished typescript.
57. Diarmid Campbell, 'Uncle & Nephew', paper by pub. in Society for West Highland & Island Historical Research, *Notes & Queries* Series 2 No.3, March 1989, p.7.
58. *CC*, vol. 6, p. 112.
59. NAS, *Register of Deeds* (hereafter *RD*) Vol. 289.
60. *RD*, vol. p. 404.
61. *RD*, vol. p. 439.
62. *RPC*, vol. 10, p. 179.
63. General Register of Sasines, *Abstracts*, p. 462.
64. A. I. B. Stewart (ed.), *List of Inhabitants Upon the Duke of Argyle's Property in Kintyre in 1792*,
65. Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh, 1991, Sheriff Index pp. 254, 255, 256.



# *John Dubh and the Yell of the Cat*

*With Reference to John dubh MacConnochie Campbell  
Tutor of Inverawe. d.circa 1602-06*

## *Chapter 6*

Published in *West Highland Notes & Queries* Series 2, No.1, March 1988 p.17

### ***A Horrible Tale***

The following comes from 'Letter of Mrs. Campbell of Barbreck containing an Account of the Campbells of Barbreck from their first ancestor to the Present Time', Ipswich; written by Frederick W. Campbell of Barbreck; printed by R. Deck, Cornhill, 1830.

"An extraordinary instance of Highland superstition, called the Taigheirm, (or yell of cats,) was performed, for the last time, in the 17th century, in the island of Mull. The sacrifice consisted of living cats roasted on a spit while life remained; and when the animal expired, it was replaced by another. After the completion of these rites, the votaries were entitled to demand two boons. Cameron of Lochiel performed the Taigheirm some time before this, and was presented with a small silver shoe, which was to be put on the left foot of every son born in that family; and this custom was observed until it was lost, when Lochiel's house was consumed by fire in 1747. The shoe fitted all of them but one, and he afterwards turned his back to the foe at Sherriff Muir, having inherited a large foot from his mother, who was of another race."

In the copy I have in front of me, kindly donated to Inveraray by Miss Campbell of Barbreck, the words 'in the island of Mull' have been scored through and a pencilled note in the margin substitutes 'Inveraw'. Was this disgusting rite common practice and is there truth in the Lochiel story?

A.L. Campbell [Alastair Campbell of Airds]  
(*West Highland Notes & Queries*, Series 2, No.1, March 1988 p.17)

NOTE: The version that I have run across has no reference but states that the 'trial' was to swing the cat by the tail and spin the cat about the head until it died. DAC

REPLY:

*A Horrible Tale* (*N & Q* Series 2 No 1, 17)

A. L. Campbell reported finding 'A Horrible Tale' among the Barbreck papers at Inveraray. He adds that he found a note in the margin which indicated that at least one of the Barbreck family thought that the last occasion upon which the Taigherm (or yell of cats) was conducted was at Inverawe 'sometime in the 17th century'.

At first glance this appears unlikely, the members of that family having supported the kirk during most of that period. However if 'the 17th century' can be said to have included the very early years there was one member of the MacConnochie Campbells of Inverawe whose ruthless and bloodthirsty style could well have culminated in his having the ceremony attempted there. John Dubh MacConnochie, Tutor of Inverawe while the heir Archibald was in his minority

(1582-1602-3), had made a reputation for himself leading Islemen against Elizabethans in Ireland during the late 16th century and is frequently on record for deprivations in the Highlands in the 1590's. On one occasion he lopped off an offending head and had his men carry it before them on a pike. Legend has it that he attempted to kill the heir in the hopes of gaining Inverawe for himself and one suspects that he might well have resorted to a Taighern before attempting that final step.

Diarmid A Campbell (West Highland Notes & Queries,  
*Series 2, No.2, October 1988 p.27*)

# *The Fair Maid of Callart*

## *Oral Tradition and Parallel Record*

### *Chapter 7*

*Published in West Highland Notes & Queries, Series 2, No.2, October 1988, pp.5-9*

The tale 'The Fair Maid of Callart' was submitted to Lord Archibald Campbell, Editor of *Records of Argyll*,<sup>1</sup> 1884, by Isabel Smith from Stronmagachan. Her father was the Rev J. Smith, minister of Glenaray. Her mother's family, the Campbells in Achlain were descended from the Campbells of Inverawe which may account for the provenance of the story.<sup>2</sup>

The exact wording of the traditional tale is not significant in this case. The gist is as follows:

Mary, daughter of Cameron of Callart sometime in the 17th century, was enamoured of a son of MacConnochie of Inverawe. This and her generosity to the poor did not please her father who locked her in a garret. Meanwhile a trading vessel brought the plague to the family and all but the isolated Mary died. Calling to a herd from her window she got a message taken to her lover who came from Inverawe to rescue her. Setting a ladder to her window he bid her climb down wrapped only in a blanket. He then had her submerge herself in the loch, leaving the tainted blanket behind and, wrapping her in his plaid, he took her to Inverawe. There he built a sheiling for her on the side of Ben Cruachan where she lived 'in quarantine for three months' before being allowed into the house of Inverawe where they were then married.

One wonders whether such a good understanding of the quarantine principles and the avoidance of contact with tainted clothing had become normal practice in the Highlands by the 17th century or whether these concepts became grafted onto the tale in a more health-conscious age. These precautions seem to be so fundamental to the story line as to show the likelihood of being original.

There is record of the marriage of a son of the MacConnochie of Inverawe and a daughter of Callart. Patrick Campbell is mentioned as brother to Dugald Campbell, apparant of Inverawe, in a Glenurchy Sasine dated at Edinburgh on the 2nd November 1640.<sup>3</sup> He appears to have fought at Inverlochy and died of his wounds. He is mentioned as the deceased Patrick Campbell, brother german to the deceased Lachlan and Alexander, brothers german to [Lt. Col.] Dugald Campbell of Inverawe, in a Sasine dated on the 6th and 10th of December 1649.<sup>4</sup> One suspects that Lachlan and Alexander may also have been victims of Inverlochy. Then this Patrick is identified as the husband of a Mary Cameron in a discharge by their 'only lawful son and heir' and 'only bairn and nearest of kin to the said father', John Campbell in Torgormaig in Mull.<sup>5</sup> The discharge is dated at Inveraray on the 17th of November 1665. A further link with Callart is made in the list of curators where, besides 'Dugald Campbell my brother natural' there are 'Allan Cameron Tutor of Callart and John McAlaster vcEane vcAllane alias Cameron in Morverne'. Yet another link with Callart is provided in the marriage of this John Campbell, son of Patrick Campbell and Mary Cameron, to Florence Cameron, daughter of John Cameron of Callart and widow of Lachlan, brother to John MacLean of Kinlochaline.<sup>6</sup>

A Callart tree shows that, Mary was a name used by that family. Florence had a sister Mary who married Alan Maclean of Drimnin in 1653. Their grandmother, the wife of Ewen Cameron of Callart, was a Mary NcEan VcAlaster. Ewen of Callart was living in the mid 1630s and his heir John of Callart was alive in 1633<sup>7</sup>. John of Callart's brother, Allan, Tutor of Callart, is mentioned in both the tree and in the discharge quoted above. He was living in 1654, 57 and 69<sup>7</sup>. Perhaps John Cameron of Callart may have died of the plague but had a son to whom Allan was Tutor. There are some pointers to the fact that John may not have long outlived his father. Since John Campbell was the 'only bairn' of Mary and Patrick they may not have been long married before Inverlochty. This would indicate that Mary, who does not appear in the Callart tree, could have been the daughter of Ewen Cameron of Callart and Mary NcEan VcAlaster and so the sister of John and his brother Allan the Tutor. Patrick would appear to have been the 6th son of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe (the subject of the 'Uncle and Nephew' tale in *Records of Argyll*) who would seem to have come of age in 1602-3, leaving one to postulate that Patrick might have been born between 1610 and 1620.

The final link between the traditional tale of the 'Fair Maid of Callard' and this Mary Cameron and Patrick MacConnochie Campbell is found in Mary's lament for Patrick upon his death. A version in the Gaelic is preserved in an MS by Dr. Archibald Smith (McLulich) written down in 1886.<sup>8</sup> only a few years after the publication of *Records of Argyll*. In his notes Dr. Smith identifies Mary as a grand-daughter of Lochiel and Patrick as the heir of Inverawe, the latter being clearly incorrect, but he does use the name Patrick for Mary's husband which the version in *Records of Argyll* fails to do. Besides Mary's using the patronymic MacConnochie for her late husband through most of the lament and her remarking how like to him is the child upon her knee, indicating John's being still in his infancy at the time of his father's death, some significant lines of the lament are:

You took me from the house of pestilence  
Where died my father and my mother,  
My sister and my five brothers .  
and;  
There are deer on the little isle of the Yews  
And trout in the pool of the marsh  
And thought there are, what use are they to me,  
And my beloved Patrick, he lies in the vault of the church.

A further search may yet identify this 'Isle of the Yews', 'Tha feidh air. Innsaig na n'Iubhraich.  
Diarmid A Campbell

### ***Endnotes:***

1. Lord Archibald Campbell (ed) *Records of Argyll* 1881 pp 131-135. Callard clearly refers to Coillart or Callart.
2. Dr Lorne Campbell's Notes (unpublished) at Inveraray Castle (Achlian).
3. Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-61 Vol 49 fol 377. The other sons of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe were: Lt Col Dugald of Inverawe; John Campbell, 1st of Achaworran in Lismore, Archibald, Lachlan and Alexander.
4. *Ibid.* Vol 8 fol 24. Lt Col Dugald served under Gen Leslie and died in 1665.
5. Reg. of Deeds, Books of Council and Session, Durie 15 pp. 735-40.
6. *Ibid.* Mack 53 pp 707-9.
7. SROGD 202/90.
8. Nat Lib Scot M S 2128 'Reminiscences of the Clan Donnachie of Inverawe' 1886. Dr Smith's version of the tale is not substantially different from that in *Records of Argyll*. What is of great value is his recording of Mary's Lament in the Gaelic.

NOTE: John Campbell, son of Mary and Patrick, appears later to have been tacksman of Ardtornish; (R D Index 1684 Dal 63 p 1137, and in Argyll Testaments cc 2/3/3), where Florence Cameron, wife to John Campbell in Ardtornish, Morvern, is on record as having died in January of 1686, leaving two daughters, Mary and Margaret. The writer must thank Dr. Lorne Campbell, Tayness, Alastair Lorne Campbell of Airds, Yr, Unicorn Pursuivant, and Andrew MacEwen for their help over a number of years with references. Also various people for their help in the translation of the Lament.

REPLY

Isle of the Yews (2 N & Q no 2 p 8)

The isle of Bernera off Lismore, according to Donald Monro's 1549 description of the Western Isles, had 'ane wood of Ewin it' (1961 edn., p 55 no 64 - missing in previous editions). George Buchanan wrote of '*Benera, olim sacrosanctum asylum dicta, silus taxi nobilils*' (Historia, book 1, fol. 9, lines 63-4), translated as 'Bernera, formerly named the Holy Sanctuary, the forest of noble yew' (James Aikman's translation, 1827, vol 1 p 44). It is referred to in Ian Carmichael's Lismore in Alba, pp 42-3, Seton Gordon, *Highways and byways in the West Highlands*, p 215. There is also an article by Seton Gordon on 'Berneray of the Noble Yew' in *The Scotsman* of 29th July 1955, in which he tells of crossing to the island by an isthmus joining it to Lismore.

R W Munro  
(*West Highland Notes & Queries*, Series 2, No.3, March 1989, p. 26)

NOTE: There is a legend told by the Earl of Dunmore and confirmed by Alex Campbell of Lochnell, that one of the Lochnell family who was building the 18<sup>th</sup> century part of the house at Lochnell, cut down a yew on the island of Bernera under which by tradition one of the early saints had preached. A curse was therefore put on the family. Until the yew grew again, no son of the Campbells of Lochnell would inherit from his father. That occurred until at the time of the birth of Alex Lochnell, a new shoot appeared from the old dormant root. Yet it's his brother who has the son and heir to date (2010).



*Archibald MacConnochie Campell 5<sup>th</sup> of Inverawe*  
(c.1582 – c.1645)

Chapter 8

Draft of August and October 2010, revised January 2011.

John Carswell builder of Carnassarie and Bishop of the Isles, died in 1572. He is described in tradition as slim ‘like a crane,’ that tall bird then known in Argyll. Whether his appearance passed through his daughter to her son Archibald is not known. That he was not given the byname as being black, red or blond, suggests that when young his hair was brown. That Archie was an effective bowman implies decent strength and athletic agility.

The legend about how he came into his inheritance of Inverawe, supported by parallel record, paints an acceptable picture of his early life. Likely born at Inverawe or Fraoch Eilean, he was then, as was customary in the Gaelic culture of the time and among the Inverawe kindred, sent to be fostered. That he was fostered by a relatively modest family just across the river, implies that this was not intended to reinforce a major alliance but was more of a convenience. The choice may not have been that of his father or mother but rather one taken by Iain *dubh* as his Tutor, newly returned ‘in a cloud of glory’ from his clearly admired exploits in Ireland. Leaving his own options open, Iain may have chosen to leave the infant with a trustworthy but reachable family nearby. The vulnerable child was all that stood between himself and inheriting responsibility for scattered but fairly extensive communities and lands of Inverawe.

The MacPherson foster parents at Crubaig, Bunaw, were certainly trustworthy, but to the child and not to Iain *dubh*. He had given them the impression of being a threat to the boy. The Gaelic legend tells how his foster mother smuggled him secretly to Carnassarie for safety and yet there is no word of reprisals against the MacPhersons by Iain *dubh*. Although with his dominating presence, any such actions may simply never have reached a court. That his foster-mother remained some time at Carnassarie is implied in the legend. Her remaining there as a nurse to the boy may also have been wise for her own safety.

The old bishop had been dead for ten years or so at the time of Archibald’s birth. His great Renaissance palace or castle of Carnassarie, set on the edge of a plateau of good arable land above the valley of the Kilmartin burn, was by then the responsibility of the bishop’s son Archibald Carswell. The size of the place had been built to house, and need, a large household. The bishop’s library was likely on a scale with the place and could have been a considerable aid to young Archibald’s education, once he could read. His likely teacher was Master Neil Campbell, parson of Ardsceodnish, by now called Kilmartin, who was seemingly then constructing himself the little castle nearby at the village of that name. Some information about this Campbell family of churchmen is found in *Origines Parochiales*. In 1574 Neil was ‘Rector of Kilmartin and Chanter of the Diocese of Argyle.’ He would soon marry the widowed Christian, Archibald’s mother.

By 1587, Christian, sister of Archibald of Carnassarie, had married Master Neil and already had a son by him whom they named John Campbell and who must then have been an infant. So before Archibald was aware of such things in a clearly conscious way, he had acquired a stepfather and

step-brother. There was another son of this marriage, Alexander, who was served heir to his father following his death in 1627, and had a son Neil who became Bishop of Argyll.

Whenever Kilmartin Castle became habitable, it is likely that Christian took Archibald with her to her new home. But it is also likely that his hunting skills were developed under the tutelage of his uncle at Carnassarie.

Presumably when aged between 16 and 18, at some point Archibald was awarded a tack of land in the parish of Baliveodan or Ardchattan. This is made clear from his resignation of the tack once he came into his inheritance of Inverawe.

The legend of Iain *dubh* the Tutor's invitation for Archibald to come to Inverawe and go hunting rings true (see earlier paper 'Uncle & Nephew') as does his escape from Inverawe and the chase over the high ground separating the Awe from the Nant. The small cairn on the ridge named for MacConnochie supports the evident death there of Iain *dubh* his uncle around that date. Perhaps the Tutor had developed scruples about killing the boy until he had come of age and could defend himself.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of May 1603, Archibald Campbell of Inverawe renounced the tack granted to him by Mr. Neil Campbell, Bishop of Argyll, for the fourth part of the Kirk of Ballivedan [Balliveodan or Ardchattan] for 19 years &c., in favour of Alexander Campbell of Dunstaffnage. This is mentioned in a Tack by Andrew, Bishop of Lismore.<sup>1</sup> This was presumably a different Neill Campbell from he who had married Archibald's mother Christian Carswell, widow of Archibald's father Dougall, 4th of Inverawe. This renunciation suggests that Archibald had now come of age and into his rightful inheritance of Inverawe itself. Had that been the case, the estimated year of birth for Archibald of 1582, twenty one years earlier, would appear to have been correct.

This also infers that while in January 1602 John/Iain *dubh* MacConnochy Campbell, Tutor of Inverawe, was alive, but that in May 1603 his nephew Archibald had succeeded to Inverawe, seemingly after killing his uncle in self defence.

The earlier paper describing the events in Archibald's life leading up to his slaying of his uncle Iain *dubh* meant that immediately after that killing Archibald would have had to return to Inverawe, bringing the news to Iain's wife, brother and sons. That moment would have needed considerable courage and self-confidence. Iain had led these men, some of them likely little more than boys, on many adventurous raids, according to their appearances in the Privy Council records. This meant that in order to keep ahead of them Archibald may well have had to show a similar flair for adventurous leadership to keep them in his loyalty. His relationship with Iain's brother Patrick would seem to have been a good one since Archibald named one of his sons Patrick and, reading between the lines, his uncle Patrick was both an easy and wise advisor and helped to integrate the kindred.

A horning of 1612, nine years later, suggests that Archibald may well have joined with his neighbours on the other side of Ben Cruachan, the MacGregors of Glenstrae, in a serious raid on the Colquhouns on Loch Lomondside, leading his uncle's brothers and sons. The raid took place in 1603 and became known as the 'Battle of Glen Fruin.' The year before, the men of Clan Gregor had raided the lands of Colquhoun of Luss. Alexander Colquhoun of Luss expected a further raid and so petitioned James VI and was granted a Lieutenancy to pursue Clan Gregor. The following February he was given warning of the approach of the MacGregor force. He attempted to reach the



head of Glen Fruin before they came down on his men. But Alasdair MacGregor of Glenstrae forestalled him, leading his men over the watershed from Loch Long and, moving down the head of the glen, divided his forces. He set up ambush in a narrow defile, while his brother with the remainder of their force concealed themselves about the farm of Strone where the battle in due course took place.

The Colquhouns were surrounded on boggy ground where their horses were unable to charge, and where the MacGregors charged their foot, causing them to break and flee. About 120 people were killed, among them some prisoners. This event caused the proscription of Clan Gregor. The consequences for the MacConnochie kindred of Inverawe and Achacharne, if this was indeed the affray in which they took part with Clan Gregor as seems likely, is described later when they were subsequently put to the Horn.

In working with his uncle Patrick, brother of the late John *dubh*, Archibald would seem to have adopted something of the raiding style for which Iain and Patrick were known, although Patrick was not seemingly as driven to violent extremes as his brother. For in May 1606 Archibald of Inverawe and likely his uncle Patrick, ejected his neighbour Alexander Campbell the Prior of Ardchattan and his servants from a salmon fishing ‘in Portverran in Lochlochay’ [wherabouts not yet confirmed].<sup>2</sup> This conflict over fishing rights that began here would continue intermittently over the following years.

Meanwhile Iain *dubh*’s lawless legacy was still being mopped up in the courts. On the 11<sup>th</sup> of July 1606 at a meeting of the Privy Council at Perth, James Campbell of Lawers ‘became cautioner for Archibald, Earl of Argyle, to pay John Fraser of Lochanis ... [£1,200] for stock stolen by the late M’Condochy of Inneraw...’<sup>3</sup>. The case would continue on the 28<sup>th</sup> of May 1607 when Archibald Earl of Argyll complained to the Privy Council at Edinburgh in connection with the claim for redress by John Fraser stating that the late McCondochy was an accomplice of the Earl of Murray and that he ‘is not the Earl of Argyll’s man, tenant or servant.’ Since John ‘dubh’ was dead, this was certainly true.<sup>3</sup>

By that year, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of March 1607, Archibald of Inverawe, now in his mid twenties, was writing to Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, ‘his master,’ reporting that there was a legal action between himself and the prior of Ardchattan for being Glenorchy’s tenant in the fishing of Derrosuyll, ‘whereby the writer is at the horn.’ [Derrosuyll not yet identified].<sup>4</sup>

To confirm the friendly relations between Glenorchy and Inverawe, on the 9<sup>th</sup> of April that year, Archibald signed a Bond of Manrent or loyalty to Sir Duncan of Glenorchy and his heirs. Inverawe’s name is given as ‘Archibald McConcochay alias Campbell of Inverawe’.<sup>5</sup> In a further Bond of the 19<sup>th</sup> – which may be the same with the 9<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> being confused in transcription - Archibald MacConnochy alias Campbell of Inverawe obliged himself, because of the bonds of friendship that have always existed between the house of Glenorchy and his predecessors, to be a faithful friend and servant to Sir Duncan of Glenorchy; and the latter reciprocated the obligation.<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile that summer at Stirling, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of August 1607, Iain *dubh*’s widow Barbara Graham was evidently managing her legacy well. She received a Bond, by George Shaw of Knockhill for 200 merks. Her son John is mentioned. Knockhill would later sign her a second Bond at Edinburgh on the 15<sup>th</sup> of July 1609, again for 200 merks, possibly an extension of the earlier Bond.<sup>7</sup> The 1607 date with her as ‘widow’ confirms that Iain *dubh* was already dead.

Although the source is only secondary, it is possible that Archibald of Inverawe gave a tack of the lands of Dalness, far up Glen Etive, to Angus MacDonald from Glencoe at some point in 1608.<sup>8</sup>

The case against Inverawe by Ardchattan continued. On the 4<sup>th</sup> of February 1609 the Lords assigned a term for the hearing proof in the action at the instance of Alexander Campbell, Prior of Ardchattan, against Archibald Campbell alias MacConnochie of Inverawe, for wrongful ejection of the pursuer and his servants in May 1606 from a salmon fishing in Portverran in Lochlochay [yet to be identified].<sup>9</sup> On the 7<sup>th</sup> of March that year there was a further action at the instance of Alexander Campbell, Prior of Ardchattan, against Archibald Campbell alias MacConnochie of Inverawe, anent the salmon fishings.<sup>10</sup> But on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June the Lords ordained the defenders to make restoration thereof and pay the profits. Archibald had lost his case.<sup>11</sup>

Then on the 21<sup>st</sup> of February 1610, Sir Duncan of Glenorchy entered the fray over fishing rights with Alexander of Ardchattan. He brought an action against the Prior for removing from the salmon fishings of 'Darfull' – perhaps the same as the earlier mentioned 'Derosuyll' [neither yet identified] and 'Candlichteffie' [Caenlochative], in the lands of Barmaddie.<sup>12</sup> On the 28<sup>th</sup> a term was assigned to the Prior for his defence and the Lords ordain Inverawe to remove from his part of the fishing.<sup>13</sup> Then on the 9<sup>th</sup> of June Sir Duncan brought a further action against Alexander, Prior of Ardchattan, anent salmon fishings at 'Derifule.'<sup>14</sup>

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of September 1611, at or 'in the face of' a Justice Court held at Dunstaffnage, John Campbell of Auchenyryer and Archibald Campbell of Inverawe took out an Instrument upon Lachlan Mor VicDonochie.<sup>15</sup> What this was about is not clear.

The following year, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of March, Sir John Campbell of Calder, Knight [Cawdor] brought an Action against John Campbell, fiar of Drunkie, narrating that Archibald Earl of Argyll had invested Sir John in the lands of 'Awchavaiche' occupied by Archibald Campbell, Captain of Dunstaffnage, also Inverawe and others, and so he has the right of the rents of those lands, yet the defender had refused to pay his portion of rent. John fiar of Drunkie was ordered to pay.<sup>16</sup> The farm of Achavaich is south of Dunstaffnage.

Archibald of Inverawe and his extended family were put to the Horn, or made liable to arrest, on the 27<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> of May that year of 1612 by Alexander Colquhoun of Luss with his kinsmen and tenants in a complaint against the Earl of Argyll as being responsible for a number of MacGregors and their associates. The list is confused which was natural since on a raid it is not always easy to identify the attackers accurately, let alone their relationships. Among those named are Archibald MacConnochie Campbell, 'son of the Tutor of Inverawe' in fact almost certainly Archibald of Inverawe himself, since nowhere else is an Archibald son of the Tutor mentioned; Dougall MacConnochie Campbell, miscalled 'brother to Archibald,' Lachlan MacConnochie Campbell, Duncan his brother, servitor to the said Archibald, Patrick MacConnochie Campbell 'father brother' to the laird of Inverawe who was John *dubh* the Tutor's brother, Archibald MacEwen MacConnochie Campbell in Achacharne and Duncan MacEwen MacConnochie Campbell from Achacharne. All these were put to the horn on the 27<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> of May and the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> of June 1612, for not finding caution to appear before the justice to answer for cruel murders, slaughters and oppressions.<sup>17</sup> Although it would be hard of proof, this raid sounds as though it had been the 'Battle of Glenfruin' which took place in 1603 and has been described earlier for that year. The wheels of justice rolled slowly in those days.

We hear little of Archibald of Inverawe and his family for the next decade, during which any

kindred living in Argyll would have had to work hard at herding and tilling and harvesting in order to survive. Then, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of July 1613, Inverawe was at Stirling. There he signed a Bond to Patrick Morrison, merchant and Burgess of that town, for £79-7s Scots. The Bond was registered on the 11<sup>th</sup> of January 1614.<sup>18</sup>

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of December 1613 there was a change on Lochawe when the King gave a charter to MacLachlan of Craigneterve near Carnassarie of the lands of Ardchonnell and others on Lochawe. These had been forfeited by Duncan MacArthur, Captain of Innis Chonnell, who had been convicted of theft.

Then once again, due to some of the earlier raiding, the former complaint against them by Colquhoun of Luss was repeated or registered. A Complaint by Alexander Colquhoun of Luss and his kinspeople and tenants was registered against Archibald, Earl of Argyll, and certain persons who are alleged to be his tenants and who remain unrelaxed from the horn for certain murders and thefts committed by them. This registration was on the 30<sup>th</sup> of November 1613, about ten years after the event described.

Again, among those named as defenders were Archibald MacDonachie Campbell, who although he is called 'son of the Tutor of Innerawe' was, as mentioned, almost certainly Archibald of Inverawe, bearing in mind that his uncle the Tutor had been erroneously called 'of Inverawe' and there is no other sign of his having had a son named Archibald. Next was Dougall McCondochie Campbell, 'brother of the said Archibald' who was in fact the Tutor's son and so Inverawe's cousin; Lachlan McDonachie Campbell; Duncan his brother, servitor to the said Archibald, both of whom may well have been sons of the Tutor or his brother Patrick, which is accurate; Patrick McDonachie Campbell, father's brother to the Laird of Inneraw; Archibald McEwne McDonachie Campbell, servitor 'to McDonachie Campbell' of Innerawe, and Duncan McOLOUR McDonachie Campbell. These last two would seem to have been of the MacConnochies in Acharne in Benderloch.

In the event, the Lords and Council assoilzie [clear] the Earl, because he has declared on oath that the said rebels are not this tenants or such persons as he ought to answer for.<sup>19</sup>

This fracas had been an unusual example of a raid by a kindred – these being Archibald of Inverawe's kin, and their servants and servitors, related through his father's half brother John *dubh* who had been Tutor of Inverawe in his minority. Again, this event almost certainly took place in Glenfruin in 1603. The earl was able to say that they were 'not his men' since their joining the MacGregors, the Tutor's old allies, was entirely against his policy.

But sadly not all the wild energy was yet gone from the younger members of the kindred. On the 25<sup>th</sup> of February 1514, Mairi Neuweel in Gilespickerall, the old name for Muckairn, brought an Action against Archibald Campbell 'in' Inverawe and others for 'spoilation'. That the name was Archibald 'in' rather than 'of' Inverawe suggests that he may have been a tacksman and not Inverawe himself. Or it may be a mis-transcription.<sup>20</sup>

Next, Archibald of Inverawe, who would then have been a man in his early thirties, was enlisted by Campbell of Cawdor to be an officer in the force he raised to fulfil his commission as King's Lieutenant for Islay. Sir James MacDonald of Dunivaig in Islay was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle awaiting execution. Ranald *Oig*, natural half-brother of Sir James MacDonald of Dunivaig, had surprised and captured the castle of Dunivaig in Islay. The castle had been garrisoned by the

Bishop of the Isles and he attempted to regain control. Angus, Sir James' legitimate brother, heard of the capture and raised forces to retake the castle for the King. However he then handed over the task to Coll MacDonald, Coll *Ciotach*, known in the Lowlands as 'Colkitto,' who succeeded after a six-day siege. Angus was now in possession and, in a letter that failed to reach the authorities, offered to hand the castle back.

Meanwhile, Sir James MacDonald, who had long been held captive in Edinburgh Castle while condemned to death, petitioned to be allowed his freedom to serve the King. A search of his belongings found that he had been encouraging Angus to hand back the castle and what also came to light was the letter from Angus to the authorities which Sir James had not yet passed on.

But Angus held on to the castle for the month of August and the Bishop went to Edinburgh and got a pardon for Angus who then agreed again to give up the castle. But on the Bishop's return to Islay, Angus would not give up his position and in fact had the Bishop's boats destroyed, leaving him stranded. The Bishop was naturally infuriated by the treachery.

What then came to light was that the devious Earl of Argyll, afraid that MacDonald influence would strengthen, had obliquely encouraged Angus to hold onto the castle so as to get his kinsmen into trouble. Sir James MacDonald offered to move his people from Islay to Ireland if the Privy Council would pay them a year's rent to be moved and settled. Or, if pardoned, he and his family would move to Holland if given the right to recruit for the Dutch Service in Scotland.

At the end of October, the Privy Council commissioned Sir John Campbell of Cawdor to retake the castle and Islay. Cawdor and his forces reached Islay at the end of November, not a *douce* time of year in the Isles. Cawdor himself returned to the mainland at Duntroon for stores but, held up by gales, did not reach Islay again until the 6<sup>th</sup> of January with an additional 200 men. Next day another 140 arrived and a couple of days later the artillery turned up, which he had insisted was vital to the task of reducing the castle of Dunivaig. Then the Irish troops arrived and were provided with horses to cross the island and join the siege. The ships with the stores were eventually unloaded, weather hampering the operation.

After a series of negotiations and changes of mind, Coll against Angus *Oig*, Cawdor was fully in possession of the fortress by the 3<sup>rd</sup> of February. Coll had escaped but his boat leaked and he had to land again. Some of his followers were captured and executed but he evaded pursuit. For the next four months he and some other MacDonalds and MacLeods ranged the west coast as pirates and it may have been at this time that the captured piper played a warning from the walls of Duntroon, only to have his fingers removed.

In April 1615, Sir James MacDonald had managed to escape from Edinburgh. He moved through Perthshire secretly and there was a rumour that he intended to burn Cawdor's lands of Muckairn, over the Awe from Inverawe. Although the coast was well guarded, he reached Skye where he met with the pirate Coll *Ciotach* MacDonald before moving with him to Mingary Castle in Ardnamurchan, which they reinforced.

Sir James and Coll arrived on Colonsay on the 18<sup>th</sup> of June 1615, from where the knight sent Coll to Kintyre to raise a force there. He himself crossed to Jura and so to Islay where he strengthened the island fort on freshwater Loch Gorm. He then joined Coll in Kintyre. Under pressure from the Privy Council in Scotland, the King agreed that Argyll should go north. He was recalled from the court in London.

On Islay, MacDougall of Raray's brother Archibald was left as Constable of Dunivaig. Eventually he was tricked and killed by Sir James who cut off the castle well so that the garrison was obliged to surrender. What became clear to the Privy Council was that the granting of Kintyre to Argyll in 1606 and the threat of Cawdor being granted Islay had been deeply felt by Clan Donald.<sup>21</sup>

What Archibald of Inverawe's part in all that was, is not clear. However due to the earlier pardon that was issued by the King on the 20<sup>th</sup> of April 1615, his name appears as having taken a prominent part up to that point, including the siege of Dunivaig. The document appears to have the mark of being a condition asked for by the Earl of Argyll before he would agree to lead the forces to recapture Islay and Kintyre which Sir James and Coll MacDonald had now recaptured.

At Whitehall, 20<sup>th</sup> April 1615: Archibald Campbell of Inverawe was listed with Cawdor, Donald Campbell in Barbreck-Lochawe [later Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan], Archibald Campbell [of Glencarradale], brother to Lawers, Archibald Campbell 'in' Dunstaffnage, Colin Campbell in Kilcillumkill [in Benderloch, brother of the 3<sup>rd</sup> of Lochnell], were found and discerned by James VI & I to have done him valuable service in besieging and occupying Dunyveg, etc., and that all their actions had his approval which might [otherwise] result in civil or criminal action. Given under the *Great Seal*. [Translation from the Latin reprinted in *Highland Papers*.]<sup>22</sup>

[NOTE: Because of the 'rebellious' activities of the MacDonalds in Islay, James VI & I authorized Cawdor's intervention. Cawdor, "at some risk to himself and his familiars" quelled the rebels. The following entry gives further background:]

According to Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of July 1615 those of the rebels who had been active in the Islay and Kintyre campaign were called to trial. Whether they had all been captured yet is not clear. Among the accused were; Angus *Oig* MacDonald, Allaster MacAllester, Allester MacArliche, John 'McCondochie' [John the Tutor's son?], John *gair* MacMoyleane, delated of treasonable taking, keeping and detaining H.M.'s castle of Dunivaig in Islay and resisting the laird of 'Caddell (Calder or Cawdor), His Highness's Lieutenant and Commissioner. The dittay relates that in the previous November they, accompanied by Coll MacGillespic and others, their accomplices, all rebels and broken men, to the number of 50, or thereby, assembled in arms and took and held the castle against the said Lieutenant and his forces, and had also imprisoned the Herald who summoned them by the King's authority to surrender. In the course of their resistance they slew Captain Crawford with four others of H.M.'s servants. The jury unanimously found them guilty of art and part in the crimes contained in the dittay. They were sentenced to be hanged, their moveable goods escheat, and their lands, heritages and annual rents forfeited to the King's use.'<sup>23</sup>

Whether the 'John McCondochie' was one of the Inverawe family is not clear, although likely. John *dubh* MacConnochie Campbell, Tutor of Inverawe, had died in circa. 1602-3 and as seen above, his widow Barbara had survived. She left Inverawe, taking their son John, and these were his father's old colleagues, the Islemen, whom, after strong temptation, John *dubh* had refused to betray. The entry of October below suggests that this was in fact John *dubh* the Tutor's son. That October there would be further evidence of his presence in the war zone.

Under pressure from the Privy Council in Scotland, the King agreed that Argyll should go north. He was recalled from the court in London. By mid-August Argyll arrive back in Edinburgh. Troops, ships and supplies were arranged. The remainder of the campaign was led by the Earl of Argyll himself. By early September 1615 he assembled his forces at Duntroon. His fleet was

divided, with ships on both sides of the Kintyre peninsula. There the castle at Kilkerran, later Campbeltown, had already been captured by Sir James' followers. Intelligence reported the Islaymen's camp on the lands of MacDonald of Largie. The rebel troops numbered about a thousand. Their galleys were anchored off Cara, the small island off the southeastern end of the Isle of Gigha.

While Argyll sent one force of about 700 men in galleys down the west coast to Cara under Cawdor, he himself marched with another 800 to Tarbert on Loch Fyne, arriving that same evening. There, he joined up with Campbell of Auchinbreac with his force.

In the meantime, Coll *Ciotach* MacDonald was sent with sixty men in three boats to West Loch Tarbert to prevent any move south. He captured Campbell of Kilberry but was then amazed to find that Cawdor and his detachment were already at Gigha. To make sure what he was seeing, he sailed too close and was almost captured but escaped with his prisoners although he lost his boats.

Cawdor sent a force by sea to attack the MacDonald fleet, but they were warned by fires set by the men of Largie on Kintyre. MacDonald of Keppoch ran for the Mull of Kintyre, the great high bluff of cliffs on the western tip of that peninsula. He was chased by Lochnell and Donald Campbell of Barbeck Lochawe. [later Sir Donald of Ardnamurchan.] Keppoch made a narrow escape, losing men and all his boats. Another of the men of the galleys made a run for Islay and narrowly beat Cawdor into Dunivaig. From the eastern side of Kintyre, Sir James MacDonald fled to Rathlin Island off Ireland.

Argyll then embarked all his men, and set sail for Jura. There he was joined by Royal Navy ships sent to take part in the chase, and so, reinforced by these, sailed on to Islay. Meanwhile in Ireland Sir James MacDonald rallied those of his men who had escaped there and also sailed to Islay. But under pressure from Argyll's greater force, Sir James and a number of his leading men, left again and reached Ireland. He would never return.

Argyll then ordered Sir Ian Campbell of Ardkinglas to raise men, galleys and supplies in Cowal, eastern Argyll, to pursue their enemies to Rathlin Island. Sir Ian was he who had been concerned in the murder of Cawdor's father in 1592 and the attempted assassination of the young earl and his brother. Now Argyll himself accompanied the expedition to the Irish coast. On Rathlin the atrocities of Ardkinglas are still remembered. In a cold revengeful rage, he flung women and children off a cliff, an act of vengeance for the women weavers murdered earlier by the MacDonalds only half a mile from his own castle. He drowned on his way home, his son being saved by a MacDougall who lived in his lands. His death was said to have been the result of a curse by a spae-wife. Coll *Ciotach* MacDonald in his pirate months has been suggested as the murderer of the weavers at Ardkinglas.

Argyll was now keen to end the affair, with winter closing in. To save his life, Coll *Ciotach* MacDonald turned his coat and helped Argyll to capture other rebels. Sir James MacDonald and some colleagues escaped from Ireland to Spain. By mid December the hired troops were dismissed after three months of service.<sup>24</sup>

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of October 1615, at Campbeltown, a Bond was given by Gilchrist MacMillan in Gargreallen and others to Archibald Campbell of Kildaven for 800 pounds Scots. A witnesses was John Campbell, son of the deceased John *dubh* Campbell, Tutor of Inverawe.<sup>25</sup> This proves that John was in the area at the time, however, if it were he who was listed as condemned in July 1615

with the MacDonald Islemen, in fact John survived to marry in September 1623.

At the end of October, Argyll went to Kintyre to deal justice among the rebels personally.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> of December, Argyll appeared before the Privy Council in Edinburgh, anxious to settle all remaining issues. Despite the considerable success of his thorough cleansing of the Inner Isles of those who had taken up the role of pirates and rebels, the Council reacted rather churlishly, while giving thanks, expressed dissatisfaction that troops had been kept on after the date for their disbandment. Archibald 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll was obliged to pay the then enormous sum of £7,000 out of his own pocket. But the issues were eventually settled and at the turn of the year 1615-16 he was back at court.

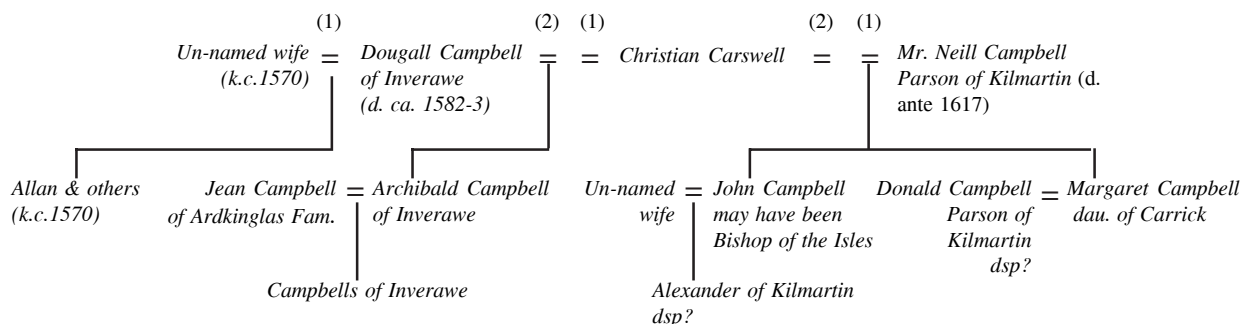
The change for Clan Donald was permanent, but their extraordinary attempt to defeat the kingdom had resulted in a number of men vowing revenge, among them in time the son of Coll *Ciotach* MacDonald. Thirty years later Alastair MacColla would ravage Argyll twice in as many years, besmirching the name of the great Montrose and, in the case of Archibald of Inverawe's son Dougall of Inverawe, leading to equally vicious revenge. But by then it would be the Covenanting barbarism of the Old Testament that was the inspiration.

But a change was coming for the Campbell kindred. Archibald Earl of Argyll had left for the south and his Catholic second wife. Obtaining permission to go abroad for a cure, he was next heard of fighting on the Catholic Spanish side in the Netherlands, leaving his people in Argyll leaderless and without representation at court. This would have consequences in which Archibald would be involved. But meanwhile Argyll had lifted the threat posed by the Islemen and their pirate raids from Argyll and there was a period of relative peace for a time.

From this abbreviated description of the conflicts in Argyll and the Isles, from the surviving evidence we can conclude that Archibald of Inverawe, and likely his cousins of the MacConnochies, served at the siege of Dunivaig and likely through the whole campaign of Cawdor and Argyll's harrowing of Clan Donald south. And possibly his cousin John, son of the Tutor Iain *dubh* had served on the opposite side with his father's MacDonald allies.<sup>26</sup>

By October 1617, Archibald of Inverawe's mother Christian was once again widowed, her second husband, Mr. Neil Campbell Parson of Kilmartin, having died before that month. This is known from the report of an Action on the part of her son Donald Campbell, by then parson of Kilmartin, and Margaret Campbell his wife. This was a legal Action which they brought against their nephew Alexander Campbell, now of Kilmartin, as oy [grandson] and heir of the deceased Mr. Neill Campbell, parson of Kilmartin, his goodsir [grandfather], in order to force him to register the

**Conjectural Tree of the Relationships of Archibald of Inverawe's Mother Christian**



marriage contract between late Mr. Neill Campbell and the pursuer on the one part, and Duncan Campbell of Carrick and Margaret Campbell, his daughter, now wife to Donald on the other part, dated in October 1617, the day of the date being obscured. Christian Carswell [Campbell], [widow of the late Dougall Campbell of Inverawe] is mentioned as having been wife of the late Mr. Neill Campbell. The witnesses to the Action were Colin Campbell, fiar [heir] of Carrick, and Duncan and John Campbell his brothers.<sup>27</sup>

For some reason Archibald of Inverawe was getting rid of the only community and land for which he was responsible directly to the crown, rather than to the earls of Argyll. On the 6<sup>th</sup> of November 1617 at Achnacruif, a Renunciation was made by Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, with consent of his uncle Patrick MacConnochie, alias Campbell, brother of the late John *dubh* Tutor of Inverawe, in favour of Hugh MacCorquodale of Phantilands, of the two merklands of Achnacruif, a witness being Duncan Campbell in Forsdochan.<sup>28</sup> The lands of Achancruive – [the field of the cruive or salmon trap] on the River Nant had been granted to his grandfather Archibald of Inverawe and his wife Margaret by Mary of Guise.

At one point in 1618, Archibald Earl of Argyll was summoned home to lead his people but did not obey the call of the Privy Council. The leading men of his kindred then met with the Privy Council in order to organize government in the area of his jurisdiction during his absence.

The structure of law in dealing with responsibilities for people and land was continuing to be looked after in Argyll, if with a peaceful sense of time. On the 19<sup>th</sup> of October 1618, there was the rather late registration of a Tack by Andrew, Bishop of Argyll, to Mr. Neil Campbell, parson of Kilmartin, and Christian Carswell his wife [and widow of Dougall Campbell of Inverawe who died circa. 1583 – and therefore mother of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, now aged about 35] in the fourth part of Kirks of Kilmartin for 19 years. This was presumably part of the slow sorting out of the papers of the Parson following his death two years earlier.<sup>29</sup>

Hugh MacDougall of Craiganich, a branch of the family of Raray, signed a Bond at Edinburgh on the 21<sup>st</sup> of December 1618 agreeing that he would repay 1,000 merks to Barbara Graham, widow of Iain *dubh* MacConnochie Campbell, sometime Tutor of Inverawe, whom failing, he would pay that to her lawful son John Campbell. Alexander Campbell of Lochnell was his cautioner for the sum.<sup>30</sup> Hugh's descendants are the one known recorded male line of the MacDougalls of Lorn, heirs of Somerled.

By early 1619 the further need was felt to find some communal way of filling the gap left by the departed earl in the administration of Argyll. One particular matter left a sense of threat and that was the lingering or potential resentment between the sons of the late Cawdor and the sons of the late Ardkinglas over the latter's part in the murder of the former 27 years earlier. Without the strong hand of the earl, would this feud break out again?

On the 12<sup>th</sup> of January 1619 Archibald would have been at Inveraray where the “barounes and gentlemen of the surname Campbell” gathered there; b”eing convenit for taking ordour in the absence of the Earle the chiefe for observing of our soverane lordi’s peace in the cuntrie and for establisching and mantenyng of the estaite of the hous of Argyle and uther gude affairis and business.”

They then tackled frontally the rancorous division disrupting the kindred, the feud between Cawdor and young Ardkinglas, whose late father had been ‘art and part’ in the killing of Cawdor’s



father 27 years before, in 1692:

Considering of the difference oyreist [unrest?] and emulatione intervenit throw the slauchter of umquhile [the one time or late] Sir John Campbell of Caddell [Cawdor] knycht, quhair of umquhile Sir John [Ian] Campbell of Ardkinglas knycht, father to Sir Colen Campbell now of Ardkinglas was reput and halding as airte and pairt of the said slauchter, nocht onlie to the prejudice hurte and dampnage and losse of the saides twa houssis, but also to the haill kyn and friendis of the name of Campbell; and in regaird it is knawin unto the said Sir John of Caddell knycht that the said Sir Colen is innocent of the said slauchter, being then a minor of the age of ... yeiris or thereby, thairfore the said Sir Johne Campbell frielie and fullilie hes remit and forgiven the said Sir Colen all rancour malice inwy and haitreit of mynd that he hes conceavit aganis the said Sir Colen, and hes acceptit the said Sir Colen in brotherlie loue ametrie and friendschipe, intending by the grace of God to continew therin till to ther lyfe end.

For the quhilk caussis the said Sir Colen of hes awin voluntary doing hes promisit to concur and advance fortify and assist the said Sir John and his successouris in all ther lessum actiones querrellis and debaitis, our souerane lord and the earles of Argyll ther chiefe being exceptit.

In witness whereof the said parties and the friends have subscribed their presence this day, year and place foresaid: Twenty-five of the barons and gentlemen of Argyll signed.<sup>31</sup>

In an era of such violence and rancour, this gathering and the document produced seems remarkably mature and kindly, with the maturity of Sir John of Cawdor being of particular note in his holding Sir Colin of Ardkinglas without blame for his father's actions. The word 'civilized' is inappropriate, since that basically means 'citified' and these were sophisticated country people of the Gael. We need a new word for that rural quality that is in tune with human nature and intuitive wisdom. Perhaps that they were 'in clear tune with harmonious reality' could be a truer way of expressing the concept. Beyond that event, much of Archibald's life continued as a series of local incidents which intermittent records light up in flashes like a strobe from time to time. Seen together, they do serve to depict his responsibilities, interests and concerns:

The following month, Archibald of Inverawe was at Kerriemore where he stood cautioner for a Bond given by Allan MacDougall of the Isle of Torosay, younger son of Raray, to Robert Campbell of Glenfalloch for £100 Scots. The Bond was dated on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 1619 and not registered until the 3<sup>rd</sup> of November 1628, a demonstration of the pace of some paperwork at the time. Torosay is an island off Ardmaddy and at the south-eastern mouth of Cuan Sound that separates the Isles of Seil and Luing.<sup>32</sup>

Kerrimore has not yet been identified, although it could be a mis-transcription for Kerrera. Robert, the brother of Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, was before long to be Archibald's closer kinsman, since one of Robert's daughters would marry Inverawe's eldest son. Since the time of Robert's father, 'black Sir Duncan of the seven castles', the Glenorchy family had their eye on the various lands of Nether Lorn. The tactic of lending cash with an eventual view of receiving lands in lieu may not have been in Robert's mind, but it would have been in that of his father's.

The absence of the Earl of Argyll was being felt in the courts. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of March 1619, an Action was brought at the instance of Sir George Erskine of Inverteill, knight, against Archibald, Earl of Argyll and many others, tenants to the said Earl, for payment of sums of money due to him, 'for which the said Earl is escheat, and the pursuer is to be satisfied by the tenants for the respective duties owing by them by the said Earl.' Among the names is that of Archibald Campbell of

Inverawe for the fishings of the water of Awe and certain lands. The list appears to include all the Campbells among the Earl's 'tenants', 68 in all. The Earl, failing to appear, decree is given for payment of the due sums.<sup>33</sup>

The lands of Sonnachan lie on the southeastern shore of Lochawe to the south of the Inverawe lands of Achlian and Duchollie, and at one time Innestrynich, until that last was appropriated by the earl. The communities and lands of Sonnachan were being placed under the responsibility of Duncan Campbell MacDougall VicInryar and when he was given Sasine on the 26<sup>th</sup> of July 1619, Archibald of Inverawe was there as a witness.<sup>34</sup>

Duncan Campbell of Sonnachan was himself a witness when the holder of the debts of Lerags, Duncan of Auchangoul, was involved with the MacConnochie on Lismore the following summer. The prosperous merchant Duncan Garrow, *alias* Campbell of Auchnagoull renounced to Mr. Donald Campbell of Barbreck Lochawe, later to be Sir Donald of Ardnamurchan, and Jean Campbell his wife, the two merk land of Ballemenache in Lismore. This transaction involved their paying him 1,100 merks as the wadset price. These lands had been disposed to them by Inverawe's kinsman Ewin McDoull Eir V'Conachie, titular of the lands of Ballemenache and Achaworan beg, and Dougall Keir M'Allane V'Donchie *alias* Campbell, proprietor thereof. Ewin had borrowed from the renouncer, Duncan of Auchnagoull, the sum of 1,100 merks at Ardchattan on the 13<sup>th</sup> of June 1620, a witness to that Bond being Duncan Campbell of Sonnachan.<sup>35</sup> Ewen MacConnochie was the grandson of Alan of Ballimenach whose father was Archibald of Lerags who had erected the Lerags cross in 1516. And Ewen was Dougall *ciar* MacConnoche Campbell's uncle.

Then, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of July 1620, Ewin, this time recorded as Ewin McEwin VcConche and uncle of Dougall *ciar* or 'keir', had a charter of the Isle of Ramsay off the north-western corner of Lismore. The Sasine on this charter was given on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September 1620, when a witness was Archibald McEan McDunche galt in Achouran.<sup>36</sup> This Archibald was a cousin of Ewen's, the grandson of another Ewen but of Clachlea, now spoken on Lismore as 'Cloichlea'. This earlier Ewen was grandson of Duncan, younger brother of Archie of Lerags who erected the cross. (*see tree below*).

While poaching was not normally a big issue before shooting and stalking became profitable in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, if it became habitual or a commercial enterprise, measures could be taken. The shift from stalking to kill deer with an arrow, or driving them communally into a natural defile where a spear thrust could achieve a death, was gradually giving way to the use of gunfire with the potential for greater slaughter by one man. Duncan *oig* McDonchie VcAlaster in Invercarnan, Glen Etive, had an Act of Cautionary announced against him by Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and Colin Campbell of Kilcholmkill that he shall not for a space of 5 years thereafter shoot with gun or hagbut at deer or roe within the bounds of the Sheriffdom of Lorne, specified. The Act was dated on the 17<sup>th</sup> of July 1620. Only the use of guns were prohibited, so that Duncan in Invercarnan could continue to find his venison with his bow, if he had the skill.<sup>37</sup>

Later in the month came a call, presumably issuing from the growing power of the Kirk, for all grants of church lands to be registered. On the 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> of July 1620, the King's Advocate and then Thomas, Bishop of the Isles signed Actions against Archibald, Earl of Argyll and virtually all Campbell Lairds including Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, plus others including Macleans and MacDonalds, for production of all writs and deeds granted to them by the pursuer or by Sir John Campbell of Cawdor, Knight, his cedents, Alexander Campbell, Thomas, now Bishop of the Isles or Andrew, earlier Bishop of the Isles. The first list included Archibald Campbell, son of the Prior

of Ardchattan, Inverliver, Auchinbreck, Kilberry, Kilmelfort and his son; Lochnell and his brother Colin. The second list included Alexander Campbell of Ardchattan with Archibald, William and John Campbell his sons, two burgesses of Rothsay, Kilberry's son, Kilmelfort and his son [Campbells of Melfort?], Dunstaffnage, Eriskey, Barbreck Lochawe, the minister of Ardchattan, Glenorchy, Lochnell and his brother, Achindowie's son, the parson of Kilmartin, Lundie, Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, MacDougall of Raray, Campbell of Auchinbreck and others for production of their titles held of the said Bishop of the Isles or his predecessors, or of the Priors of Ardchattan, including the deceased Mr. John Campbell, Bishop of the Isles, Abbott of Ilcolmkill and Prior of Ardchattan. This appears to relate primarily to the lands granted by Cawdor, the bishops or Donald Campbell of Barbreck-Lochawe, therefore church related lands. The Acts can hardly have been popular.<sup>38</sup>

By late summer that year, back on the Isle of Lismore, the Sasine of the little Isle of Ramsay was given to young Ewen – then spelt 'Ewin' – on the ground. The recorded Sasine gives more details of the relationships and the transaction. The handing over of earth and stone on the island itself took place on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September 1620. The island has hardly space to provide for one family. There is a little meadow crowning the central plateau of higher ground, rocky shores to the north, west and south, and two or three shingle beaches on the east. Today there are the faint remains of dwellings or a barn facing east or south against the hill and above the meadows behind the shingle. There had once been a cell built by a person of spiritual life on the island. There is a sheltered anchorage so that even if what could be grown or grazed was very limited, the fishing could have been enough to support a family.

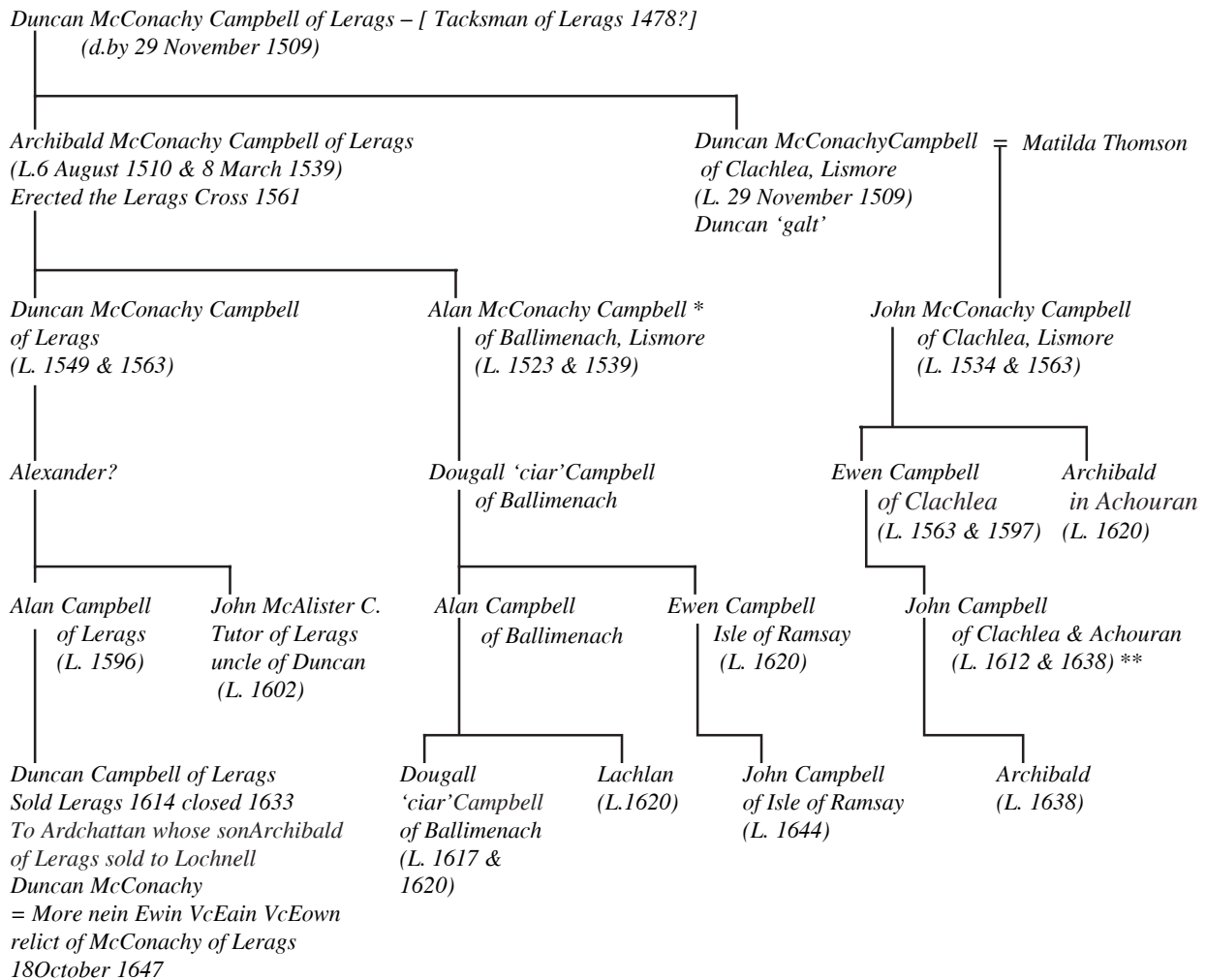
The Isle of Ramsay is near and forms part of the 4 merkland of Bellimenach in Lismore. Sasine and the mairship of the island, was given to Ewen McDougall *eir* Vic Donnachaidh *alias* Campbell in Ballimenach, by Lachlan McAllan Vic Donnachaidh *alias* Campbell [Lachlan son of Allan MacConnochie] as baillie, on a charter to Ewen by Mr. Donald Campbell of Barbreck-Lochawe [later Sir Donald of Ardnamurchan] with consent of his wife Jean Campbell. The charter had been signed at Connel in Lorn on the 7<sup>th</sup> of July 1620, before Alexander Campbell of Lochnell and his brother Colin Campbell, Archibald Campbell of Dunstaffnage, Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, and George Loudoun and Robert Ferguson, notaries. Witness to the Sasine were: Duncan McDougall in Kilmaluaig, Archibald McEan Vic Donnachaidh *galt* in Achouran [then spelt 'Achaworran'], and Donald McFarquhar.<sup>39</sup>

Also on Lismore that December, Dugald 'keir' [ciar], son and heir of deceased Allan Campbell of Ballemanache was seised [confirmed] in Achaworran beg [Achouran beag] and Ballemanache in Lismore, with the mairship of Lismore, Appin, Duror and Glencreeran. The Mairship was an office involving justice and defence for the area, one that had likely some rewards in terms of a portion of the fines levied, a pitfall for the unscrupulous. The following tree helps to explain the relationships between Inverawe's cousins of Lerags and these MacConnochie Campbells of Clachlea, Ballimenach and Achouran:

Dougall *ciar* or left handed of Ballimenach and Achouran, had already sold these properties on the 5<sup>th</sup> of July to Donald Campbell of Barbreck-Lochawe, who took Sasine on the 6<sup>th</sup> of December 1620. Dugald *Ciar* [spelt keir in the old writs] is here shown as Dougall McAllan VcDunche VcAllan *alias* Campbell, with McDunche being a mistake for McDougall, and the sale was made with consent of his uncle Ewin McDoull *eir* VcDunche.<sup>40</sup>

On the 6<sup>th</sup> of December 1620, mention is made of John McEwin VcEan VcDunche *galt* *alias*

## *Conjectural Tree of Campbells of Lerags – Clachlea – Ballimenach*



*No further issue of Lerags, Ballimenach, Isle of Ramsay or Clachlea have yet come to light.*

\* *Alan granted lands to his cousin Dougall, later of Inverawe (d.circa. 1583)*

\*\* *John resigned Achouran to John son of 2<sup>nd</sup> lawful son of Archibald of Inverawe (contr. 1638)*

Campbell of Clachlea, in a Sasine of Donald Campbell of Barbreck-Lochawe of the lands of Achouran and Ballimeanach in Lismore. This was John MacConnoche Campbell of Clachlea and Achouran, son of Ewen of Clachlea, and he has already appeared on record in 1612 and would still be alive in 1638.<sup>41</sup>

Archibald of Inverawe was either at Kilmichael Glassary on the 11<sup>th</sup> of April 1621, or at Dunolliemore on the 30<sup>th</sup>, when he was a witness to a Charter by Sir John MacDougall of Dunollie in favour of John MacDougall of Raray in the 4 merkland of old extent of Ardnahoway in the parish of Kilninver. Other witnesses were Alexander Campbell of Lochnell, John Campbell his elder son and heir, Archibald Campbell of Dunstaffnage, Colin Campbell of Kilcholmcill, Neil McEwen of Kilchoan and two of Dunollie's servants.<sup>42</sup> Neil McEwen must have been a predecessor of the 18<sup>th</sup> century McLachlans at Kilchoan.

While these shifts of ownership among the MacConnochie descendants of Lerags were taking place on Lismore, the final chapter in the loss of Lerags itself was taking place. Among the final

items to be completed on the transfer of Lerags to Ardchattan, and later to Lochnell, was the granting of Sasine to Archibald, son of Alexander Campbell of Ardchattan, on a Disposition by Duncan [MacConnochy] Campbell of Lerags of the 3 merklands of old extent of Nether Lerags. Sasine was given on the 16<sup>th</sup> of May on the Charter that had been signed at Ardchattan on the 9<sup>th</sup> of May 1621 before James Campbell, son of Alexander Campbell of Ardchattan. Ewen Campbell of Fanans was witness.<sup>43</sup>

A further Sasine was given to Alexander Campbell of Ardchattan himself on a feu charter granted by Duncan MacConnochy Campbell of Lerags. Allan MacDougall of Soroba acted as Baillie. This was for Sasine of the 16 merkland of old extent of the two Lerags, upper and Lower. Signed on the 19<sup>th</sup> of March 1622 at Kilbride in Lorne before Sir John MacDougall of Dunolly, knight, and Allan MacDougall of Soroba.<sup>44</sup> This was the final move of the MacConnochy Campbell of Lerags in disposing of his lands to Ardchattan from whom they passed to Lochnell and so to the second Campbell of Lerags family.

The deprivations by Clan Gregor, deprived of land and so obliged to raid for their living, came to a head that summer of 1621. On the 29<sup>th</sup> of August 1621 the Privy Council declared that action must be taken against the Gregorach. The Earls of Perth, Tullibardine, and the Lairds of Glenorchy and Lawers, along with Menzies of Weem, were all ordered to check their people, while anyone setting lands [tacks] to MacGregors would be accountable for them. The leaders Robert *Abroch* and Patrick *Aldoch* were identified as the ringleaders and a reward was offered for their heads. The edict pronounced against those who had been at Glenfruin, that they should go unarmed except for a pointless knife with which to cut their meat, was now extended to all of the Clan and all men's hands were to be set against them.<sup>45</sup> The plight of the Gregorach attracted sympathy from their neighbours and government measures were taken to punish any who assisted them. In September 1621, Campbell of Duntroon was required to pay a fine of 3,000 merks and, on 21 October, Archibald Campbell of Inverawe gave a bond for £1,000 owed by Archibald M'Lauchaln Ochallum VcDonche for the same reason.<sup>46</sup>

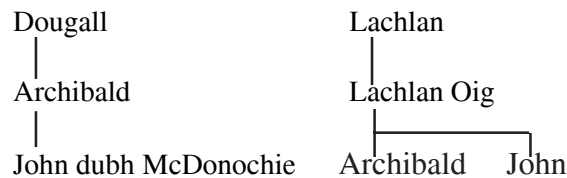
Away in the southwest of Scotland, near the Solway Firth, Inverawe's cousin, John MacConnochie, son of the Tutor Iain *dubh* by his second wife, was to be married. The records show that a Minute of Contract was drawn up on the 6<sup>th</sup> of September 1623 at Kirkudbright, between Sir Robert M'Clellan [also MacLellan] of Bombie, knight, and Margaret M'Clellan, widow of William M'Clellan of Mullock on the one part, Mullock being then a small castle on the Solway shore, and on the other part, John Campbell, son of the deceased John [or Iain *dubh*] Campbell, Tutor of Inverawe on the other, for the marriage of John and Margaret. John was to provide 3,000 merks towards the maintenance of his spouse and their heirs. And because by a contract dated the 4<sup>th</sup> of December 1611 Sir Robert had obliged himself to dispoise to the said Margaret and her deceased husband the half of the meikle Kirklands, therefore he regranted these to her.<sup>47</sup>

This is the last presently known of John MacConnochy Campbell, son of John *dubh*. However, it would appear that his descendants, if any, might be found near the lands of the Bombie family in Kirkudbright. Clearly the marriage contract for Bombie's son and Margaret had been in 1611, so she had probably been married about ten years when her first husband, William, died. One possibility is that John and his wife might be the ancestor of the MacConnochies of Wellwood.<sup>48</sup>

A Warrant dated on the 27<sup>th</sup> of June 1625 and signed by Lord Lorne, was issued to Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy to apprehend six 'limmers', people considered to be rogues. Their names

sound suspiciously like sons or descendants of Iain *dubh* the Tutor of Inverawe. He did have a son Dougall and his brother Patrick had a son Lachlan: John dow McGillespic VcCoull alias McDonochie, Archibald and John McCondochie, sons of Lachlan oig McCondochie, John and Donald McNocaird and Malcolm McKillop, their accomplices and associates.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, they could have been MacGregors who had changed their names. Their relationships would appear to be as follows:

Young John's mother was still alive since on the 5<sup>th</sup> of July that same summer, at Edinburgh,



Barbara Graham, widow of John [Iain *dubh* MacConnochy] Campbell Tutor of Inverawe, lent funds to George Buchanan, fiar of that Ilk and received his Bond for 1,000 pounds Scots. For the repayment, should she have died, the Bond would be held by her son John. In security, Buchanan obliged himself to infest them in an annual rent out of his lands.<sup>50</sup>

Archibald of Inverawe seems to have been responsible for collecting Teinds in parts of the parish of Baliveodan or Ardchattan that were owned by Glenorchy. These were the dues paid by those responsible for communities and lands for the upkeep the ministers of the Kirk and the churches themselves. The ten years between 1627 and 1637 are recorded as ‘Rental of the teind bolls, or measures of grain, paid for the parsonage teinds of Glenorchy lands within the parish of Balyveodan, to McCondochie of Inneraw, as tacksman to the Bishop of Argyll, [and to?] the prior of Ardchattan, in the parish of Kilninver and Lismore.’<sup>51</sup>

For the first time in the records that have so far come to light there is mention of Inverawe's eldest son Dougall. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of January 1629 both he and his brother John or Ian were witnesses to a document later found among the Dunstaffnage papers.<sup>52</sup> In the same year, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of June, John was witness on Lismore to a Sasine of Archibald Campbell of Dunstaffnage in the lands of Kilcheren in Lismore.<sup>53</sup> Then again, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of October 1629, John was witness to a Renunciation by Archibald Campbell of Dunstaffnage.<sup>54</sup> These incidents suggest that perhaps John was being fostered by Dunstaffnage.

If their father Archibald was 21 in 1602 and married in his late twenties, Dougall could have been born in about 1610 and so could have been aged about 19 in 1629, with John a year younger. This guess of Dougall's age is based upon his being still ‘apparent of Inverawe rather than ‘fiar’ of Inverawe in 1630, suggesting that he was then still a minor.

Archibald of Inverawe may well have been in Perth on the 4<sup>th</sup> of June 1629, when he gave a Bond to James Drummond, merchant burghess of Perth for a loan of 2,032 merks, a considerable sum at that time. As will become clear, Inverawe was able to clear the debt four years later, showing his viability and integrity.<sup>55</sup>

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December in the following year of 1630, Inverawe was at Archangel, the house on the mainland near the island castle of Innis Chonnell on Lochawe. There he was granted a Charter by a man named Duncan McGilimichel of Portcharren, under reversion, for half a merk of the lands of Clageriskey in Appin. The actual location of Portcharran has not been identified by the writer, but it seems likely that it may have been a place in Appin suitable for keeping a boat for the crossing

to Auchouran on Lismore. The witnesses were Mr. Donald Campbell, Commissary of Lorn and Archibald's son and heir Dougall Campbell, called here 'apparent of Inverawe.' Since he was not yet called 'fiar' of Inverawe, this may indicate that he was not yet 21. Colin Campbell, Clerk of the diocese of Lismore was notary, and Donald MacInnes Oig, servitor to Alexander Campbell of Lochnell, later gave Sasine on the site as baillie.<sup>56</sup>

Less than three weeks later, at Inverawe on the day before Christmas Eve, Alexander Campbell, eldest son of Ewen Campbell of Fanans gave a record of Sasine on some of his father's lands in fulfilment of his Contract of Marriage with Eina Campbell, the daughter of Archibald of Inverawe. This time it was the turn of Archibald *oig* Campbell, her brother, to be a witness. He may have been aged around 16 or at the time, with his sister Eithne, as Eina is spelled in Gaelic, being between himself and his elder brother John. Fanans is up river from Inverawe and on the opposite bank of the Awe where it turns from tumbling from the Pass of Brander to glide through a gorge and so out past the meadows below Inverawe itself.<sup>57</sup>

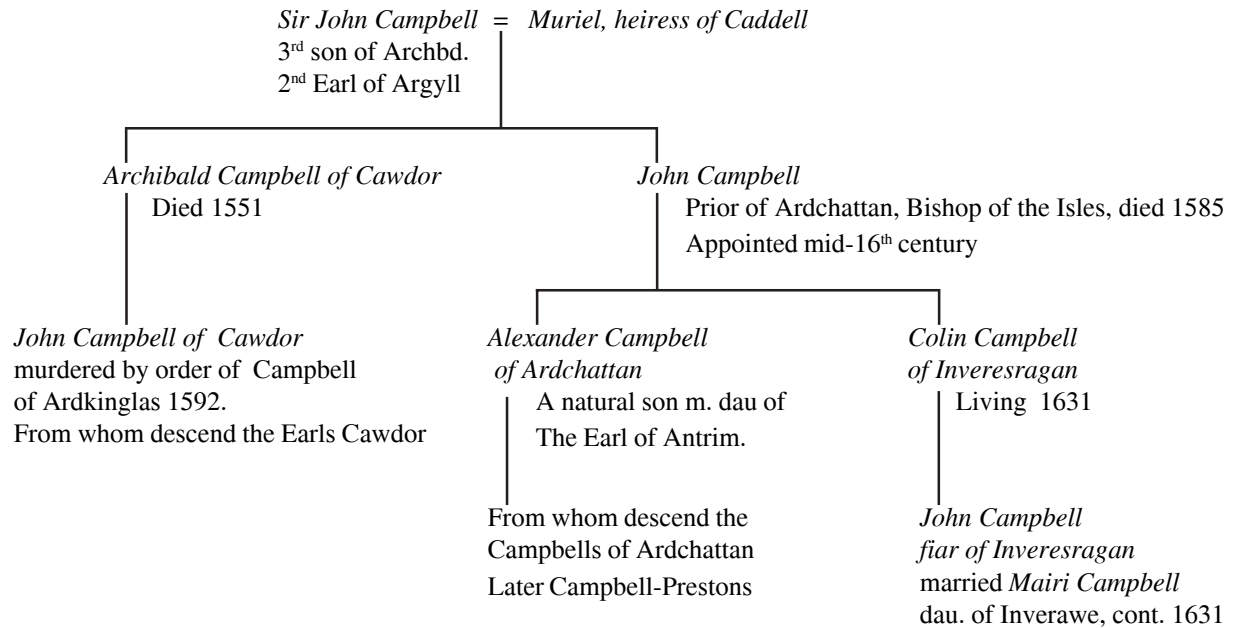
The festivities continued on Christmas Eve, for then the actual Sasine was given for Eithne or Eina Campbell, future wife of Alexander Campbell, eldest son of Ewen Campbell of Fanans. This was done by her eldest brother Dougall, acting as her attorney. Dougall Campbell, apparent of Inverawe, saw that she received Sasine in half of the lands of Fanans in liferent. Again her brother Archibald was a witness.<sup>58</sup> Girls seem often to have married younger than boys, although there is no way to tell Alexander's age. That he was known as 'Sandy' seems likely, since although the Gaelic for Alexander was Alastair, just as the Gaelic for John was Iain, when it came to public record, the international name was generally used by this family, yet in person a less formal name was used. A marital alliance with the family at Fanans would likely have been considered positively by Inverawe.

Archibald would have been pleased that January to be given Sasine on the charter of the lands at Portcharren. This raises the question as to whether the place mentioned earlier during the dispute with Ardchattan; 'Portverran' was the same. He was likely there on the ground on the 12<sup>th</sup> of January 1631 when he was handed turf and stone by Lochnell's servitor Donald McInnes *oig* acted as bailie, giving him Sasine. Dougall apparent of Inverawe was there as a witness, as was Mr. Donald Campbell, Commissary of Lorn.<sup>59</sup>

The Inverawe daughters were seemingly popular in the area for it was not long before Eithne's sister Mairi was engaged. On the 12<sup>th</sup> of May 1631 a Marriage Contract was signed at Inverawe between Colin Campbell of Inveresraggan and his eldest son John Campbell, 'fiar thereof' on the one part, and Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and Mary or Mairi Campbell his daughter on the other part, for their marriage. She was to be infeft in liferent in the lands of Blaircrein and Kendacraig and others to give her a living, should her betrothed John die before her. The tocher was 1,300 merks part of which was to be paid to Mr. William Campbell, son of the prior of Ardchattan and others for debts due by the said Colin Campbell; and for payment of the tocher Archibald Campbell of Dunstaffnage and Mairi's brother Dougall, apparent of Inverawe were cautioners. Witnesses were Donald Campbell, fiar of Irriskey [Eriskay in Benderloch-Appin], Alexander Campbell of Phanane [Fanans] and Colin Campbell, notary, writer of the Deed.<sup>60</sup>

Colin Campbell of Inveresragan, founder of that family on lands northwest across Loch Etive from Inverawe, was of the Cawdor family and a younger brother of Alexander Campbell of Ardchattan 'Commendatory Prior' of Ardchattan. Alexander had succeeded their father, John, Bishop of the Isles, in 1580, so was an older man by the 1630s. The Bishop was a younger son of Sir John

### *Conjectural Tree of the Campbells of Inveresragan – Loch Etive*



Campbell of Cawdor, sometimes known as Caddell in those days.

On the same day that her marriage contract was signed, the 12<sup>th</sup> of May 1631, Mairi was given Sasine of certain liferents of Inveresragan; Blarcrein and Kendacraig among others, by her father-in-law Colin and her affianced John, ‘in conjunct fee and liferent.’ Her brother John acted as attorney for her. Witnesses to the Sasine were the notorious Donald Campbell of Barbreck Lochawe, now knighted as Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan, along with Archibald Campbell of Dunstaffnage and Patrick Campbell, fiar of Dalmarkglen.<sup>61</sup>

Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan was also of the Cawdor family, a natural son who had been a priest and later a warrior, described by Alastair Campbell of Airds as ‘Argyll’s hit man.’ Patrick Campbell of Dalmarkglen or Dalmarglen (near Comrie in Perthshire) was ‘Para dubh beag’ or small black haired Patrick who was ancestor of the Barcaldine family. He had seemingly been born in 1592 and received a charter of Dalmarkglen from his father Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy aged 4 in 1596. He was one of two natural sons Duncan had by his mother and he and his brother James were legitimated under the *Great Seal* in 1614. He became known as ‘of Innerzeldies’ or Invergeldie in 1642.<sup>62</sup>

#### *The Rough Ending of the MacConnochie Campbells of Lerags*

Alastair Campbell of Airds, in his second volume of *A History of Clan Campbell*, gives a description of how, between 1614 and 1631, the family of the MacConnochie Campbells of Lerags came to an end. Although the lands passed to the Ardchattan family, they shortly thereafter ended up as the home place of a branch of Lochnell who then became ‘Campbells of Lerags.’<sup>63</sup>

As far back as 20 February 1614, Duncan Campbell of Lerags had made disposition to Alexander Campbell, the Prior of Ardchattan, concerning his lands of Over and Nether Lerags.<sup>64</sup> On 31 July 1616, he took action against Duncan Campbell, alias Garrow, of Auchnagoul and his tenants in Lerags for removal.<sup>65</sup> This The Lords of Session found in his favour. This Duncan Campbell of Auchnagoul would seem to have been a prosperous



Inveraray merchant and a man of business, to whom, it seems safe to assume, Duncan of Lerags was seriously in debt - hence Duncan Garrow's occupation of Lerags. On 12 December 1618, he was still in Lerags when he took out an action against Duncan Campbell of Lerags for suspension of horning. This petition, however, was disallowed by the Lords.<sup>66</sup> This was followed, in March 1619, by Duncan of Lerags bringing a successful action against Duncan Garrow for wrongful occupation of the lands of Over and Nether Lerags and asking for the decree of removal against him to be enforced.<sup>67</sup>

The Campbells of Ardchattan, whose patience by now must have been wearing very thin, now decided on direct action. In June 1619, Duncan of Lerags, accompanied by Ewin Campbell of Fanans, the Prior's son-in-law, Alexander Campbell, the Prior of Ardchattan, John Campbell, his eldest legal son and John and John, both natural sons to the Prior (whose predilection for the name John is clear), with Patrick and Niall MacArthur, his servants and others, all fully armed, broke into the house of Lerags, left several of the occupant's family and servants for dead and broke open eight of Auchnagoul's chests, whence they removed 50 merks ready money, smashed the timberwork of the house and took away or destroyed much stored food.<sup>68</sup>

That same month, Archibald MacPryor, the Prior of Ardchattan's second lawful son, together with the two illegitimate Johns already mentioned, had ambushed and wounded Gilchrist M'Chaig and Alaster MacEan Dubh, Auchnagoul's servants, who were transporting some horse loads of timber from his house to Lochaweside where he was erecting a house.<sup>69</sup>

This was followed in October 1619 by more violence when John, Archibald and William Campbell, lawful sons of the Prior of Ardchattan, John McAlester VcEane VcDonald in Sonachan, Donald Campbell, his brother, John Campbell Craig and John Campbell Balloch, natural sons of the Prior, Patrick and Niall MacCarter, his servants, Patrick MacCondochie MacArthur in Blarcreen, John MacBreachane in Inveresragan, Duncan Campbell of Lerags, John Campbell nevic Angus, servant to the Prior and Duncan Oig MacCondochy came by night to the house of Lerags, broke in and wounded Duncan Campbell of Auchnagoul in the leg and wounded his wife thrice, once across her stomach and twice in the thigh.<sup>70</sup>

Auchnagoul took legal action against his attackers but, when the trial was set, he was persuaded by them to delay it, on promise of no further harm coming to him, until such time as the Earl of Morton could visit Argyll in person.

The Ardchattan boys were clearly a wild lot. On 15 November 1619, the Prior of Ardchattan had brought an action against Hew MacDougall of Creaganiche for non-payment of twelve bolls of meal, the annual teinds and duties of the church of Kilbrandon.<sup>71</sup> On 18 December, the two illegitimate Johns were charged, in return, by Hew MacDougall over the spoliation of some horses from his lands and woods of Sellachan. For this they were ordered to make restitution.<sup>72</sup>

On 17 July 1621, Duncan Campbell of Lerags, 'finding himself weak of nature' issued an interdiction to his friends, Mr. William Campbell of 'Geddes,' Alexander Campbell of Ardchattan and John Campbell, his son.<sup>73</sup> An interdiction such as this was a voluntary undertaking, with the full force of the law, not to do anything that might affect the granter's estate without the consent of the other people named in the deed.<sup>74</sup>

In spite of their promise, on 3 August 1621, John Campbell, fiar of Ardchattan, and his brothers, Niall MacArthur, Kennacraig, John MacBethan in Inveresragan, Duncan Campbell of Lerags, Sorley MacEwin VcEane in Cadderliebeg and others descended once more on the luckless Duncan Campbell - this time at Auchnagoul to the south of Inveraray, whence they removed 120 cattle, twenty-four calves, sixty two-year-old and thirty one

year-old cattle, thirty horses and all the butter, cheese and general goods belonging to Duncan and his tenants that they could lay their hands on. But even this was not the end of the story and, a fortnight later, it was Archibald Campbell, son of the Prior, who came to the house of Lerags and ravaged it, also wounding Anna Campbell.

At the end of the month, possibly helped by Ardchattan, Duncan Campbell of Lerags settled all his debts with Duncan Campbell of Auchnagoul. If this was intended to release him from the latter's grasp, it did not last long for, the following day, 29 August, he gave Auchnagoul a bond for 400 merks.<sup>75</sup> By March the following year, he had resumed trading and there is a record, on 26 March 1622, of a further bond by Duncan of Lerags to Auchnagoul of the delivery of some victual.<sup>76</sup>

Poor Duncan of Lerags, he was clearly easily led astray. On 7 June 1623, he was again taken to court by the Prior and his son and Mr. William who demanded from him and from Auchnagoul all the writs the former had issued after he had submitted the interdiction above in their favour.<sup>77</sup> On 19 November 1624, the two Duncans were also again brought to court, this time for breach of inhibition - the prohibition of contracting any debt against the inhibited party's estate. Clearly, Duncan of Auchnagoul was not letting go. The Lords of Session granted another term for the production of writs,<sup>78</sup> before what appears to be the final step, when, on 7 July 1625, Mr. William and Ardchattan and his son, with Duncan of Lerags now on their side, brought their action against Duncan Garrow of Auchnagoul, requiring him to cancel all deeds and bonds granted contrary to the inhibition. The Lords found against Duncan Garrow<sup>79</sup> and, by 1631, Lerags was in the hands of Archibald Campbell, a younger son of the Prior of Ardchattan.<sup>80</sup>

This somewhat convoluted tale can hardly be said to rank high among the important deeds of the Clan Campbell but it does highlight the atmosphere of the time, when people of the highest rank in society, when thwarted, did not hesitate to take the law into their own hands, often in a savage and uncivilised way. It also shows the beginning of the ceaseless dealing over land and money which was, from now on, to become almost a sport among the Highland gentry who lent, borrowed and squabbled endlessly over what was, in effect, virtually non-existent money which they managed to raise on the somewhat dubious value of their property. The cycle was to become an endless one and it was accompanied, so it would appear, by a magnificent disdain for the reality of financial affairs. Many an ancient house came to eventual ruin when its lands had finally all been pledged in debt by owners whose common usage was merely to request some more money from their man of business whenever they needed it, without questioning its source, until, one day, they were told that there was no more to come and their lands had gone from them for ever. Such a process might seem incredible to our modern eyes but I have actually seen it happen to a friend of mine.<sup>81</sup>

Duncan MacConnachie Campbell, last of the MacConnachie of Lerags in Lorn, passed his lands to Campbell of Ardchattan from whom in turn they passed to Campbell of Lochnell. They passed the place to a cadet family of theirs who, in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century were prolific, but spread themselves over the globe and have not yet been traced (in 2010). No record of any of Duncan of Lerags' heirs male have survived, if there were any, however the mention of 'Duncan *Oig*' might suggest a surviving son. Meanwhile, Archibald of Inverawe appears to have remained aloof to these goings-on, possibly because his relations with the rather prickly Alexander at Ardchattan were never easy. Possibly the combination of a natural birth followed by an aristocratic marriage may have left Ardchattan between damaged self-esteem and a certain defensive arrogance.

Meanwhile Inverawe had his eye on lands to the northeast of Ardchattan. In 1633, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of

January, John MacDougall of Raray signed a Reversion whereby he wadset the lands of Invercallan in Glenetive to Patrick Campbell of Dalmarkglen in liferent and to Alexander his son in fee, the wadset would later be redeemed by Archibald of Inverawe and his son Dougall on the 1<sup>st</sup> of February 1652.<sup>82</sup>

And it was Dougall who was the next of the family at Inverawe to get married. His wife was to be Agnes, sometimes recorded as Ann, one of the eight daughters of Robert Campbell of Glenfalloch and his wife. Robert had likely been born in about 1575 and married, when about thirty, in 1605, Isabel, daughter of Sir Lachlan Macintosh of Dunauchtane. Robert himself was second son of 'black' Sir Duncan of Glenorchy, known to some as 'Duncan of the seven castles,' since he had initiated the construction of a series of towers and defensive structures on his extensive lands. Among these were Barcaldine, Achallader, Edinample, Finlarig, extensions to Kilchurn and Balloch, Loch Dochart and possibly some work to the formerly MacDougall castle at Ardmaddy. Robert was 'of Glenfalloch' until he succeeded his elder brother Sir Colin of Glenorchy in 1640. He would be grandfather of John, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Breadalbane. From his portrait by Jamiesone, Robert wore the fashionable 17<sup>th</sup> century small beard from his lower lip and a curled up moustache. In place of a lace collar, he wore a simple white starched collar that spread half way across his shoulders and was divided widely above his chest. From his portrait, he seems to have been a man of some breadth, while his brother Colin, who was foster father to the young heir to the earldom of Argyll but had no sons of his own, was narrow in the face and slim.

At Inveraray on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1633, Archibald of Inverawe granted to his son and heir Dougall and his betrothed Agnes, 'lawful daughter of Robert Campbell of Glenfalloch' and future wife of Dougall, 'to them and their heirs irredeemably, the three merklands of Achacharne in the Lordship of Lorne and other small portions of land with the four merklands of Inverawe, Drumachoise and others, reserving the granter's liferent. Witnesses were Colin Campbell, lawful son of the said Robert Campbell of Glenfalloch, and others.' Colin, then likely still in his teens, would later be known as 'of Mochaster' in Perthshire. His great-grandson would become the 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Breadalbane when the line of Colin's elder brother John died out.<sup>83</sup>

Two and three days later, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1633, Sasine was given to Dougall Campbell, apparent of Inverawe and eldest lawful son and heir apparent of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, and Agnes, daughter of Robert Campbell of Glenfalloch and future wife of Dougall, on the charter by Inverawe to them and their heirs irredeemably, of the three merklands of Achacharne in the Lordship of Lorne and other small portions of land, with the four merklands of Inverawe, Drumachoise and others, reserving liferent to the granter. Actual Sasine was received by Agnes' attorney Patrick *ruadh* McTearlach Campbell, servitor to her father. He was of the Loch Tayside kindred from whom the Campbells of Inverneill would descend.<sup>84</sup>

On the same 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> of May Dougall and Agnes were given Sasine of Achacharrie, likely Achacharne in Benderloch, and that part of the 5 pound land of Achalian [Achlian] called 'Dowchailzie.' This was Duchollie or 'dubh choille' – the black wood – presumably earlier a pine wood, up the Teatle Water from Lochawe and adjacent to Achlian, by Dougall, son of Patrick Campbell in Duchollie, as baillie. This was based upon the same charter from Archibald of Inverawe of the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1633. His wife Janet Campbell is mentioned for the only time in any document so far discovered, and a liferent is reserved to her. Janet is Seonaidh in Gaelic. The witnesses include Archibald *oig*, third son to Inverawe, and Alexander Campbell, apparent of Fanans who was so recently married to Dougall's sister Eithne.<sup>85</sup> Patrick in Duchollie, whose son Dougall was acting as bailie, was almost certainly Archibald of Inverawe's uncle, the Patrick,

brother of John or Iain *dubh* MacConnochie Campbell, Tutor of Inverawe.

The mention of Archibald's wife Janet Campbell is intriguing. This is the only mention of Archibald of Inverawe's wife. It is not yet clear from what family she descended or whether she was mother of his children, however it may be significant that the eldest son Dougall named his second daughter Janet, suggesting that she was his mother, although there was also a custom of naming the eldest daughter after the mother's mother. But since Robert of Glenfalloch's wife was Isabel, their eldest daughter may have died young. Ardkinglas had been given Archibald's 'Ward & Marriage', so it is likely that the Janet who was wife of Archibald of Inverawe was of the Ardkinglas family. However while the mother of Iain/John *dubh* the Tutor of Inverawe is shown on an old Ardkinglas tree, there is no mention of Janet. However, unless one of their sons was significant in some way, daughters do not seem to be much mentioned on that document.<sup>86</sup>

That October, Dougall was at Inveraray where, as 'apparent of Inverawe,' he was a witness to a number of documents on the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> of the month. That on the 22<sup>nd</sup> was to a charter by Archibald Lord Lorne to John Campbell, fiar of Calder, now Cawdor, of the lands of Sonnachan and others.<sup>87</sup> This Lord Lorn would later become the Marquess of Argyll who played a large role in ruling Scotland during the Civil War that was to come.

Once again, Inverawe's second son John turns up as a witness at Dunstaffnage, reinforcing the idea that he may have been fostered there. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of November 1633 at Dunstaffnage, Patrick Campbell of Dalmarkglen signed a Renunciation to Archibald, Lord Lorne of the lands of Auchinard lying in the Isle of Lismore. Lord Lorne had acquired right to these lands for payment of 1,000 pounds Scots. The witnesses were Archibald Campbell of Dunstaffnage, Mr. Donald Campbell his brother german, John Campbell, fiar of Dunstaffnage, and John Campbell, son of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe. John Campbell, notary, signed for Patrick who could not write. The lands had been wadset to Patrick by Sir John MacDougall of Dunollie on the 29<sup>th</sup> of August 1631.<sup>88</sup>

Unlike his namesake and great-grandson of Inverawe, Archibald seems to have been careful about repaying debts. On the 13<sup>th</sup> of June 1634 at Edinburgh he received a Discharge from James Drummond, merchant and burghess of Perth, for 2,032 merks. This debt was based upon Inverawe's Bond of the 4<sup>th</sup> of June 1630. A Discharge was the receipt for full payment of the debt. Witnesses to the Discharge were John Campbell, fiar of Calder [heir of Cawdor] and Archibald Campbell of Dunstaffnage.<sup>89</sup>

A month and a half later, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1634, the Marriage Contract of John Campbell, heir to Inveresragan and Mairi Campbell, Inverawe's daughter, was finally registered.<sup>90</sup>

But the old dispute with Ardchattan was once again stirring. Alexander the 'Commendator' had been succeeded by his son John Campbell, now of Ardchattan. But now it was not only Inverawe and Glenorchy who were seen to be at fault, but also Dunstaffnage. On the 31<sup>st</sup> of January 1635, John Campbell of Ardchattan brought an Action against Archibald Campbell of Dunstaffnage, Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and Robert Campbell of Glenfalloch, for spoliation of teind salmon fishings on the waters of Lochetive and Awe. The pursuer produced his title dated the 10<sup>th</sup> of October 1631, subscribed by George Campbell, Notary, and other writs were produced. The Lords ordained the defenders to restore the salmon or the price thereof.<sup>91</sup>

Evidence of the continued kinship between Inverawe and their MacConnochie cousins of

Stronchormaig at the head of Loch Feochan was clearly shown when, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of May 1635, Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, Dougall 'fiar thereof,' Ewen Campbell of Fanans and Dougall's brother-in-law Alexander fiar of Fanans all agreed to act as Cautioners and Curators for Archibald Campbell of Dunstaffnage, who was taking the burden on him for Margaret Campbell his lawful daughter on the one part, and Dougall Campbell of Stronchormaig on the other, in their Contract committing Dougall and Margaret to their marriage.<sup>92</sup> On the same day and Contract, at Killespicerill [now Muckairn], Patrick, son of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe was witness to the Marriage Contract of Dougall of Stronchormaig and Margaret daughter of Dunstaffnage.<sup>93</sup>

In 1638 the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll died and was succeeded by Archibald the 8<sup>th</sup> Earl, who would be made Marquess in 1641 and executed in 1661.

Although Lerags had passed out of the family of the MacConnochies, their younger branch at Achouran and Cloichlea on Lismore still continued. But although the underlying limestone rocks could provide rich crops and the lack of nearby mountains to catch the clouds aided fine weather, it seems that the Lerags descendants were losing their energy.

Archibald of Inverawe had seemingly been looking for land on which to settle his second son John or Iain. He, or John, evidently found that John McEwen MacConnochie *galt* was ready to sell up at Achouran.

On the 4<sup>th</sup> of November 1638 they forgathered at Ardchattan where a Contract of Resignation was signed between John, 2<sup>nd</sup> lawful son of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and John McEwine vic Ean vic Donchie *galt*, alias Campbell of Cloichlea, with Archibald Campbell his eldest son, heritable proprietors of Achouran on Lismore.<sup>94</sup>

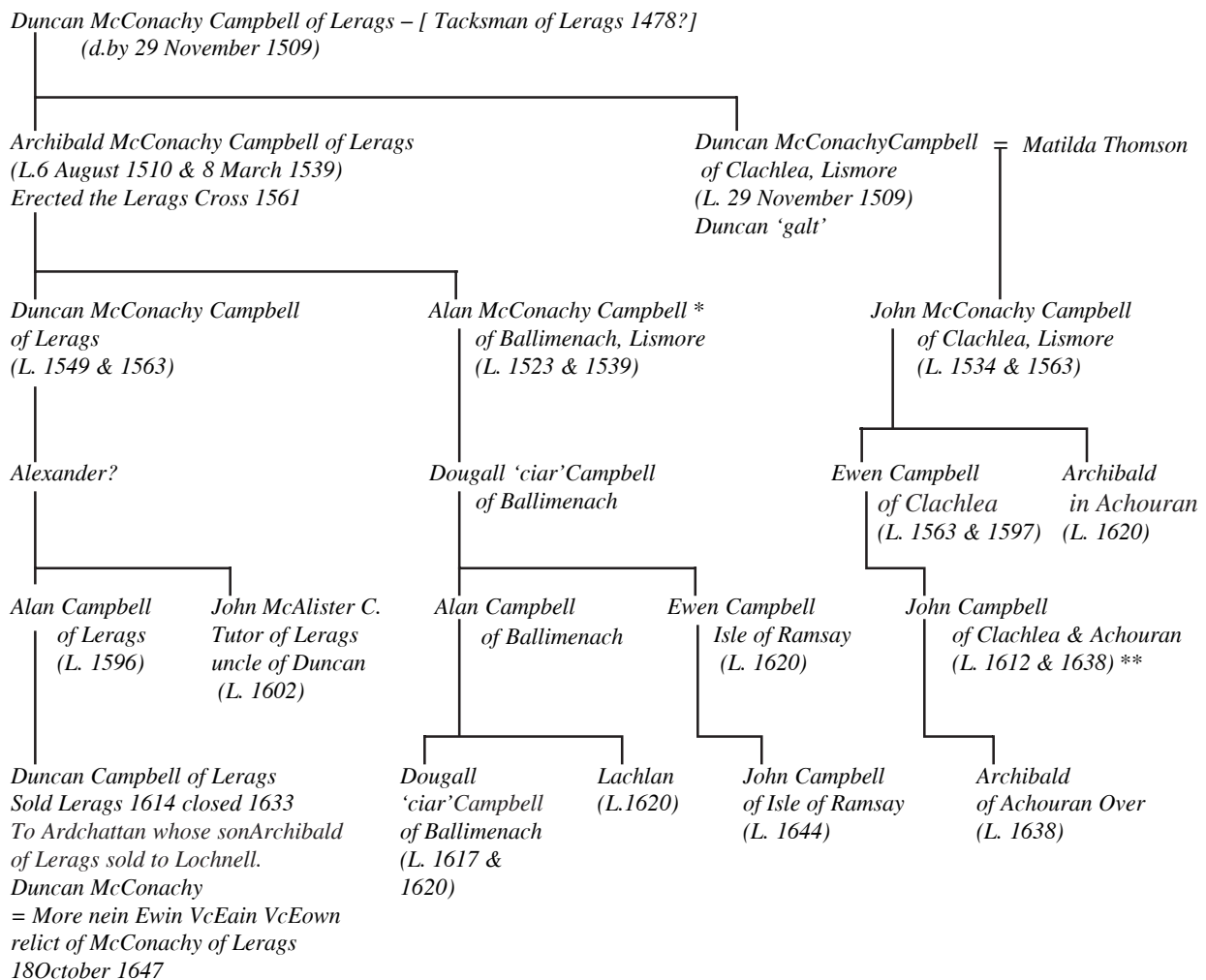
Just over a year later, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> of December 1639 at Inveraray, Inverawe's second son John was granted a Charter of the lands of Achouran Over in Lismore by Archibald Earl of Argyll. The witnesses to the Charter were Archibald Campbell now of Lerags and George Campbell, Sheriff Clerk of Argyll. Sasine was given by John Campbell living in Islay as bailie.<sup>95</sup> This followed on the Contract of Resignation to John at Ardchattan on the previous 4<sup>th</sup> of November 1638, by John Campbell of Clachlea and Archibald Campbell his eldest lawful son.<sup>96</sup>

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of March the next year, 1640, Inverawe's son John Disponed one fourth of the lands of Over Achaworran on Lismore to Archibald, son of John Campbell of 'Clachleache' or Cloichlea. A witness to the Sasine on the 18<sup>th</sup> of March was John's brother Lachlan Campbell, a younger son of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe.<sup>97</sup>

The following day, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of March, the men were all involved at Castle Stalcair in Appin, a short sail from Lismore. Sasine was given to Cloichlea's son Archibald Campbell, on the Charter by Inverawe's son John, of the quarter of the lands of Auchouran Over in the Island of Lesmoir. The Sasine was dated at Illan Stalker, now known as Castle Stalker, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of March 1640. The witnesses were Duncan Campbell, lawful son of the deceased John Campbell of Auchairdei [del?], Henry Christie, servitor to Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan, and George Campbell, Sheriff Clerk of Argyll. John Campbell living in Islay gave Sasine as bailie and witnesses to the giving of Sasine were John Campbell, brother german of Mr. Ewin Campbell of Auchingoull and again, young Lachlan Campbell, son of Archibald of Inverawe.<sup>98</sup>

Castle Stalcair was then in the hands of Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan, formerly of Barbreck Lochawe. Tradition tells that he had acquired the island castle from Stewart of Appin

## **Conjectural Tree of Campbells of Lerags – Clachlea – Ballimenach & Achouran**



\* Alan granted lands to his cousin Dougall, later of Inverawe (d. circa. 1583)

\*\* John resigned Achouran to John son of 2<sup>nd</sup> lawful son of Archibald of Inverawe (contr. 1638)

when he visited him, arriving in a smart new boat. Stewart, who was not the wisest of his line, gave suitably liquid hospitality that evening and, being very taken with the boat, offered to exchange the castle for it. Sir Donald said 'done' and they shook on the bargain, and while there were second thoughts in the morning, the ruthless Ardnamurchan pressed the deal and came into possession of Castle Stalcair.

Early signs of a trend towards Civil War occurred on the 12<sup>th</sup> of June 1640 when the Earl of Argyll received a Commission from 'the Estates' who formed the government of Scotland to pursue the Earl of Atholl, Lord Ogilvie and the MacPhersons, with fire and sword and bring them to 'their bounden duty' to King and Country.<sup>99</sup>

The earl moved swiftly and six days later, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of June, sent out the 'fiery cross,' a cross of sticks burnt at the tips, not actually flaming, through his lands, summoning his barons and vassals to assemble under his banner. The traditional hosting ground was at Cruachan on the western side of Lochawe, however he specified that the men from Cowal were to muster at Inveraray, while

those from Glassary, Ardsceodnish (Kilmartin), Lorne and Lochawe were to meet at Clachan Dysart (now Dalmally). On the day of the hosting, the total roll call was about 4,000 men. Archibald of Inverawe, then likely a man of 57 or 58, had evidently decided that his son Dougall, possibly then aged about 22, should lead the men of Inverawe following to the muster. This becomes obvious from subsequent movements and orders.<sup>100</sup>

Following the muster, Argyll marched against the Earl of Atholl and the Ogilvies who had taken up arms for the king. Dougall Campbell, now as 'fiar of Inverawe', meaning having a right in inheritance in the place, but not yet in possession, was in command of forces for Argyll and was given the order to march his company to the Braes of Angus. He was further given instructions about his dealings with a house of Lord Ogilvies, and 'anent' the disposal of goods from the House of Airlie.

Dowgall,

I mynd, God willing, to lift from this the morrow, and therefor ye shall meitt me the morrow at nicht at Stronamot in Strathardill: and caus bring alonges with you the hail nolt and sheipe that ye have fundine perteineing to my lord Ogilbie. As for the horss and mearis that ye have got tine perteineing to him, ye shall not fail to direct thame home to the Stranemoor. I desyre not that they be in our way at all, and to send thame the nearest way home. And albeit that ye shoulde be the langer in folloeing me, yeit ye shall not fail to stay and demolishe my lord Ogilbies hous of Forthar. Sie how ye can cast off the irone yeattis and windows; and tak doun the roof: and if ye find it will be langsome, ye shall fyre it weill, that so it may be destroyed. But.you neid not to latt know that ye have directions from me to fyir it; onlie, ye may say that ye have warrand to demoleishe it, and that to mak the work short, ye will fyir it. Iff ye mak any stay for doeing of this, send fordwart the goodis. So referring this to your cair, I rest, your freynd Argyll.<sup>101</sup>

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of November 1640

Sasine of this date of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy, knight baronet, nearest lawful heir to his deceased brother Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, knight baronet (by his attorney John Campbell, son of Archibald Campbell of 'Lagvinchach' [Lagvinsheoch]) on a Crown Precept from Chancery for infesting him as heir foresaid in the lands of 'Stormellachane' [Stronmellachan], Edindouich, Craif [Crieff], Cardroquhatt and others, dated at Edinburgh on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of November 1640. Sasine on the Charter was dates on the 10<sup>th</sup> of November 1640. Witnesses to the Sasine were Dougall Campbell, apparent of Inverawe, Patrick Campbell his brother, John Campbell in Cattinis, and Patrick Campbell in Tiray.<sup>102</sup>

Archibald is clearly still alive at this date because his son Dougall, possibly by now in his thirties, is not yet 'of Inverawe.'

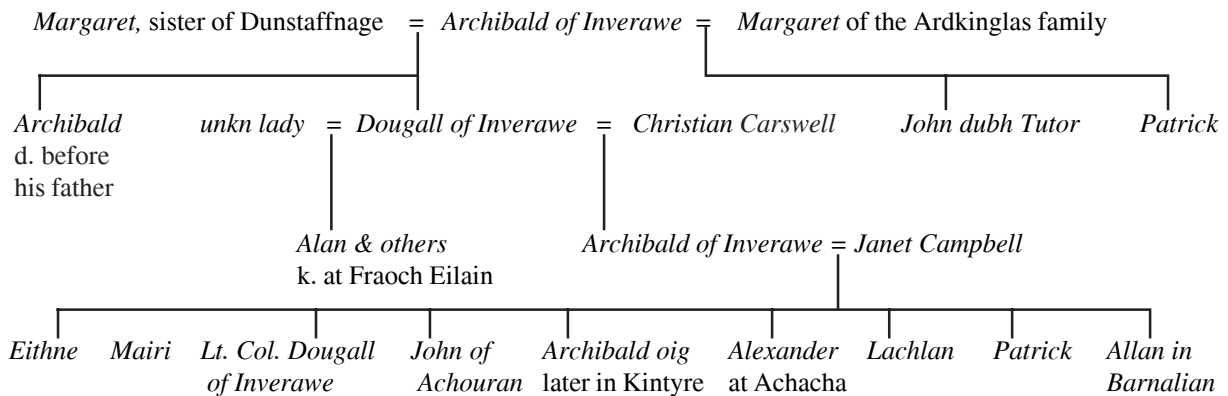
In 1641, Archibald 8<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll was made Marquess of Argyll. He was a man of 44.

On the first of October 1641 there is record of a Horning, or putting to the horn, by Alexander, likely the fifth son of Archibald and Janet of Inverawe, and by Patrick Campbell of Auchacha, likely the place in Benderloch also variously known as Achacharne and Acha.

The man who was announced as being therefore open to arrest by anyone, was one John Moir McDonald in Invergarrie for spoliation. What is likely is that he had driven off some of their cattle. The item suggests that possibly Alexander was being fostered by Patrick at Auchacha. The place

Archibald, father of Dougall of Inverawe

Dougall of Inverawe viv.1485



is in Banderloch, south of the present Barcaldine House.<sup>103</sup>

This and other documents make it clear that Dougall, apparent of Inverawe had, besides his sisters Eithne and Mairi, who married in 1629 and '31, the following brothers; John of Achouran, first on record in 1629, Archibald *oig*, on record first in 1630, Lachlan mentioned in 1640, Patrick in 1635, and now Alexander in 1641. Alexander may have been fostered at Achacha in Benderloch. The family there appear to have been kin of Inverawe. However in a document of 1649,<sup>104</sup> the names of the last three are given as Alexander Lachlan and Patrick, in that order, suggesting that Alexander was the eldest and they were recorded there in the order of their birth, Patrick being the youngest of the three. However in a further entry of 1649 yet another brother appears, Allan, who would be given a Tack of the lands of Barnalian on Lochawe, not far from Dalavich. Of his many children, one would be Captain Dougall, soldier in the Dutch service and later merchant in London. He it would be who gave three silver cups to in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century to the Campbells of Inverawe and the founders of the branch families of Kilmartin and Shirvan.

Down the coast south from Loch Etive, Duntroon Castle stands overlooking Loch Crinan. Duncan Campbell of Duntroon signed a Charter on the 19<sup>th</sup> of January 1643 for infesting Niall Campbell his eldest son in the fee of his properties, in implement of a Marriage Contract of the same date between Niall and Mary, daughter of Hector MacNeill of Taynish by his late wife Isabel Campbell. Taynish is on a wooded peninsula surrounded by the waters of Loch Sween. Duncan reserved the right to charge the property with 6.000 merks to provide for his other children. The significance of this to Inverawe was that Mary MacNeill, daughter of Taynish, was given an exceptionally generous liferent of the Duntroon lands, which are mentioned in the document. But Neill later died young and childless, and the burden of Mary's liferent on the place bankrupted the next heir. Mary was courted and married Archibald of Inverawe's grandson Archibald, son of Dougall.<sup>105</sup>

Out on Lismore the Lerags MacConnochie Campbells were still managing to hold on. Following on the Charter of the Isle of Ramsay to Ewen McEwin VcConche, uncle of Dugald *ciar* dated on the 7<sup>th</sup> of July 1620, his son John was given a confirming Precept of Clare Constat that the charter was valid for him as the heir, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of March 1644.<sup>106</sup>

Then on the 28<sup>th</sup> of August 1644, Alexander who was eldest son of John Campbell of Achouran also received a Clare Constat of his father's lands. While John is called 'second son of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe,' had Inverawe been dead, he would normally have been called 'umquhile'



or 'late' of Inverawe. So presumably Archibald was still alive.<sup>107</sup>

But in that year of 1644, the Civil War would come home to the people of Argyll in a most terrible way. In late December, the royal army of Montrose, mostly made up of Irish levies led by Alasdair MacColla, entered Argyll by the pass at what is now Tyndrum. Alasdair was son of Coll *Ciotach* of Colonsay, who had been the piratical enemy when Archibald of Inverawe was a young man soldiering under Argyll in Islay and Kintyre. MacColla invaded Inveraray on Christmas Eve, advancing over the hill from Clachan Dysart [Dalmally] and down Glen Aray. The Marquess and those staying with him at Inveraray escaped to a galley on the loch.

Possibly the 'Scroll of goods taken from the tenants of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe by the M'Donalds' was a result of the depredations throughout Argyll during that winter of 1644-45.<sup>108</sup>

By February, Montrose and MacColla had gathered the herds of cattle they believed would see their army through the winter and headed north up the Great Glen. Argyll had swiftly raised all the men of Argyll behind them and brought in some Lowland troops of Covenanters and moved north to chase them. The idea was to box the enemy in from south and north. Then, in a brilliant move, MacColla led his men in a loop back south and west through the hills and attacked Argyll's army at Inverlochy in the February dawn.

Bishop Wishart's contemporary report of the event is as follows:

The moon shone so clear that it was almost as light as day; they lay upon their arms the whole night, and, with the assistance of the light, they so harassed each other with slight alarms and skirmishes that neither gave the other time to repose. They all earnestly wished for day... Nevertheless the chiefs of the Campbells, who were indeed a set of very brave men ... began the battle with great courage. But their first ranks discharged their muskets only once, Montrose's men fell in upon them furiously sword in hand, with a great shout, and advanced with such great impetuosity, that they routed the whole army, and put them to flight, and pursued them for about nine miles, making dreadful slaughter all the way. There were fifteen hundred of the enemy slain, among whom were several gentlemen of distinction of the name of Campbell, who led on the clan, and fell on the field of battle too gallantly ... Montrose, though an enemy, pitied their fate, and used his authority to save and give quarter to as many as he could. In this battle Montrose had several wounded, but he had none killed but three privates, and Sir Thomas Ogilvie, son of the Earl of Airlie, while Argyll lost the Lairds of Auchinbreck, Glensaddle, and Lochnell with his son and brother, and Barbreck, Inverawe, Lamont, Silvercraigs and many others [were] taken prisoners.<sup>109</sup>

This prisoner would appear to have been Dougall of Inverawe since his father was either dead already or died shortly afterwards and would have been aged 62, over the age for soldiering. Archibald of Inverawe's younger son Patrick, married to Mary of the Cameron of Callart family, was killed in the battle. Her lament in Gaelic survives. There was later mention of another 'Patrick, son of Inverawe' who would appear to have been a natural son.

Brown, author of the 19<sup>th</sup> century *History of the Highlands* wrote of the battle:

"Among the principal persons who fell on Argyle's side were the Commander, Campbell of Auchinbreck; Campbell of Lochnell, the eldest son of Lochnell, and his brother Colin; MacDougall of Raray and his eldest son; Major Menzies, brother to the laird (or Prior as he was called) of Ardchattans, Barbreck, and the Provost of the Church of Kilmun. The chief prisoners were the lairds of Barbreck, Silvercraigs, Inverawe, Lamont, S. MacDonald in Kintyre, the young

laird of Glensaddel, the Goodman of Pennymore, the son of the Captain of Dunstaffnage, Lieutenant Colonels Roche and Cockburn, Captains Stewart, Murray, Hume and Stirling.<sup>110</sup>

An army on the move had no place to hold prisoners, so they were often exchanged or released after a time. By the 5<sup>th</sup> of July that same year, Dougall of Inverawe was released and once more fighting as an officer under the Marquess of Argyll.<sup>1112</sup> There is no further mention of his father Archibald and so it is clear that he must have died in 1644-45. Had he died during the time of emergency, there may have been no time for an elaborate funeral or a memorial. No stone has yet been found to commemorate Archibald, the father of so many of the Inverawe family.

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### **Endnotes:**

1. Argyll Transcripts, Duke Niall
2. Acts & Decrees 1500-1660- Vol. 232 p. 439
3. Registers of the Privy Council 1606
4. Reg. Privy Council, vol 5, p. 373
5. SRO/NAS GD.112/39/17/12
6. SRO/NAS GD.112/24/1(22)
7. Breadalbane Inventory
8. Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell* VI, 112, Registered on 22 Jan. 1610 &
9. *Clan Donald*, vol. 3, p.216, source on record unknown
10. Acts & Decrees 1500-1660 Vol. 232 p. 439; & *Clan C.* Vol. VIII p. 170
11. Acts & Decrees 1500-1660 Vol. 244 p. 41; & *Clan C.* Vol. VIII p. 177-78
12. Acts & Decrees 1500-1660 Vol. 240 p. 375; & *Clan C.* Vol. VIII p. 174
13. Acts & Decrees 1500-1660 Vol. 249 p. 255; & *Clan C.* Vol. VIII p. 180
14. Acts & Decrees 1500-166- Vol. 249 p. 288; & *Clan C.* Vol. VIII p. 180
15. Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan C.* Vol. VIII p. 180?
16. Breadalbane Inventory
17. Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan C.* Vol. VIII p. 192
18. Registers of the Privy Council for 1613
19. Books of Council & Session, Reg. of Deeds Vol. 218; & *Clan C.* Vol. VI p. 142
20. Reg. Privy Council Vol. X. p. 179
21. Acts & Decrees 1500-1660 Vol. 279 p. 455
22. Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, pp.158-172
23. *Approbatio egia abbreviata; Highland Papers* Appendix p. 545 'Outbreak by Sir James MacDonald'; & *The Thaness of Cawdor*, pp.234-236
24. Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials* vol. 3, p. 364
25. Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol. pp.158-172, in excerpt
26. Barcaldine-Paton, *The Clan Campbell Abstracts, Session & Deeds 1554-1660* Paton Ed., vol.6, p.150; Reg. 12. June 1616. Reg. of Deeds Vol.249, 1555-1660
27. Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, pp.158-172, in excerpt
28. Barcaldine-Paton, *The Clan Campbell Abstracts, Session & Deeds 1554-1660*, Paton Ed., vol.6, p.207, from vol. 403 of the Session Reg.
29. Reg. 4 Nov. 1618, Reg. of Deeds vol. 277 1555-1660
30. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Niall
31. Register of Deeds vol. 289
32. *The Thaness of Cawdor* pp.245-246
33. Books of Council & Session, Reg. of Deeds Vol. 411; & *Clan C.* vol. VI p. 210
34. *Clan C.* vol. VIII, pp. 217-218
35. *Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-1661* vol. IV fol. 35
36. Barcaldine-Paton, *The Clan Campbell Abstracts, Session & Deeds 1554-1660*, vol.6, p.176; Reg. 23 February 1621. Reg. of Deeds vol.303, 1555-1660
37. *Argyll Sasines Abstracts*, pp. 112 & 279

- 38 SRO/NAS GD.112/17/1/3(2)
- 39 Acts & Decrets 1500-1660 Vol. 344 p. 61; & Clan C. vol. 8, pp. 228-229 & Clan C. vol. 8, pp. 230-231
- 40 *Argyll Sasines* vol.1, 1st Series, Registered 31 Dec. 1620
- 41 *Argyll Sasine Abstracts*, pp.117, 118
- 42 *Ibid.*
- 43 SRO/NAS:GD.112/2/9/9
- 44 *Argyll Sasines* vol. I fol. 162 Reg. 18 May 1621,
- 45 *Argyll Sasines* vol.I fol. 209 Reg. 30 April 1622
- 46 Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol. II, p. 182, quoting Reg. Privy Council of Scotland, vols. 12 & 50-52, pp. 565-7
- 47 *Ibid.*
- 48 Reg. of Deeds Vol. 439, Reg. 28 March 1631, & Barcaldine-Paton, *The Clan Campbell Register of Deeds 1554-1660*, vol.6, p.226-227,
- 49 One of the Wellwood MacConnochie was Alexansder (1786-1860), Private Secretary to Franklin, Governor of Van Dieman's Land (later Tasmania). "The best ally Franklin had in the colony was his private Secretary, the incorruptible Captain Alexander MacConnochie, who would emerge as the one and only inspired penal reformer to work in Australia throughout the whole history of transportation [of convicts from Britain]." *Fatal Shore*.
- 50 SRO/NAS: GD112/17/1/3(11)
- 51 Reg. of Deeds vol. 404, Reg. 1 Jan. 1628
- 52 SRO/NAS GD112/51/3
- 53 Dunstaffnage Inventory. 83
- 54 Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-1661 vol. 26 fol. 246
- 55 Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-1661 vol. 27 fol. 63
- 56 Reg. of Deeds 1555-1660 vol. 475
- 57 Vide infra, 12 Jan 1631 – Gen. Reg. Sasines vol. 30 fol. 66
- 58 Gen. Reg. of Sasines vol. 30 fol 69
- 59 Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-1661, vol. 30 fol. 71, Reg. 3 Feb. 1631
- 60 Gen. Reg. of Sasines Vol. 30 fol. 66, Reg. 3 Feb. 1631
- 61 Gen. Reg. of Deeds 1555-1660 Vol. 478 Reg. on 1st Aug 1634
- 62 Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-1661. Vol. 31 fol. 107, Reg. 15 June 1631
- 63 Notes by Airds and Dr. Lorn Campbell PhD
- 64 Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol. 2, pp. 178-181
- 65 Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol. 6 p.177
- 66 Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.3 p.207
- 67 Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.3, pp. 213 & 216
- 68 Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.3, p.219
- 69 Duke Niall's Argyll Transcripts
- 70 *Ibid.*
- 71 *Ibid.*
- 72 Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.3 p.229
- 73 Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.3 p.224
- 74 Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol. 3 p.176
- 75 George Watson, *Bell's Dictionary and Digest of the Law of Scotland*, Edinburgh 1882, p.515
- 76 Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.6 p.183
- 77 Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.6 p.180
- 78 Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.3 p.240
- 79 Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.3 p.243
- 80 Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.3 p.247
- 81 Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.6 p.295
- 82 Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol.2 pp.178-181
- 83 *Argyll Sasines* vol. II fol. 196
- 84 Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-61. Vol. 37 fol. 25, Reg. 19 June 1633. This is the earliest of the Inverawe [parchment] charters among the Breadalbane papers, including some Fanans and some Achaouran charters under GD112/66/1 'Writs of the Lands of Inverawe.' The above is GD112/66/1/1/7.
- 85 Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-61. Vol. 37 fol. 25 Reg. 19 June 1633. This is GD112/66/1/2[(40)?]
- 86 Gen. Reg. of Sasines Vol. 38 fol. 64, 27, Reg. 19 June 1633
- 87 *Ibid.*
- 88 Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-61. Vol. 38 fol. 232

89. Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-61. vol. 38 fol. 249, Reg. 28 Dec. 1633
90. Reg. of Deeds 1555-1660 Vol. 475
91. Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell* vol. 6, Session & Deeds, p.251
92. Acts & Decrees 1500-1660 Vol. 478 p.8; & Clan C. Vol. VIII p. 285
93. Dunstaffnage Inventory
94. Dunstaffnage Papers 99
95. From a Charter dated 29th of Dec. 1639 in Airds Charter Chest - Transcribed by Dr. Lorne Campbell PhD, Tayness
96. Gen. Reg. of Sasines Vol. 48 fol. 511
97. Achaworran/Acchouran Writs in Airds Charter Chest transcribed by Dr. Lorne Campbell PhD
98. Gen. Reg. Sasines Vol. 48 fol. 510, Reg. 16 April 1640
99. Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-61 Vol. 48 fol. 510, Reg. 16 Apr. 1640
100. Argyll Transcripts, Inveraray, quoted by Alastair Campbell of Airds in *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol. 2, p. 203.
101. *Ibid.*
102. Inverawe Papers, National Library of Scotland MS 1672
103. Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-61 Vol. 49 fol.377, Reg. on 4 Jan 1641
104. Gen. Reg. of Hornings for October 1641
105. SRO/NAS GD112/2/70/1 & Reg. on 20 Dec. 1649 in Argyll Sasines Vol. 2 fol. 121
106. Duntroon Papers VI/6, 7, A.S. Abstracts (232); & Argyll Sasines Vol. II 79
107. *Argyll Sasines Abstracts*, pp. 112 & 279
108. Dr. Lorne Campbell PhD's Notes on Airds Writs
109. Argyll Transcripts & HMC Report VI p.629 a (201) & Clan Campbell Vol. VII p. 249
110. Bishop Wishart's *Memoirs* quoted by Stewart of Garth GG. P.90 for Appendix p. 386.
111. Browne's *History of the Highlands*
112. NLS, Inverawe Papers, MS 1672.

## ***Appendix I***

### **NOTE:**

The first appearance of the children of Archibald and his wife/wives on surviving record is as follows:

Eithne	1629
Dougall	1629
John	1629
Archibald oig	1630 (likely aged about 16?)
Mairi	1631
Patrick	1635
Lachlan	1640
Alexander	1641

### *Children of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe (c.1582-c.1645) and Janet Campbell*

Lt. Col. Dougall Campbell of Inverawe first on record on 12 May 1631, (*Clan C.* vol.4 p.251), d.1665 (grave slab at Ardchattan), m. (1) Agnes, dau. of Sir Robert C. of Glenorchy, 3<sup>rd</sup> Bt., then of Glenfalloch, with issue, m.(2) before June 1654 Ann (called 'Agnes') McNeill, with issue, succeeded to Inverawe before Jan. 1648.

John, '2<sup>nd</sup> lawful son' in 1639; witness with Dougall 'aparent of I. with John his brother,' 20 Jan. 1629 (Dunstaffnage Papers 83), as John C. 2<sup>nd</sup> lawful son of Arch. C. of I, had charter from Argyll on 23 Dec. 1639 of Over Achouran on Lismore (GRS Abs. 655), d by 23 May – 9 June 1654 (GRS Abs. 841-45), left sons Alexander (of Achouran in 1667) and Dougall (living in 1667).

Patrick (primus) as son of Archibald C. of I., witness marriage contr. At Killespicerill 11 May 1635 (Dunstaffnage Papers 99), m. Mairi Cameron, Callart fam., issue one son John to whom Dougall C. of I. was testamentar in 1654) Tacksman of Aross m. a Cameron, issue 1 dau. Patrick was k. at Inverlochy in 1645.

Alexander, alive Dec. 1649, d. before 9 June 1654. On 6-10 Dec. 1649 a contr between John C. fiar of Glenorchy and Alexander, Lachlan and Patrick Campbell, brothers german to Dougall C. of I., by which they pay 6000, 3000 and 3000

merks and receive in wadset, pro rata, the lands of Inverinan, Fearnoch, Auchachenna etc., (Arg. Sasines Abs. 312). No issue.

Lachlan, living in Dec. 1649 and d. before June 1654, no issue, Alexander C. of Achouran was in 1654 nearest heir of conq. To his uncles Alexander and Lachlan (GRS Abs. 841-45).

Patrick (secundus) [?called at one point 'natural son of Dougall of Inverawe'] living in Dec. 1649, d. by 1654, m. dau. of C. of Dergachy in Cowal (either Ewen *dubh* or his son John), was 'of Achacha' in Benderloch and d. in 1699 (leaving a son Archibald, a lawful dau. Sarah Mor who m. Patrick or Peter McNicol (ancestor of Sococh) and a natural son Dougall, living in 1667 ((RD Index & Durie vol. 15, p.735, 26 Sept), 'The said Donald's mother was Sarah Campbell, daughter to Peter Campbell of Deargachad in Cowal, of the family of Ardkinglas. The above Patrick/Peter son to Inverawe had another brother called Peter.'

Allan in Barnalian, d. in 1671 (grave at Ardchattan) 'left many descendants, including the portioners of Monktonhall' and various merchants ...in Edinburgh and Glasgow' plus Capt. Dougall, merchant in London. (see David G-C. Scottish Studies 18, 1974 pp.83-94).

Archibald *oig*, d. before 18 Aug. 1681 (Tack of Lephinbeg 1671) had Sasine on 9 June 1654 of ½ Fearnoch and ½ Auchachenna, etc., as attorney for Alexander C. now of Achouran, and being called brother german to Dougall, brother Allan C. also being a witness, (GRS Abs. 841) also on 15 Nov. 1651 as 'brother german to Dougall C. of I.' (*Clan C.* vo, 6 p.330) m. Barbara McAllister of the fam. of Loup, with issue.

Eina m. (contr. 23 Dec. 1630) Alexander C. Yr. of Fanans.

Margaret m. (contr. At Inverawe 12 May 1631, tocher 1300 merks), John C. fiar of Inveresragan, eldest lawful son of Colin C. of Inveresragan.

Catherine m. Niall C. yr. of Ellanrie as his 2<sup>nd</sup> wife, cadet of Duntroon.



# *Lt. Col. Dougall MacConnachie Campbell of Inverawe*

*(b. circa 1610 – d. 1665)*

*Draft of May 2002 - Corrections & Additions May-June 200. Further corrections and additions June 2010 & Oct 2010.*

## Chapter 9

Inverawe, with the core of the lands east of the mouth of the river Awe on Loch Etive in Argyll, came into the hands of the Clan Connachie Campbells following the granting of Lorne to Colin 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Argyll in 1470 and before 1485. The family may well have descended from Duncan *Sceodnasach* (on record in 1355), brother of Sir Colin *Iongantach* of Lochawe who died in 1412. The other, and probably earlier, seat of the family was the island castle of Fraoch Eilean on Lochawe. At the beginning of the 16th century, these Clan Connachie Campbells as they were known, included three brothers or cousins who would be the ancestors of Inverawe, Lerags and Stronchormaig (later Glenfeochan). The early and traditional connection with Ardsceodnish (now Kilmartin) is reinforced by the pre-Reformation patron saint of the family being St. Martin of Tours.<sup>1</sup>

On record, Dougall sometimes appears as ‘Dugald’ but here the spelling ‘Dougall’ will be used as nearer to the original pronunciation.

Lt. Col. Dougall of Inverawe was the sixth of this family on record being granted responsibility for the communities and lands of Inverawe. His father was Archibald, son of an earlier Dougall of Inverawe (d. circa. 1582-3) and his second wife Christian Carswell, daughter of John Carswell, builder of the palace-style Carnassarie Castle and Bishop (Superintendent) of the Isles of Argyll. Lt. Col. Dougall’s mother was a Janet or Seonaidh Campbell of an (as yet) unidentified family, perhaps a daughter of Campbell of Ardkinglas.<sup>2</sup> Lt. Col. Dougall himself married twice, first to Agnes, daughter of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy<sup>3</sup> and secondly, when widowed, to another Agnes, daughter of a MacNeil, probably of the Gigha-Taynish family.<sup>4</sup> *The Genealogy of the Family of Glenurchy* gives Agnes Campbell’s eight sisters as being ‘Lady Ardkinglass, Lady Maclean of Lochbuie, the Lady of Lochnell, Lady Glenlyon, Lady M’Condichie of Inerowa [Agnes herself], Lady Monzievaird, Lady Coldach, Lady Saskalie. So by his marriage Dougall was immediately made kin of a number of the leading families of Argyll and Perthshire.

The date of the colonel’s birth is not known. Since his father Archibald was born circa 1583 when a grant of ward and marriage in his name was given to Ardkinglas,<sup>5</sup> and since Dougall himself died in 1665<sup>6</sup> when his grave slab appears at Ardchattan, he could have been born in circa. 1605-10. He was still ‘apparent of Inverawe’ rather than ‘fiar of Inverawe’ in 1630.<sup>7</sup> He would therefore likely have been of a similar generation to his Chief the 8th Earl and later Marquis of Argyll who was born at Inveraray in 1607. In the service of Argyll he came to be called by Montrose ‘Argyle’s Champion.’<sup>8</sup>

By his first marriage Dougall had two sons, Archibald of Inverawe and Duncan of Crunachy,<sup>9</sup> and by his second marriage other sons including Alexander, first of the Inverawe cadets of Kilmartin, and Dougall, baillie of Nether Lorne for Breadalbane and later first of Shirvan.<sup>10</sup> Archibald would later be Governor of Duart for Argyll<sup>11</sup> and die without legitimate heirs in 1705, leaving Inverawe to his nephew Archibald,<sup>12</sup> son of Duncan of Crunachy who had been baillie of Tiree for the Countess of Argyll.<sup>13</sup> Dougall’s daughters were Eina or Eithne who married a son of Campbell of

Fanans, and Mairi who married a son of Campbell of Inveresragan.

The Inverawe lands were scattered from the Moor of Rannoch and Dalness in Glenetive on the north to the Mill of Avich and Cruachan on Lochawe in the south. Inverawe itself was the westernmost of the lands and the western peak of Cruachan was on Inverawe property. The lands of Achlian and Duchollie on the east side of the head of Lochawe extended to the Water of Stacain above Cladich where they marched with the lands of the earls of Argyll.<sup>14</sup> These eastern lands were presumably originally the supporting lands for Fraoch Eilean castle which had passed into Campbell hands in the mid 14th century through Christina of Craignish, widow of MacNachtan.<sup>15</sup> The earl of Argyll during Dougall's childhood was Archibald *Gruamach*, born in 1575 and who had succeeded his father as a boy of about 9 in September 1584. He survived plots against him when his guardian Cawdor was shot in MacConnachie Campbell of Stronchormaig's house in 1592.<sup>16</sup> As a 19 year old the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll was shamed by defeat at Glenlivet on the 3rd of October 1594 when the shot arranged to kill him by his cousin Lochnell killed Lochnell himself instead. He was 28 when he accompanied James VI to London on the death of Elizabeth of England in 1603. He was unwillingly active against the MacGregors initially and when he remarried in 1610 he went to live in England to attend at court. From 1611 to 1613 he was back in Argyll, this time harriving the MacGregors fiercely. Having proved himself such an expert against the MacGregors he was sent north again against the MacDonalds in 1615. Back in the Lowlands for the King's visit in 1617, he left Scotland for good that year, escaping his creditors by going to serve in the Catholic army of Spain in the Netherlands. He was eventually pardoned for that service by the king and died in London in 1638.<sup>17</sup> There is no evidence whether any of the Inverawe kindred were called out for service under the earl against their neighbours the MacGregors, however Dougall's father had served under Cawdor and then Argyll on an expedition to Islay to calm some rambunctious and piratical activity by Coll *Ciotach* and Sir James MacDonald.

In 1625 the earl's son Archibald Lord Lorne (later Marquis of Argyll) conducted an expedition against Clan Ian of Ardnamurchan which, the Scots peerage states, was 'entirely successful.' Lord Lorne was then 18. One suspects that Archibald of Inverawe and his heir Dougall may have been called out for such a foray. All that is known of Dougall before 1640 is a series of largely unconnected incidents. They are set out here as they do give a sense of his life in a series of flashes as if from a strobe.

On the 26th of February 1629 a son and heir was born to Lord Lorne at Dalkeith and baptized Archibald. The child's mother was then 19, the daughter of William Douglas, second Earl of Morton. His father was 22. Father and son would each eventually die on the 'Maiden', the Scottish guillotine, in 1661 and 1685, for their support of the Protestant cause.<sup>18</sup>

Dougall first appears on record as 'apparent of Inverawe' with his brother John (Iain), as witnesses on a document dated on the 20th of January 1629.<sup>19</sup> He was still 'apparent' rather than 'fiar of Inverawe' as a witness on the 23rd of December 1630 as a part of the marriage contract between his sister Eina and Alexander Campbell, son of Ewen Campbell of Fanans, up the river Awe and across from Inverawe. Dougall's brother Archibald was also a witness. 'Apparent' suggest that Dugald was still a minor.<sup>20</sup>

On the 12th of January 1631 Sasine was given on the half-merkland of Clageriskey in Appin, on wadset, by Donald McInnes *oig*, servitor to Alexander Campbell of Lochnell, as baillie, to Donald Campbell, son of John Campbell in Barnacarry, as attorney for Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, on a charter by Duncan McIlmichael of Portcharren, signed at Ardchonnell on the 3rd of December 1630 before Mr. Donald Campbell, Commissary of Lorne, Dugald McIlmichael, brother german



to the said Duncan, and Dougall Campbell, apparent of Inverawe.<sup>21</sup>

On the 12th of May 1631 Dougall's sister Mary or Marion was given Sasine of the liferent of Blaircrein etc., on her contract of marriage with John Campbell, fiar of Inveresragan, across Loch Etive from Inverawe. One of the witnesses was the later notorious Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan. Dougall was cautioner on the marriage contract on the same date.<sup>22</sup>

Dougall's own first marriage is recorded in a charter dated at Inveraray on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1633<sup>23</sup> and was followed by a Sasine dated the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1633 when, as eldest lawful son and apparent of Archibald of Inverawe he and Agnes, lawful daughter of Robert Campbell of Glenfalloch, later Sir Robert of Glenorchy, and future spouse to the said Dougall are given Sasine of certain Inverawe lands including Duchollie. His mother Janet Campbell is mentioned as having liferent reserved to her. Although given as 'Agnes' in the Sasine,<sup>24</sup> Dougall's wife is called 'Anna' as fourth daughter of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy in the *Black Book of Taymouth*. (Also see immediately below.)<sup>25</sup>

On the 3rd and 4th of May 1633 Sasine was given of the 3 merkland of Achacharne in Lorne and that part of the five pound land of Achlian called Dowchailzie [Duchollie] extending to the half merk land in the lordship of Lochaw, given by Dougall Campbell, lawful son of Patrick Campbell, tacksman in Dowcholzie, as baillie, to 'a young man,' Dougall Campbell, apparent of Inverawe (eldest lawful son and apparent heir of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe), and to Patrick Roy McCharles [Patrick *Ruadh* McTearlach] Campbell, servitor of Robert Campbell of Glenfalloch as attorney for Agnes Campbell, lawful daughter of Robert and future wife of Dougall Campbell, apparent of Inverawe, on a charter to them by Archibald, signed at Inveraray on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1633 before Donald McOlvorie, apparent of Kilmalieu.

The charter and sasine also included the following properties to the said Dougall alone:- The 4 merkland of Inverawe, with the fishing of standing [stell] nets and ground fish of the River Awe, the 4 merkland of Drumnachoise, 2 merkland of Dallness, with the custody of the forest and woods of Glen Etive and the fishing of the River Etive from the mouth to the source on the Moor of Rannoch, the 6/8 land of Bruary, with the sergeandry of the lands of Benderloch between Ardmuckneis [Ardmuicnish] and Innermow; also the 20 shilling land of Tervinzie [Tirvine], the five pound land of Achlian and its islands, namely Inchdrynich [Inistrynich] and Illanloskan (but except the part granted as above in conjunct fee), and the Bailiary of all the lands of Over Lochawe, except such as now belong or used to belong to the Clanarthur, the bailliary of which was disposed by said Inverawe's predecessors to the predecessors of John McArthur of Tirevadich. The liferent of all the properties except Achacharne and Achlian is reserved to the said Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, and that of Drumnachoise in Glen Etive to his wife, Janet Campbell.

The witnesses were: Archibald Campbell, lawful son of said Archibald of Inverawe and so brother of Dougall, John McDonnacchie VcWilliam *alias* McGregor tacksman in Achlain, Duncan ban McDoniel VcCowle VcBean there, Duncan McEan oig VcEan VcLachlan tacksman in Inverawe, and Alexander Campbell, apparent of Fanans<sup>26</sup> the husband of Dougall's sister Eithne/Eina.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> of May 1635 Dougall and his father Archibald were witnesses to the Marriage Contract of their MacConnochie kinsman Dougall Campbell of Stronchormaig and Margaret, daughter of Archibald Campbell of Dunstaffnage. This information is quoted from the Dunstaffnage Inventory by Wimberly in his *Memorials of the Campbells of Kilmartin*, and also appears in the Dunstaffnage Papers 99. Her mother was daughter of Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan and known to

some as ‘the black bitch of Dunstaffnage’.

In 1638 Archibald *Gruamach*, 7th Earl of Argyll, died in London and was succeeded by his eldest son Archibald, then in Scotland. When King Charles prepared to invade Scotland in 1638, Archibald 8<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll raised 900 men to oppose the MacDonalds of the Isles and the Earl of Antrim who had proposed to invade and take Kintyre by conquest. Likely Inverawe men would have been involved. The MacDonalds yearned for what they saw as their lost lands of what is now lower Kintyre. These had been taken from them by the King due to their disloyalty to the crown of Scots. Argyll had been granted the lands of Kintyre in 1607, due to the earlier owners being ‘rude and barbarous people’ who ‘did not only ruin themselves by their own private feuds and animosities but were likewise so inhumane that no stranger could travel among them without the most imminent dangers of their lives’ according to the *Argyll Transcripts*. They had been forfeited by Angus MacDonald of Islay.

On the 17th of March at Castle Stalcair in Appin there was the signing of a charter by John Campbell, second lawful son to Archibald of Inverawe, therefore younger brother of Dougall. John had been set up with a small farm on the fertile island of Lismore. The next day, on the 18th of March 1640, Sasine was given to John of one fourth, being one merkland, of the lands of Over Auchavorrean, and now spelt as it is sounded, ‘Achouran,’ in Lismore.

Then, Sasine was given by another John Campbell, indweller in Islay, as Baillie, to Archibald Campbell, eldest lawful son of John McEwin VcEan V’Donachie galt *alias* Campbell of Clachbeache, [Clachlea] on Lismore, based upon the charter by John Campbell, second lawful son of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, signed at Ellanstalcair [Castle Stalker] on the 17th of March 1640 before Duncan Campbell, lawful son of the deceased John Campbell of Auchinard. The witnesses to the Sasine were: John Campbell, brother german to Mr. Ewen Campbell of Achinagoull; Lachlan Campbell, lawful son of Inverawe who was yet another brother of Dougall’s and John’s; John McEan dowie VcGilchrist, merchant, indweller in Lorne; and Allan Cameron in Inveraray.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, on the 18th of March 1640 Dugald’s next younger brother John was infeft in the lands of Over Achouran in Lismore from Archibald Earl of Argyll.<sup>29</sup>

As is described above, John had disposed one fourth of the lands to Archibald Campbell, son of his kinsman Campbell of Cloichlea, and to Lachlan his own brother. John thereby founded the family of the Inverawe cadet family of the Campbells of Achouran which would continue for a number of generations.<sup>30</sup>

Archibald 8th Earl of Argyll fully supported the Kirk in their opposition to the King who wanted to enforce certain religious practices over their preference. Argyll therefore found himself in opposition to the royalist cause. Dougall would seem to have been involved in armed service under Argyll before 1640. He would now have been a man in his late twenties or early thirties and was clearly an experienced junior officer in the earl’s forces, no doubt commanding levies of those who could be raised from the active men of the communities for which Dougall’s father was responsible.

In June 1640 Argyll marched against the Earl of Atholl and the Ogilvies who had taken up arms for the King. Dougall was now described as ‘fiar of Inverawe’ rather than ‘apparent’ as he had been in 1633, and therefore ‘of age’ or over 21. He was in command of some of Argyll’s forces and was given the order to move his company to the Braes of Angus. He was further given instructions about his dealings with Lord Ogilvie and about burning and ‘throwing down the yettis,’

[gates] of the Ogilvie's castle of Forthar.<sup>31</sup> The story of the Burning of the Bonnie Hoose O' Airlie which took place on the same raid is well known; the Campbells also ravaged Alyth, Lintrathen, Cortachy and Glen Isla, not leaving 'in all the lands a cock to crow day'. Argyll himself was reported as having taken part in the actual work of demolition, perspiring as he wielded a sledgehammer in his own hands. Dougall's instructions from the earl for the destruction of the castle of Forthar at the head of Glen Isla have survived: -

Dougall,

I mynd, God willing, to lift from this the morrow, and therefor ye shall meitt me the morrow at nicht at Stronamot in Strathardill: and caus bring alonges with you the hail nolt and sheipe that ye have fundine perteineing to my lord Ogilbie. As for the horss and mearis that ye have got tine perteineing to him, ye shall not fail to direct thame home to the Stranemoor. I desyre not that they be in our way at all, and to send thame the nearest way home. And albeit that ye shoulde be the langer in followeing me, yeit ye shall not fail to stay and demolishe my lord Ogilbies hous of Forthar. Sie how ye can cast off the irone yeattis and windows; and tak down the roof: and if ye find it will be langsome, ye shall fyre it weill, that so it may be destroyed. But you neid not to latt know that ye have directions from me to fyir it; onlie, ye may say that ye have warrand to demoleishe it, and that to mak the work short, ye will fyir it. Iff ye mak any stay for doeing of this, send fordwart the goodis. So referring this to your cair, I rest, your  
freynd Argyll<sup>32</sup>

The Argyll-Ogilvie was a part of the wider Civil War over the issues of the Covenant and royal prerogative. That national conflict was eventually settled when the Treaty of Ripon was signed in September 1640. e

Dougall, with yet another of his brothers, Patrick, was a witness on the 10th of November 1640 to a Sasine of his father-in-law Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy in the lands of Stranmellachane, Edinouich, Craif, Cardroquhatt and others.<sup>33</sup> Patrick would be killed at Inverloch and his widow, Moire Cameron of the Callart family, left a lament in which she indicated that they had lived at Dall [Dail on the OS maps] north of Cadderlie on Loch Etive and that their son John was an infant in 1645.<sup>34</sup>

Montrose, 'unable to brook the pre-eminence of Argyll in the Senate, transmitted an accusation against him to Court' saying Argyll intended to depose the King. Argyll intercepted the messenger on his return, and Montrose was imprisoned. The King came to Scotland in August of 1641 and a plot was hatched to kill Argyll and Hamilton. Once the King was cleared of any knowledge of the plot the two were reconciled.<sup>35</sup>

Yet another younger brother of Dougall's, Alexander, with his kinsman Patrick Campbell of Auchacha in Benderloch, had John *mor* MacDonald put to the horn for 'spoilation' on the 10<sup>th</sup> of November 1641.<sup>36</sup> The 'spoilation' may have merely been a raid from Glencoe for the sake of plunder, or designed as a part of the wider conflict of the time. The joint complaint suggests that Alexander was being fostered at Auchacha, later known as Acha. On the 15th of November 1641 the Earl of Argyll was advanced to the dignity of Marquess.<sup>37</sup>

There survives an undated record of a Scroll of goods taken from the tenants of Archibald of Inverawe by the MacDonalds<sup>38</sup> This still has to be found and examined to confirm whether it was in the time of Dougall's father or following the events of 1685 in the time of Dougall's son

Archibald. (Not in *Depredations*).

In 1642 an army was levied in Scotland for the relief of the Protestants in *Ireland*. Argyll, then aged 36, was appointed colonel of one of the regiments for that service. He may likely have enlisted Dougall as one of his lieutenants. Dougall's parents would have been still living on the rentals from the Inverawe lands and Dougall himself, now married and with a wife and children to support, would have had to find a source of income and he may well have had tack of one of the Inverawe farms, as was customary at the time. His later career suggests that he was an experienced soldier, so that his serving under Argyll in the following expeditions seems highly likely.

When the Scots army under General Leslie marched into England in January 1644, Argyll, then 38, accompanied him as chief of the committee of Parliament and returned home with the news of the defeat of the English army by Leslie at Newburn.

When the Marquess of Huntly rose in arms for the king in the north, on the 16th of April 1644, the Convention of Estates appointed Argyll commander-in-chief to suppress that insurrection. He immediately proceeded north and dispersed the Royalists, obliging Huntly to flee to Strathnaver in the far north. Montrose having defeated the Covenanters at Tippermuir, Argyll and the Earl of Lothian were sent against him. They reached Aberdeen on the 18th of September, just after the city had been plundered by the Royalists. They then pursued Montrose into Badenoch where his forces dispersed. Argyll left Badenoch in mid November 1644.<sup>39</sup> Dougall had most likely served on this campaign.

That Dougall began to be called 'MacConnachie of Inverawe' may not mean that his father was yet dead but that he was too old to serve or incapacitated and was not as widely known. Archibald would likely have turned 60 in or before 1643. Dougall had clearly made a name for himself with Argyll and in the Protestant Army and, like his late uncle Iain *dubh*, may therefore have been sometimes called 'of Inverawe' even before he had succeeded.

During 1644 Dougall, under the name of McConachie of Inverawe - was responsible for a garrison in 'the house of Kilmoronake' [now spelt Kilmarnock on the OS maps] on the lands of the Duke of Lennox. Today, the ruins of the castle survive in the farmyard of the place of that name beside the Endrick Water between Drymen and Loch Lomond. Dougall was then a junior officer. This information is found among the Inverawe papers in 'Information for McConnochie in answer to my Lord Cochrane'<sup>40</sup> where it is clear that the paper was to do with Lennox's complaint that the garrison had interfered with his tenants and so he had not received the rents due to him. The document is undated but includes the date of the commission of Argyll being in 1644 so that it was after that date. Relevant parts are quoted here from the Inverawe papers in the National Library of Scotland, (spelling up-dated):

1. McConochie having received orders with Colonel Menzies from my Lord Argyll who had commission from the Estates in anno 1644 to garrison the house of Kilmarnock did accordingly present eighteen soldiers one ensign and a corporal who stayed there about the space of a year and a half until the next order from the Parliament for their removal upon receipt whereof they were removed - During which time of their abode in the said house McConochie is able to instruct that all that the soldiers received for their maintenance does not amount to an hundred pounds sterling of which nothing was appropriated to McConachie's own use.

2. The maintenance of the soldiers was received according to order out of the rents of the Duke of Lennox his lands to which my Lord Cochrane alleged a right whereof a sight was denied to McConochie's procurators contrary to the form and order of process in all actions. Neither did McConochie intromit with any of those rentals but only for payment of the soldiers in meal malt or money which altogether will not amount to an hundred pounds sterling as said is. If the duke of Lennox tenants has not paid the rents (as my Lord Cochrane alleges) for the space of three years amounting to the sum of 2,400 merks -The said McConochie cannot be liable for the 'malversatioune' of the tenants.

3. McConochie was but an inferior [junior] officer and did nothing in reference to the garrisoning of the said house but by order of my Lord Argyll which he is ready to produce who had orders to garrison the said house for the estates.

4. That McConochie cannot be convened for any alleged wrong done during the late troubles and time of the unhappy war the foresaid deed not only being done by warrant but also being a military act of garrisoning a house against the opposite party. In respect by act of this present parliament all things for which any persons (who acted in the said war or in relation thereto) may be questioned are discharged to be sustained - Except private murders and fire-raising without order - But so it is that this was a deed which related to the said war and done by order - And therefore conform to the said act of this present parliament ought not to be sustained. Notwithstanding that all the foresaid differences were proponed before the commissioners for bills yet they repelled then and they sustained my Lord Cochrane's Bill and they admitted the same to probation.

In the autumn of 1644, the Marquess of Antrim sent over a royalist force of Irish Catholics into Ardnamurchan under the command of Alastair MacColla from Colonsay, the son of Coll *Ciotach* MacDonald. These then joined Montrose in Atholl who had not expected to have to find winter supplies and shelter for an army. It was suggested that an invasion of Argyll could both harass their enemies and provide herds of cattle and booty to keep them through the winter. The Glenorchy and Lawers lands about Loch Tay were harried to the tune of 1,200,000 merks damage, and the Royalists were at Killin on the 11th of December. Held up by the cannon at Castle Dochart, the MacNabs, whose place it had been before Campbell of Glenorchy had acquired it, pretended to be friends of the garrison and captured the place by surprise. Montrose and MacColla marched west through Glendochart and from Dalmally they turned south over the hills to Glenaray and Inveraray on the eve of Christmas 1644. The Earl of Argyll and his household and guests escaped to a boat on Loch Fyne, but MacColla and his forces burnt the burgh of Inveraray and ravaged the glens for twenty miles around there. They then made their way south through Argyll in two or three bands, one perhaps in Cowal and one by Loch Fyne and another by Lochaweside, ravaging and earning MacColla the name of 'raper of houses'. By the middle of January they were on their way north again.<sup>41</sup>

Patrick Gordon of Ruthven<sup>42</sup> mentions Dougall of Inverawe at a vulnerable moment where he was attempting to protect his own people and their cattle and houses from pillage and yet reassure Argyll that he was defending the country in the face of overwhelming odds: 'Montrose's army, having left Argyll 'lyke ane desert', move north into Lorne where the Stewarts and others of quality promise obedience, one of the which was McCondachie of Anrain [Inverawe]. McCondachie was a vassal of Argyll, who [Argyll] had forced all the heritors who had formerly held of the King to renounce their 'regall halding' and take their lands 'haldin of him.' [In fact the Inverawe lands had always been held of Argyll, and some of their lands held of Glenorchy, and

only one property of Achnacruive, by then alienated, was held directly of the crown in the previous century.]

Gordon continued: ‘McCondachie dealt (with MacColla) through Donald Farquharson, whom he knew, and submitted, or made a show of submission, as he thought that the invasion was but a violent tempest which should have an end, and that Argyll would again be master of all. So as to keep favour with Argyll [while protecting his own people and their houses and cattle], he attacked a foraging party led by Farquharson himself. But they repelled the attack. McCondachie himself is sore wounded, and not able to stand, is carried off with a shameful retreat, although he was twice their number.’ He retreated to Dunstaffnage Castle. Dunstaffnage’s lands had been laid waste. Dougall’s wound appears to have been in his thigh.

Alasdair MacColla, concerned about getting trapped in the sea-girt peninsulas of Argyll, turned north again and would have been stuck at the mouth of Loch Etive had not his kinsman Campbell of Ardchattan provided him with boats to cross the narrows at the Falls of Lora. The great herds of lowing cattle were swum across at slack tide, but some of the herders were too keen and misjudged the tide, which swept some beast down to where they were rescued by the loyal garrison at Dunstaffnage.

In early 1645 Argyll raised all the men he could in Argyll and, with the support of Lowland troops was camped at Inverlochy when attacked by MacColla in the dawn. Montrose’s lieutenant had led his men on a night march through the snowy hills, looping back from the north. The Lowland troops gave way in the face of the charge of the Irish under MacColla and although the Argyll men fought fiercely, the turning of their allies left them exposed and they were heavily defeated. The Marquess of Argyll was 38 years old at the time and was already foremost statesman of Scotland. His value to the cause was so vital that he was advised by his staff to leave for his galley at the onset of the attack. This he did, and his actions were understandably taken as cowardice by the average soldier, a charge he would negate by his bravery on the scaffold 16 years later. But ravaging of Argyll and the impact of the defeat at Inverlochy punctured the image of Campbell and Covenanting invincibility.

Dougall’s second son by his first wife, Duncan, would marry a daughter of Patrick Campbell of Edinample, one of the Glenorchy family who was a Covenanter. Clearly under duress after capture, Edinample’s signature appeared on Montrose’s Bond to unite the loyalty of the Highlands against the power of Argyll, dated at ‘Killiwheimen’ (Kilcumiein, now Fort Augustus) on the 30th of January 1645. He was the only Campbell to sign.<sup>43</sup> Patrick would escape Montrose only to be killed at the Battle of Worcester.

In February 1645 Inverawe was reported taken prisoner at Inverlochy.<sup>44</sup> This was clearly Dougall since his father would by then have been at least 62 years old, past the accepted age for soldiering. Dougall’s young brother Patrick was killed in the battle and his wife, the legendary ‘fair maid of Callart,’ a Cameron, composed a lament in his honour.<sup>45</sup> His kinsman MacConnochie Campbell of Stronchormaig was also killed, his wife also composing a Gaelic lament. The casualties at Inverlochy are said to have amounted to 1,500, but this included a number of Lowland troops, so the total of Argyll men killed would have been less. The slaughter was still considerable for those days.

Dougall must have been released by early July, for on the 5th of July 1645 the Marquess of Argyll sent a written order to Dougall Campbell of Inverawe to defend ‘the Braes’.<sup>46</sup> Which ‘braes’ are not clear, however later Dougall was sent to patrol the ‘Braes of Lochaber.’ (vide infra.). Argyll

was present at the battle of Kilsyth on the 15th of August 1645 when the Covenanters were defeated. Montrose was in turn defeated at Philliphaugh on the 13th of September. MacColla had just left him on the 3<sup>rd</sup>, ostensibly to loot Glasgow and return, but in fact to lead his men back towards Argyll, likely to prevent the recovery there.<sup>47</sup> However he had also resented Argyll's crown instructed influence in Kintyre for some reason, seemingly having a belief that his kin had more right to the land.

Orders issued by Argyll on the 5<sup>th</sup> of July 1645 from Kilchurn to some of the commanders of his forces in Argyll show that the county was again largely under his control. They were to oppose attempted raids into Argyll and attempt to supply their troops from captured enemy goods and gear. But he added 'Bot that I desire not that at this tyme thir be any actis of hostilitie done againis nichbouris quho have joined with the enemie unless you sie it for the good of the service.' He sensibly wanted to cool the local situation to give everyone a chance to recover and get in any surviving harvest.<sup>48</sup> But the people were to suffer further yet.

In the second week of September 1645 MacColla and his followers crossed into Cowal with the aid of Sir James Lamont whose brother provided boats. He led his followers to ravage Campbell places in Cowal, burning and looting widely against Strachur and Ardkinglas. Sir James had been tutor of Archibald Campbell, provost of Kilmun but forced him to surrender his tower on a promise of quarter but then killed some of his men. Sir James was married to a sister of Ardkinglas but when his wife's fourteen-year-old brother was sent to him, he handed him to MacColla with the suggestion that he be hanged or kept prisoner. All these actions no doubt seemed fiendish to local people, and combined with his turning his coat after Inverloch where he had fought against MacColla, were to raise a vindictive storm against Sir James Lamont among the people of Argyll.<sup>49</sup> Sir James later attempted to suggest in a report that his actions had only been taken in reaction to those of Argyll's forces.

Sir James then marched with MacColla through Argyll for five weeks on this second harrying. He enlisted the MacLachlans, MacNeills and MacDougalls for the Royalist cause. But behind them those of the Campbell alliance harried Cowal in turn. Memories of Sir James Lamont's turning his coat and treatment of his kin and neighbours doubtless acted as a strong influence upon those who later conducted the massacre of Lamont prisoners.

Notable among traditional incidents of the (probably second) invasion were the courageous challenge to MacColla by Zachary MacCallum of Poltalloch between Glassary Glen and Lochawe, and MacColla's burning of women and children in a barn in Glen Euchar near Scammadale where he was again challenged to single combat by Campbell of Bragleen, a family now represented by the Robertsons there.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> of October 1645 Glenorchy reported that Glendochart, Glenloch and Glenfalloch had been robbed by 600 men of the Clanranald and MacIain MacDonalds and Camerons. MacColla sent Macleans to harry Islay, a curious move, unless in search of food. In December Sir Lachlan MacLean of Duart met MacColla at Kilmore in Lorne where they stayed for three nights. Stevenson, in his biography of MacColla suggests that it was here that the leadership signed what the minister of Iona, who was present with MacLean, described as 'a most cruel horrid and bloody band' [alliance] ...for 'for rooting out the name of Campbell.' What was proposed would today be called 'ethnic cleansing.' No copy survives, but Sir James Lamont later admitted signing a band 'bearing in plain Terms of combination among us for the ruin of the name of Campbell.' If this was Kilmore in Lorne, it was close by the place of the MacConnochie Campbells of Stronchormaig. They may

have taken refuge in the hills or even in the old fort of Dunaidan.

Stevenson has suggested that this genocide was MacColla's original intention on his first (winter) raid of 1644-45, while for Montrose it was simply a matter of supplying his army through a winter. Stevenson had earlier pointed out that the early experiences of MacColla under Lord Lorn's pressure on his father concerning the overlordship of the MacColla lands on Colonsay may well have been the motivating force behind MacColla's sense of revenge. What motivated Sir James Lamont, who had fought beside the Argyll men against MacColla at Inverlochry, to be a turncoat and be so ruthless with his nephew and former allies is a question harder to answer.

By the end of 1645 any friends of the Marquess of Argyll in the county of Argyll were restricted to scattered garrisons and short of supplies. Barcaldine was out of grain, Dunstaffnage was asked to send some there. He did get meal to Sir Donald of Ardnamurchan who was in dire straits in Castle Stalker.<sup>50</sup>

In February 1646 the Estates, seeking to help the stricken people of Argyll, authorised Argyll to raise a new Regiment. This was done in spite of the devastation of Argyll and Campbell of Ardkinglas was placed in command. He had been in the Lowlands while his lands were ravaged. Dougall of Inverawe was commissioned as one of the officers. But while the numbers were strong, the army had to be taken to the Lowlands to train since there were no supplies in Argyll. On its way south, the new regiment recaptured the castle on the island in Loch Dochart and laid siege to Patrick Campbell's captured Edinample Castle on Lochearn. The Menzies from Weem and the Stewarts from Ardvorlich joined them and by the time they reached Callendar they were some 1,200 strong. However between there and Stirling they were suddenly ambushed on the march and routed by 700 Athollmen under Graham of Inchbrakie. The Battle took place on the lands owned by Lord Napier near Thornhill and many were drowned in the Water of Goudy. According to the letter written by Montrose to Huntly, among the prisoners was 'Makondochy of the Reau, Argyle's great champion,' otherwise Dougall Campbell of Inverawe.<sup>51</sup> The survivors fled to Stirling whence they were sent to Renfrewshire and then quartered in the Lennox.<sup>52</sup> Montrose's comment suggests unreported yet successful actions by Dougall.

In January and February 1646 Sir James Lamont returned to Cowal with his 600 men, harrying Strachur on the way. MacColla took his forces back through Cowal and quartered them roughly in Bute for the winter, there being nothing left in Argyll to support them. MacColla himself went to Lochaber in February, presumably to recruit, and then spent most of 1646 in Lorne, Knapdale and Kintyre, attempting to reduce the remaining garrisons. In April he sent 1,000 men under Clanranald via Kintyre to burn Inveraray.<sup>53</sup>

In late April and early May Argyll's regiment from Ireland under Skipness attacked Islay but was repulsed by Clanranald and his men.<sup>54</sup>

Traditional tales give glimpses of MacColla's experiences during this time, besieging strongholds in mainland Argyll: After besieging Kilberry for a fortnight, when the garrison sent out ale for him he realized they were well supplied and left. At Duntroon he failed again in his siege. He failed again at Craignish where he sent a beggar into spy out the supplies but his disguise was seen through and he was sent away loaded with food, upon which MacColla gave up again, being hungry from having denuded the countryside

In May 1646 a large force under Campbell of Ardkinglas and Dougall of Inverawe invaded Cowal



from Ayrshire. Dougall must now have been in his late thirties, a seasoned and experienced officer. How he had escaped from Montrose, or whether he had been an exchanged prisoner is unclear. Their objective was to attack and destroy the Lamonts, former neighbours whom they now with good reason held responsible for the devastation of Argyll. The spirit of revenge was fired by the piling up of a whole list of incidents which effectively enraged the Argyll men: The Lamonts had 'traitorously' changed sides and turned on the other mainland families after Inverlochy; Sir James had provided boats to bring MacColla and his Irishmen back into Argyll. He and his followers had participated with MacColla in the burning of the women and children shut up in the barn at Lagganmore; Sir James Lamont had handed over his own Campbell of Ardkinglas nephew aged 14 to MacColla and suggested that he imprison or hang the boy; he had also given the garrison quarter at Kilmun and then killed most of them; he had ordered the destruction of the lands of his bother-in-law Ardkinglas and also Strachur; he had signed a bond 'for the ruin of the name of Campbell.' Lamont had in fact created an image of himself as the devil incarnate in the Calvinist minds of his former allies. What has to be borne in mind is the great preference on the part of the Kirk during the Covenanting period for the Old Testament rather than the New. Their God was a force for fear, anger and revenge, and in that style they believed in what they called 'righteousness' to immitate their image of God. No mercy could be shown until Lamont and his followers had been rooted as painfully as possible from the earth. Brought up on Biblical exhortations, such as calls to "Slay the Amalakites," inflamed the Covenanting Argyll men into a disaster of supposedly 'righteous' rage.

The revenge was even more revolting, with the killing of prisoners and women and children and even burial alive. Alastair Campbell of Airds tells the horrific tale on pages 241-2 of volume two of *A History of Clan Campbell*:

It was around this time that his Campbell neighbours had a score to settle with Sir James Lamont and on May 17th, 1646, he was attacked by a force of Campbells under Ardkinglas and Inverawe. Toward was the first target and there Ardkinglas induced the garrison to capitulate upon terms, that is to say of having their lives spared. This document, it was afterwards averred in the Charge brought against the Marquess, was signed by Ardkinglas, Inverawe, Strachur, the fiar of Dunstaffnage, Ellangreig, Lochnell's uncle and John MacLachlan, fiar of Craigenterive. This done, the Campbells plundered the house and took all the contents and cattle to the value of £50,000. They killed all those who tried to interfere, including several women, their bodies being left as prey for ravenous beasts to devour.

Under the direction of Ardkinglas, Inverawe, Strachur, Ellangreig, Lochnell's uncle, and the fiar of Dunstaffnage, 200 of the surrendered Lamonts were then bound in spite of the terms of their surrender. After some days of misery at Toward, the main body of the Campbells took Sir James with them to Ascog, already invested by Campbell of Ormsary, where, as at Toward, the garrison were prevailed upon to surrender on terms. Lamont of Silvercraigs was among their number who just over a year before had been in the Campbell ranks at Inverlochy. They were then plundered and robbed and several were killed including children of less than a month.

They then took the survivors to Toward but before leaving Ascog, burnt it and destroyed all the orchards and plantings there. Various Lamonts were sent to Inveraray from Toward, to the tender mercies of George Campbell of Kinnochtree, the sheriff-depute. The remainder were then embarked in boats and taken to Dunoon. Before they left, the Campbells burnt Toward as well. The total of cattle driven off as prey was some 3,000.

Once at Dunoon the Lamonts were systematically dealt with; the change of sides after Inverloch, Lagganmore, Lamont's treatment of his brother-in-law, the killing of the Kilmun garrison, the destruction of Strachur and Ardkinglas was no doubt much in the minds of those concerned and may go far to explain if not to excuse what followed; the Campbells had a score to settle and they settled it in full. 36 of the captives, 'most of them being special gentlemen of the name of Lawmond' were taken and hanged from a single tree.

A further 30 were dirked or pistoled; they included the 80 year-old John Lamont of Auchinshelloch suffering from the Flux and John Jamison, the Provost of Rothesay who, although he had been shot three times through the body still showed signs of life when he was repeatedly stabbed and had his throat cut with a long dirk. Others were cut down half hanged and buried alive in pits already prepared, in spite of their struggles against the earth thrown in on them. The total of those killed was around a hundred. The tree on which the hanging had taken place died and when it was cut down, its roots were found to be 'bleeding' with a sticky red substance - an extraordinary tale which was, however, confirmed by a contemporary account of 1661 signed by the Minister of Dunoon, the Provost of Rothesay and by one of the burgesses.

Those Lamonts that had escaped the massacre fared little better. Sir James was taken to Inveraray where the Marquess, Inverawe and others pressurised him to resign his life and fortune. He refused on the grounds of the Royal Commission he held and because 'he, being a King's Baron, could not be judged by them, none of them being such . . .' This counter being true of such people as Inverawe and George Campbell must have been particularly galling. The latter replied that Sir James 'was a false knave and that he would judge him whether he would or not . . .' Sir James was then sent as a prisoner to Dunstaffnage.

While he was there, in 1647, the Marquess sent a deputation consisting of Dunstaffnage, Lochnell and Inverawe with the proposal that Sir James should renounce all rights in his property and estates and his superiority over his vassals. If he agreed, he would then leave the area for ever, the Marquess giving him a considerable sum of money. If he refused, 'so long as the Marquess had a house in the world, the said Sir James should be prisoner therein and should torment him with pain and misery till the marrow should rot within his bones. . . .' The Marquess also boasted that he held Sir James's estates and would keep them come what might. Sir James reasoning that what a prisoner did under duress was null in law agreed and was taken to Inveraray where he duly signed a paper agreeing to most of the above. But instead of being released, he was sent back to the misery of Dunstaffnage.

The instigator of the reason for these ferocities, Sir James Lamont, was spared for a fuller trial and imprisoned in Dunstaffnage. Dougall of Inverawe, with Campbell of Ardkinglas, was in command during these atrocities.<sup>55</sup>

At some point in 1646, possibly immediately following events in Cowal, the Marquess of Argyll, Campbell of Ardkinglas, Dougall Campbell of Inverawe, Campbell of Dunstaffnage with Archibald Campbell of 'Baringar' and Archibald, uncle of Campbell of Barbreck-Craignish, all officers of the Marquess' regiment, attacked the MacDougalls, 500 of whom had risen in arms for the King. They attacked Kerrera where they killed 14 of the MacDougalls and took a further six prisoner to Inveraray where they were subsequently hanged. Dunollie himself was imprisoned in Innis Chonnel for a year and a half.<sup>56</sup> This attack on the MacDougalls was seemingly prior to the 1647 attack on Gylen castle following MacColla's escape to Ireland.

In mid June 1646 Lt. Col. Robert Kerr arrived in Kintyre bringing a letter from the King to MacColla and orders to disband in the King's name. By this time MacColla had been joined by the Earl of Antrim who, after more negotiations left again for Ireland but without many of his troops who, through guise of a mutiny, stayed with MacColla, presumably in hope of plunder. Through the winter of 1646-47 MacColla made little news and may have concentrated his forces in Kintyre - the mecca for MacDonald hopes.

In January 1647 the covenanting army withdrew from England, abandoning the King to the English parliamentarians. A new army of veteran troops under professional officers was formed and trained and sent north against the Catholic Huntly. By the end of March 1647 their mission was accomplished. Meanwhile MacColla made tentative approaches to the Covenanting government but on the 4th of March an Act of Parliament confirmed that no terms would be granted to him. So during March 1647 he burnt all the lands and houses in Knapdale, Kilmartin and Glassary in a 'scorched-earth' effort to make it difficult for the now threatened arrival of General David Leslie to advance into Kintyre.

From February to May 1646, Dougall had moved from Argyll towards Ayr, being taken prisoner on the way. Then in May '46 he and Ardkinglas were involved in the action against the Lamonts. Possibly after that he had been with Leslie in the north. In mid April 1647 Leslie arrived at Dunblane from the north with a part of the army, having left Middleton to complete the work in the northeast. General David Leslie, (not to be confused with General Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven, also a Covenanting leader), would be created Lord Newark in 1661 and was grandson of the 5th Earl of Rothes. He had served under Gustavus Adolphus and joined the army of the Covenanters in 1643. He fought at Marston Moor and defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh in 1645 and would in turn be defeated by Cromwell at Dunbar. He would be taken prisoner at Worcester and spend nine years in the Tower of London.

Argyll had learned from the experience of Inverlochty. There he had insisted on commanding the forces in his own territory, taking over from the professional General Baillie, only to experience defeat and ignominy. He agreed to accompany Leslie into Argyll as colonel of a regiment and as one of a Committee of the Covenanters whom Leslie was supposed to consult, in a similar way to later party commissars. Dougall of Inverawe was with Argyll under Leslie when they marched for Kintyre. Whether Dougall had been with him when chasing Huntly in the northeast or had joined him on his way into Argyll is not known, but had Dougall remained in Argyll during 1646-47 he would perhaps have been holed up in his island castle of Fraoch Eilean on Lochawe. While his family may have taken refuge there (as happened after 1685) the likelihood would seem to be that he and his men had been with the army in the Lowlands and northeast.

On Leslie's march into Argyll in May 1647, Stevenson suggests that he had two 'highland' regiments commanded by Argyll and Ardkinglas. Although nominally containing 1,000 men in each, in fact they may have been much weaker. Leslie complained that three of his Lowland regiments each contained only half their nominal strength. Fear of the arrival of reinforcements for MacColla from Ireland, and an outbreak of the plague in Dunblane sent Leslie off swiftly without waiting for his regiments to be brought up to strength.

On the 17th of May 1647 the army marched out of Dunblane 'and made very long marches over the mountains in stormy weather, without houses or tents... We had not so stormie a May these many years.'<sup>57</sup> Their most direct route could have been by Lochearnhead and over by Loch Dochart to Glen Lochy and Clachan Dysart [later Dalmally] and so south by Inveraray, through which

Leslie is known to have passed, to Knapdale and Kintyre. But it is also possible that with the journey being most urgent, the army crossed the hills from Loch Katrine and over Glen Falloch and so into the hills again to upper Glen Fyne.

Leslie's force appears to have been a picked one of only two to three thousand men. He led them towards Kintyre, which was then only the area south of Caol Slate, the district about West Loch Tarbert plus the Skipness lands and to the south to beyond Clachan. Certainly by the time they entered the old Kintyre he had with him Dougall of Inverawe who had 300 men under his command. MacColla had recently been to Ireland and back (a sail of only 15 to 30 miles, depending upon the wind and which port he gained) and was evidently planning the withdrawal of his forces to Ireland since reinforcements could not come immediately due to the political situation there. He wrote a commission to his 76 year old father Coll 'coitach' to hold the castle of Dunivaig on Islay, keeping a toe-hold anent his return - more of a gesture at that point than anything else.

Leslie reached Inveraray on the 21st of May, after four days march from Dunblane, making about 25 to 30 miles in a day. By the 24th he was in Kintyre. Either that day or the day after, at sunset he came upon the enemy. He attacked and scattered 1,300 men of MacColla's forces on the level grasslands of Rhunahaorine near MacDonald of Largie's castle. This Leslie accomplished with his cavalry with which he had pressed ahead of his infantry forces so as to secure the narrower passes between sea and hill. He reported 60 to 80 of the enemy killed. Three of their leaders were captured and only nine of Leslie's men wounded. Night was falling and many escaped. Those who could not take boats for Gigha or Islay retreated to Dunaverty, a stronghold on the southern shore of Kintyre just east of the Mull. Some, confused by a song, do not realize that the 'Mull of Kintyre' is only the great hill and cliff face of western extremity of the peninsula.

On the 25th of May 1647, while chasing MacColla and his men out of Kintyre, Lieut. Gen. David Leslie, hearing that MacColla and his father Coll *Ciotach* had fled to Gigha, at once sent Dougall Campbell of Inverawe with 300 men to pursue them. MacColla had taken or destroyed all the boats and the delay allowed him and his father to escape to Islay. This order was probably given shortly following the battle or skirmish at Rhunahaorine, either that night or the following morning. Tradition holds that Dougall had to go all the way north to Castle Sween to find boats.<sup>58</sup>

Meanwhile, once it was clear that MacColla had escaped and no resistance was offered in Kintyre, Leslie must have been concerned about securing his land link to the mainland because Colonel Robert Montgomery was sent north into Lorne to attack the strongholds of the MacColla sympathizers - either rebels or genuine Royalists there. Turner<sup>60</sup> states that when David Leslie led his invasion of Islay from Gigha, only fifty horse accompanied them 'the rest of the troop being in Lorne under the command of Colonel Robert Montgomery who blocked up the house of Dunallich [Dunollie] belonging to MacKowill [MacDougall] in Lorne whose clan was, as I said before, very near extirpated at Dunaverty.'

Before there were any boats brought south so that he could leave for Islay, Leslie had marched south to the site of modern Campbeltown. On the 26th of May 1647 Leslie advanced to Lochhead (later Cambeltown) where he found the house and fort abandoned by the rebels. By the 31st of May he was beginning the siege of Dunaverty. Here it was that he wrote his letter mentioning Dougall of Inverawe's failure to find boats to pursue MacColla to Gigha, which suggests that Inverawe had sent him a report from Rhunahaorine and gone north to look elsewhere for boats. At Dunaverty, Archibald *mor* MacDonald of Sanda commanded three or four hundred men crowded into the small and poorly supplied stronghold. An eye-witness account of the time describes what

is still called a castle as 'A house on top of a hill environ'd with a stone wall.' An 18<sup>th</sup> century account tells of the former existence of a drawbridge, 'after which two or three walls, one within the other, fortified the ascent.' The rock on which it stood was defended on three sides by the sea. In 1494 the walls had been high enough that MacDonald of Dunnivaig had hung the royal governor from them. The castle would seem to have been demolished after Argyll's rising in 1685.

MaDonald of Sanda refused Leslie's summons to surrender and Leslie immediately launched an attack. About forty of MacDonald's troops were killed when an outer ditch was captured with the loss of five or six of the attackers, Mathew Campbell, Captain of Skipness and the Major and second in command of Argyll's regiment among them. This attack captured the water supply of the stronghold.

Sanda offered to surrender on the mercy of the kingdom: Leslie refused to let him surrender on his mercy, due to his previous refusal. The prisoners taken are said to have included a number of younger MacDougalls of the Dunollie family and their kindred.

The killing of the prisoners did not take place immediately but two days later. In the conventions of war of the day it was legitimate. Once an offer of quarter had been refused by a garrison it could expect no quarter. A surrender at mercy was unconditional surrender coupled with a plea for mercy which might well be rejected. Whether Sanda and his men understood the European conventions of the day is another matter. The only Covenanting sources suggest that among about 300 who surrendered, 200 or so of MacColla's men were killed following the surrender while 80 to 100 were spared and sent off to the French service under John MacDougall, younger of Dunollie. According the Adjutant General with the army, Sir James Turner, the killing of the prisoners was pushed vehemently and repeatedly upon Leslie by Rev. John Neve whom the general viewed as representing the Committee and therefore the government. Argyll was in Turner's view not at all involved. Sanda's infant grandson was hidden by his nurse while MacDougall of Kilmun was rescued by Argyll after he cried out in five languages 'Is there anyone here at all who will save a good scholar?' Angus MacEacheran of Kilellan died but saved his family and lands by giving his small deed kist to an officer who handed them to Argyll. Twelve years later Argyll restored the lands to his family.

The killing of prisoners is said to have been entrusted to those whose women and children MacColla and Lamont had burnt alive in the barn at Lagganmore near Scamadale. Among the reported ninety of those who died were forty-nine MacDougall Lairds or Tacksmen and their followers from Lorne. The forty-nine added to the MacDougalls killed or hanged the year before at the time of an earlier invasion of Kerrara amounted to 69 of the extended Dunollie kindred killed, contrasted with the 80 to 100 spared and sent off to the French service under young Dunollie. Representatives of the leading MacDougall families of Dunollie, Raray, Craiganich and Gallanach appear to have survived. The forty-nine 'Lairds and Tacksmen' have yet to be identified. The greater number of them must have been Tacksmen since the surviving records show a limited number of MacDougalls responsible for lands in those years. Again, a fully researched history of the MacDougall kindred would be most helpful.

Leslie then moved back to Lochhead [now Campbeltown] where the leaders captured at Rhunahaorine were hanged on Whinny Hill; Hector MacAllister of Loup who was MacColla's father in law, two of his sons, and MacKay or Davidson of Ardnacroish with some of his men were those hung.

The search for boats took Dugald of Inverawe until the 19<sup>th</sup> of June to ship his 220 foot and 80

horse to Gigha. Leslie and the rest of the army joined him there on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June.<sup>59</sup> Having some cavalry, we should picture Dougall as being mounted on most of his campaigns. He could therefore have earlier been with Leslie at the scattering of MacColla's men at Rhunahaorine. But now he was soon back on the mainland.

Leslie - once Inverawe had found him boats – followed Dougall to Gigha on the 23<sup>rd</sup>. There Dougall must have been ordered north to serve with Montgomery, while Leslie and Argyll sailed with their troops for Islay on the 24<sup>th</sup> of June. There he took the Castle of Dunivaig, feebly commanded by MacColla's aged father Coll 'coitach' from Colonsay.

Meanwhile Dougall of Inverawe and his men made their way north into Lorn. Possibly, rather than making their way through the devastated lands of Caol Slate, Knapdale, Glassary and Ardsceodnish, Dougall took his men and horses north by sea. At least there they could fish for supplies.

Once in Lorn, Dougall linked up with Colonel Montgomery, likely based at Dunstaffnage. They then besieged Dunollie and the little MacDougall castle of Gylen on Kerrera. Both were held by a royalist garrisons. Although Gylen was surrounded by cliffs on three sides and only reachable by a narrow neck of land hardly wide enough for a cart, they attacked and burnt the handsome little tower. These sieges must have taken place between the late June and some point in July 1647 when Leslie sent fresh orders for Dougall of Inverawe.(vide infra.)

The besiegers, who had completed successful campaigns in Kintyre and Islay, 'threatned those that were therein with hanging to death if they did not burne the same', and, doubtless mindful of the fate of their kinsmen who had suffered in the massacre of Dunaverty, the garrison complied with this order. The 'Brooch of Lorn', a celebrated MacDougall heirloom which had been sent to Gylen for safekeeping, was removed by Campbell of Inverawe, one of the attacking force.'<sup>61</sup> This according to tradition. But although the brooch may have been removed by Dougall, he would seem to have awarded it to Campbell of Bragleen, a hero in the fight against MacColla. The following extract from the *Statistical Account* is inaccurate in suggesting that the brooch was held in the Inverawe family.

'Robert Bruce's brooch happened at this period to be deposited in Gylen Castle, and became the spoil of Campbell of Inverawe, then serving in the detachment sent to Lorn under Colonel Montgomery, the captor of Gylen Castle. By the descendants of Inverawe the brooch was carefully preserved down to 1826, when it was purchase from the representative of that family by the late General Duncan Campbell of Lochnell who, with generosity which much distinguished him, restored the long lost brooch to the present proprietor of Dunollie.'<sup>62</sup> That tale rings true if the name Bragleen is substituted for Inverawe.

Dougall of Inverawe was likely in command of the unit which captured the MacDougalls carrying their valuables from the burning castle, which the MacDougalls undoubtedly would not have left in the castle to burn. But the brooch itself appears in fact to have come into the hands of Campbell of Bragleen and remained in that family until purchased by Lochnell who was trustee for the heiress daughters of the last Campbell of Bragleen. The Campbells of Bragleen were cadets of Lochnell. The last of the male line of the family was Major Archibald Campbell of Bragleen who died on the 25<sup>th</sup> of October 1818 aged 47. Mary Campbell, the second daughter, married Roderick Robertson, merchant in London, and was ancestor of the present Robertsons of Bragleen.<sup>63</sup>

Dougall must have known Iain *beag*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Campbell of Bragleen who was a younger man than himself, being seised in Bragleen on the 28<sup>th</sup> of May 1655 and died on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1693. He married his cousin Catherine, daughter of John Campbell of Lochnell. They left three sons and a daughter Christian who married Archibald Campbell of Fanans, neighbour and kinsman of Inverawe. Since Iain *beag*'s father must have died in 1655, it would likely have been young Iain who had challenged Alastair MacColla and escaped encirclement by flinging his sword in the air, breaking through the line surrounding him while all looked up to beware of where it would fall.<sup>64</sup>

Meanwhile, after reducing Islay, Leslie then turned north by sea, to tidy up any remaining Royalists or Clan Donald visionaries yearning for Kintyre. They kept to the sea as much as possible since the mainland was so ravaged that the people must have been starving and in no condition to support an army. Peace finally returned to mainland Argyll that May and June of 1647.

In 1647 a collection was ordered throughout all the churches in Scotland for the relief of the people of Argyllshire, plundered by 'the Irish.'

Leslie's final action in Argyll appears to have been the acceptance of the surrender of Duart and the Maclean strongholds on Mull, and also Castle Tioram in Moidart.

In July 1647 General David Leslie evidently promoted Dougall. In his orders that month for Dougall to take command of Inverlochy, he is now addressed as 'Lieut. Col. Dugald Campbell of Inverawe.' The order instructs Dougall to take over the garrison of Inverlochy with 220 soldiers. He maintained the garrison there until the 1<sup>st</sup> of November 1648. This information is contained in a supplication to Parliament by Lt. Col. Dugald Campbell of Inverawe for reimbursement of £3,986-13s. 4d. Scots.<sup>65</sup>

The following document, being among the Inverawe papers, suggests that during this time Dougall may have been with Ardkinglas' regiment, rather than with Argyll's. However since he stated later (see below in 1648-9) that he was in charge of the garrison of Inverlochy during this time, why he should have this (following) document among his papers is another question. [spelling up-dated]:

At Edinburgh the 4th day of Sept 1647

The Laird of Ardkinglas his Regiment of Foot being the number of six hundred and fourteen common soldiers 'by and attour' these already in garrison are with the whole officers of the staff and the officers of the companys after specified to be quartered within the shires of Perth, Stirling, Kinross and Clackmannan. The monthly pay of the said regiment, extending to the sum of seven thousand seven hundred forty three pounds thirteen shillings four pence, [shall be] payable to the officers and soldiers thereof now to be quartered within the four shires.

The shire of Stirling is to quarter one hundred and three score [160] common soldiers with the whole officers of two companies - a Captain excepted - Their pay being one thousand six hundred three score and twelve pounds [£1,672]. The maintenance of Stirlingshire extends to one thousand four hundred fourscore eighteen pounds [£1,496] monthly which being compared with the pay due to the forenamed officers and soldiers there will be due to those quartered one hundred threescore fourteen pounds [£174] which the collector is to pay thereto [this seems two pounds short (!)]

The maintenance of Clackmannan shire extends to five hundred twenty two pounds [£522]; upon which threescore [60] common soldiers are to be quartered with the full of officers of a company, one Captain and drummer excepted, whose pay is six hundred twenty four

pounds [£624]. So that there is due to the number quartered there an hundred and two pounds [£102] which the Collector of the shire is to pay them.

The maintenance of Kinross shire is threescore twelve pounds [£72] upon which ten common soldiers and a corporal is to quarter -Whose pay monthly is fourscore seven pounds [£87]. To it there will be resting to these quartered there more than the shires maintenance fifteen pounds [£15] which the Collector is to pay to them.

The maintenance of Perthshire extends to fourteen thousand seven hundred thirty three pounds 6s. 8d. [£14,733-6s-8d.] upon which three hundred eighty four common soldiers are to be quartered whose monthly pay is two thousand eight hundred and fourscore pounds [£2,880] -Together with the complete officers of five companies lacking one corporal- And the whole officers of the staff with two captains and a drummer- moreover and above whose monthly pay added to the soldiers is five thousand three hundred threescore pounds 13s. 4d. [£5,360-13s.4d] Which being compared with the maintenance payable monthly by the shire there will rest six hundred twenty-seven pounds 6s.(8)d. [£627.6s.8d] due by the general commissary to these quartered therein. And payable by the Collector of the shire to them. Sic Subscrivit. Bogie. [General Commisary Sir John Wemys of Bogie]

Below this on the same sheet of paper, 'sic subs,' David Leslie added the following, also dated on the 4th of September 1647. By this time the general was clearly back in Edinburgh from the west coast and he wrote (spelling up-dated):

Comrade

You shall quarter by advice of the committee of the shires within the sheriffdoms of Perth, Sterling, Clackmannan and Kinross, Remain there constantly until further orders - The Collectors of the shires are to count for your quartering - And the quarterings being deducted to pay you the remainder Conform to the above written testification which are the full means allowed to your regiment monthly by act of parliament according to which you shall count [account] and receive the remainder - Given at Edinburgh 4th of Sept. 1647 Sic subs.

David Leslie

Upon receipt of these orders or if your Regiment be to remove clear your quarter count ['compt' = account?] with the collectors and receive pay or give pay for what is due you or due by you since you have been quartered there, for the Laird of Ardkinglas Regiment.

Perhaps the following may comprise a part of Inverawe's clearing of accounts before moving east: Among the surviving Inverawe papers is the following, dated at Dunstaffnage on the 16th of September 1647.<sup>66</sup> Whether it it was in Dougall's own hand or not is not yet discerned. (spelling up-dated: )

At Dunstaffnage the 16 Sept. 1647 -

The Stent Roll of the monthly maintenance for fifty men in the garrison of Inverlochry - The whole lands of Lochaber is to pay monthly two hundred merks The lands of Glenelg are to pay monthly one hundred twenty merks

The lands of Moydart Arisaig Morar [spelt Morvon] pays monthly the sum of a hundred merks



The lands of Morvern [spelt Morwarne] Ardgour & Inverlochy pays monthly one hundred merks

The lands of Glengarry and Knoydart pays monthly four score merks

Summa six hundred merks monthly' (Inverawe Papers MS in the NLS)

[Interestingly this means that each soldier needed 12 merks local upkeep per month].

Undated but in the same hand is the following among the Inverawe papers: 'McConochies awin pay for the garesoune' (spelling up-dated, showing pounds, shillings and pence):

'The pay of 30 soldiers is lib.	270-00-00
'L of hous	066-13- 4
'One sergeants pay is	018-00-00
'Corporals half corporals pay is	018-00-00
'Two drummers pay is	124-00-00
'Captain at arms pay is	<u>015-00-00</u>
Swa	411-13- 4

'I say ffoure hundreth eleven pounds threttein shillings 4d.'

In a similar hand and style, but undated, is the following.<sup>67</sup> One is left wondering whether these were the 'braes' of Lochaber which would seem likely, being near to Inverlochy. The question of which of Dougall's brothers is left to conjecture, however it was most likely Archibald *oig* rather than the second son John the Writer. The 'Captain' was therefore presumably Archibald *oig*: 'Compt of the pay of those ffyftie men keiped by McConochie's brother on the braes" (up-dated spelling):

'First the pay of the 50 soldiers is lib.	450- 0-0
'A captains pay	066-13-4
'Lieutenant	040-00-0
'Ensigns	030-00-0
'Half Sergeant	9-00-0
'A corporal	<u>12-00-0</u>
"Swa	607-13-4

'I say sex hunreth seaven poundis threttein sh. 4d.'

The Civil War had been about religion. Because of the support of successive Earls of Argyll for the Reformation of 1560 and beyond, the Inverawe kindred found themselves at the heart of the reform and the fear-based tightening of behaviour control that followed. As a heritor, Dougall was involved with the setting up of church ministers in his part of the country. On the 12th of October 1647, the Synod of Argyll at Clachandysart (now Dalmally) in the Second Session 'ordained that a letter of recommendation be sent to John Campbell of Ardchattan and to Dougall Campbell of Inverawe in favour of Mr. Archibald MacCalman, desiring them to see him contented in his stipend or reasonable satisfaction given to him according to the general ordour appointed by the Marquesse of Argyll and *his* friends in favour of brunt (burnt) and waste paroches.'<sup>68</sup>

On the last day of February 1648 Dougall of Inverawe received into his keeping the sum of 3,000 merks as pledge of peace by Patrick Aldich McGregor's kin and friends and the house of Buchanan

of Leny near Callendar, between whom there had been a feud. Two years after Dugald's death the MacGregors would murder one of the Buchanans and so the Bond was being called in.<sup>69</sup> On the 29th of March 1648 the General Commissary, Sir John Wemys of Bogie wrote to Dugald with the following commission: (spelling up-dated:)

I Sir John Wemys of Bogie Knight General Commissary by these presents Gives my full power and commission to Lieutenant Colonel Dougall Campbell of Inverawe to uplift and receive out of the bounds particularly after specified within the sheriffdom of Inverness the particular sums of money following as a part of the monthly maintenance due by them conform to the act of Parliament viz. out of the lands of Lochaber within the said sheriffdom seven hundred and ten pounds Scots money - Out of McCleydis [McLeod's] his bounds of Glenelg four hundred pounds money- Out of the bounds of Moydart Arisaig and Morar as a part of the captain of Clanranald his bounds four hundred pound more foresaid - And out of the laird of McFingane his lands within the said sheriffdom three hundred sixteen pounds eighteen shillings eight pence money foresaid - And on the receipt thereof in whole or in part - To give discharge which shall be also sufficient as if the sum were granted by myself - Astringing the said Lieutenant Colonel to be accountable for what he shall receive or to allow the same in the first and of any sums due to *him* for that company kept by *him* in garrison within Inverlochry whereof he has the charge - In witness whereof I have subscribed these presents with my hand at Edinburgh the twenty-ninth day of March jmvjc and forty eight years [signed] Bogie.<sup>70</sup>

The task of collecting such funds from that part of the country can hardly have been an easy one, since not all were in sympathy with the government. In fact it was to a great extent wishful thinking on the part of Lowland men that such an operation could be successful in the Highlands where there was little cash, most wealth then being held in cattle.

Among the Commissioners appointed on the 8th of June 1648 by the Estates of Parliament, Charles I, as Commissioners of Shires, was Dougall Campbell of Inverawe. In the same year is an Act concerning the garrisons, wherein 'The Estates of Parliament ordaines and commands that McConochie of Inneraw [Dougall], and the garrison now at Innerloquhie, repair forthwith frae that place and march and Joyne with the rest of the body of their regiment to the shire of Selkirk'. At the same time command of Inverlochry Castle was to be taken over by the laird of Mackintosh.<sup>71</sup>

On the 2nd of August 1648 a letter was addressed as follows [contents not yet deciphered]:

Ffra Sir Jon. Wymes For

His much respectit friend Liuetenent Collonell Campbell sumtyme governor of Innerlochrie  
Dated 2 August 1648.<sup>72</sup>

In 1648 Cromwell came to Berwick and invaded Scotland, defeating the Duke of Hamilton's army. In September or October the Marquess of Argyll went to Cromwell at Mordington and 'had interest enough to divert him from measures of force'. Argyll was now 41 years old.

Lt. Col. Dugald Campbell of Inverawe was obliged to supplicate Parliament for arrears of pay for his men for the year and a half he had commanded a garrison at Inverlochry Castle [up-dated spelling and cut into paragraphs for easier reading]:

To the right Hon. the high court of Parliament

The humble supplication of Lieutenant Colonel Dougall Campbell of Inverawe who has the command of the garrison of Inverlochry. 31 Jan. 1649

Humbly sheweth that where the General Lieutenant by his order in July 1647 years appointed me to have the charge of the said garrison with the number of two (?) hundred and twenty soldiers which was kept by me therein since that time to the first of November last - And true it is that there is due to me for the said garrison preceding the said time the sum of three thousand nine hundred fourscore [eighty] six pounds thirteen shillings four pence Scots money –

Which the committee of estates by their precept of dat 14th October last ordained the General Commissary to pay - Likewise the said General Commissary accepted thereof - And by his precept appointed the collector of Perthshire to pay the same out of the revenues of that shire preceding October last - Which collector having cleared [ac]counts here with the general commissary – [it was stated that] there was nothing due by him except what is resting on Atholl. So that I am frustrated - the said general commissary refusing to make the said precept effectual an other way - And albeit the late unlawful committee by their act (which now by God's providence is repealed) did ordain the foresaid garrison to be delivered to the Laird of McIntosh - Yet out of my affection to the cause did keep the same from him - And was necessitated to borrow money for providing the same with victual for the which I am now sought [by creditors] –

As your Lordships would know that since the last levy the burden of the said garrison is put on me with the number of fourscore five [85] soldiers with their officers whose pay monthly is assigned by the General Commissary on the shire of Renfrew and town of Glasgow - So that the garrison has nothing in it but from hand to the mouth - I being still forced to advance the provision to them one month before their pay can be gotten - And if your Lordships knew how necessary it will be to have the same garrison sufficiently magazined it being very considerable - And in such a place of the kingdom that on the least report they hear many of them will be ready to trouble the peace of the kingdom and join with the troublers thereof –

And that now presently I cannot get any boll of victual to it nearer than Perthshire or Inverness -both which shires will be more than forty miles from it - That so the carriage [cartage ] and all will be dearer as twenty merks the boll - by any hazard may fallout in the transport which on the least surmise may be stopped wholly from any transport - And so the garrison lost - and we in it in hazard -

For the consideration of the which premises the honourable and great court of Parliament would be pleased not only for my bygone faithfulness in times past in keeping of the said garrison - to make my said precept effectual- and to cause satisfaction that I may pay those I am due to for victual to the said garrison - but also that your Lordships would be pleased to take such a course with that garrison and others thereabout -[as to] how provisions of victual may be had for them to be kept in magazine -and at least five or six months provisions. Otherwise, for my own exoneration at your lordships hands whereof I humbly crave your Lordship's pardon I will be necessitat [required] to quit it - Seeing I am not able of my self to provide it. And your Lordships answer I humbly crave that I make my redress to the said garrison”<sup>73</sup>

The above petition although dated the 31<sup>st</sup> of January 1649 has written on the cover [up- dated spelling]:

20 Jan 1649 The committee of bills finds the supplication competent to the committee of accounts and to 'tray' [try?] the collector of Perth shire upon whom the precept was drawn how the said precept was not answered by him - And concerning the garrison they found it competent to the committee of dispatches. (signed) Coupar

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of February 1649 the Committee for Dispatches ordered a letter to be written to Ewan Cameron of Lochiel ('Lochyenn') directing him to join with Dougall Campbell of Inverawe and obey the orders of the lieutenant general for falling down towards Inverness. Lochiel and Inverawe were to join Lt. Gen. David Leslie with their forces as well as two regiments of Argyll's regiment. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of March 1649 a letter was written to Leslie:

We have ordered MacConochie of Inverawe [Dougall Campbell] to repair to Lochaber and there to draw together all the forces he can to assist you in carrying on the service. ..against the rebels. [In this case 'rebels' meant 'Royalists.']<sup>74</sup>

On the 14<sup>th</sup> of April 1649 Chancellor Loudoun wrote from Edinburgh to Argyll's commanders presumably including Dougall of Inverawe, since a copy remained among the Inverawe papers (spelling up-dated):

Loveing Freens, We are very well satisfied with the informations we received by the Lord Marquis of Argyll of your readiness to assist and concur with the Lieutenant General and obey such orders as you receive from him for the good of the Country, we take your carriage [courage or attitude?] in so good part as we assure you we shall not be unmindful of your peaceable behaviours at this time when a fitting opportunity shall offer wherein we may express our sense thereof. And are very confident that you and all who partake with you shall reap the fruits of your obedience to public orders and preserving the peace of the Kingdom when others shall smart and receive their due punishment for their rebellion, we shall say no more at this time -Your very affectionate friends [signed] Laudoun Cancellarius [Earl of Loudoun, Chancellor]- Edinburgh 14 Aprile 1649.<sup>75</sup>

That summer Dougall had some time at home and was able to deal with the backlog of administration that had piled up during the years of conflict. On the 7<sup>th</sup> of June 1649 Dougall was at Inveraray where he and Dunstaffnage and Archibald *oig* Campbell in [rather than of] Stronchormaig, signed a Renunciation by Donald Ewing, heir to Wm. Ewing in Barindroman of the salmon fishing and draughts thereof drawn upon the lands of Kilninver and Barnacarrie (called the fishing at the Skerridow) as principle... (etc.). Colin Campbell of Lochnell and Dougall's cousin Neill Carswell, sometime of Carnassarie witnessed their signatures, plus George Campbell sheriff depute of Argyll and John Zuill [Yule] his servitor.<sup>76</sup>

The MacConnochie Campbells of Stronchormaig were kin of the MacConnochie Campbells of Inverawe, their last common ancestor having lived in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Yet over the past century and a half, they had frequently acted as witnesses and the like for each other's affairs. Kilninver and Barnacarrie with the fishing of the rock of Skerry dubh are about the mouth of Loch Feochan.

The above Archibald *oig* (meaning younger – often grandson) Campbell in Stronchormaig may well have been a son of the then Archibald Campbell of Stronchormaig who had succeeded to the lands following the death at Inverlochy of Dougall of Stronchormaig in 1645. Archibald appears on record as of Stronchormaig in November 1649.<sup>77</sup> His mother Margaret (composer of the Gaelic

Lament for her husband's death at Inverlochy and daughter of Dunstaffnage) had remarried to Archibald, a son of Campbell of Barbreck in 1647. The fact that the Archibald who was with Dougall of Inverawe at Inveraray was both *oig* and in Stronchormaig suggests that he is Archibald of Stronchormaig's son who has a Tack of Stronchormaig. He may have been a younger son since by November 1663 a Duncan Campbell of Stronchormaig appears on record.<sup>78</sup> By 1685 Duncan was calling himself both 'of Stronchormaig' and 'of Glenfeochan' although the properties were basically the same.<sup>79</sup>

At the end of October Dougall was at Inveraray. There on the 29<sup>th</sup> of October 1649 he and Alexander McNachtan of Dunderave were signatories on a Precept of Clare Constat by the now Marquess of Argyll to his beloved cousin Donald Campbell of Barbreck of the lands of Barbreck.<sup>80</sup> This was about Barbreck on Loch Awe, near Kilchrennan and Donald was Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan, the fierce natural son of Cawdor who yet seems to have been a friend of Inverawe. Two days later, on the 31<sup>st</sup> of October at Inveraray, a feu charter by Argyll was signed before Alexander McNachtan of Dunderave and Dougall Campbell of Inverawe and the sheriff depute.<sup>81</sup>

Finally, Dougall was able to hand over responsibility for the garrison and castle of Inverlochy to a successor and kinsman: On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of November 1649 Ewen Cameron of Locheil gave a receipt to Dougall of Inverawe for the supplies on taking over Inverlochy Castle from him: [spelling updated]:

I Ewen Cameron of Locheil by here presents Grant me in name of my Lord Marques of Argyll and conform to his Lordship's order to have received from Dougall Campbell of Inverawe who had the charge of the garrison of Inverlochy the same garrison of Inverlochy with a little girdel within it - A barrel [of] powder and a kist [chest] of ball - By these presents subscribed with my hand at Inverlochy the second day of November jmvjc and forty nine years. [signed] Ewyne Cameron of Lochzeild.<sup>82</sup>

Dougall was finally relieved of his military responsibilities for Inverlochy. He would likely have been in his late thirties or early forties. Ewen *dubh* of Locheil was then aged 20 and had lately, until he returned to his home country aged 18, been brought up in the household of Argyll. He had succeeded his grandfather Allan in 1647, his father John having died in 1635. Ewen's mother was Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy and so sister of Dougall's wife Agnes. Ewen was therefore a nephew by marriage of Dougall's. During the late 16<sup>th</sup> century Clan Cameron had been in turmoil during the minority of Allan, who was sent for safety to the Minister of Dunoon. Because he was therefore brought up a Protestant, during the following generations there were a number of Cameron marriages with Campbell daughters. Young Locheil at 18 was described by a later kinsman as 'healthful and full of spirit and grown up to the height of a man, though somewhat slender.' Ewen's loyalty to Argyll was shifted to the king in 1650 when, following Argyll's invitation to Charles II to come to Scotland, Ewen received a letter from Charles summoning him to join the royal army at Stirling. But he had difficulty raising his men, many being on Argyll's lands and otherwise committed, so he was spared the misfortunes of the battles of Inverkeithing and Worcester.<sup>83</sup>

Dougall must eventually have been reimbursed for the funds he had spent on the garrison at Inverlochy and their supplies. For he was able to add some further lands in Glen Etive. At Ardmaddy on the 30<sup>th</sup> of November 1649, John MacDougall, sometime of Raray, having 'disponed my whole lands and estate in Lorne' to the Marquess of Argyll and, 'for a certain sum of money paid to me by Dougall Campbell of Inverawe ...have disponed to the said Dougall Campbell and his heirs male the ...1d (one penny) land of Glencarne in Lorn. ...(commonly called the 2 merkland

of Innerelane and Innercharnane) excepting the wadset granted to me by Patrick Campbell of Dalmarkglen of. ..the 1 merk land of Innerlane.’ [These lands appear to be Inverchallan and Invercharnan in glen Etive]. Archibald Campbell of Stronchormoig was a witness.<sup>84</sup>

Dougall had then to help in sorting out some of his brother’s and nephew’s land holdings. On the 6th and 10<sup>th</sup> of December 1649 at Inveraray a contract was signed between John Campbell, fiar of Glenorchy on the one part and brothers of Dougall of Inverawe on the other, concerning the lands of Inerinnane [Inverinan on the NW side of Lochawe] Easter and Wester and Craighbamorren, Cayely, Over and Nether Fernoch and of Achicharne, Achnadee and Sonachan, all on Lochawe. Dunstaffnage with a brother of Baron MacCorquodale, Colin Campbell of Mochaster and Alexander, both John’s brothers, were among the witnesses.<sup>85</sup>  
This was only the beginning of a process.

The Sasine that followed this shows that Dougall’s brothers John of Achouran and Patrick Campbell had died, while his brothers Archibald, Allan and Lachlan were still alive on the 6<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of December 1649, when the Sasine was originally dated.

In May 1650 Argyll, according to the Scots Peerage and his biographer, ‘having done all he could to prevent the execution of his brother-in-law Huntly, refused to assist at the trial of Montrose or to concur in the sentence of execution pronounced against him, although [he was] a personal enemy, in May 1650’.

Dougall had a natural son Patrick who was a witness to a Sasine on the 5th and 6th of June 1650 where Lachlan was attorney for his brother Dougall Campbell ‘now of Inverawe’ and his sons Duncan John and Alexander in the lands of Crunachy. Crunachy lies beside the Bridge of Awe between the lands of Inverawe and Branrie and on the same side of the river as Inverawe. Dugald’s father Archibald is mentioned as ‘deceased.’ This and the following Charter would suggest that Archibald had only recently died, however Dougall had been addressed as ‘of Inverawe’ since before 1645, and no doubt the invasion of Argyll had delayed most legal actions.<sup>86</sup> Somehow, these lands of Crunachy, although geographically a part of Inverawe, slipped away before the end of the century and were in the sticky hands of John Earl of Breadalbane.

In June 1650, Argyll was instrumental in bringing Charles II to Scotland from exile. After Cromwell began to plan his invasion of Scotland and the subsequent defeat of the Scots at Dunbar on the 3rd of September 1650, Argyll held to the cause of the king. Argyll’s eldest son, Lord Lorn, ‘behaved with great bravery at the battle of Dunbar ...where his regiment suffered heavily’. He had been made colonel of Foot Guards by the King, refusing to act under a commission from parliament. Following the death of his father, Dougall received a Charter from Archibald Marquess of Argyll on the 29<sup>th</sup> of October 1650 regranting to him as Campbell of Inverawe the following lands: the four merklands of Inverawe with fishings on the water of Awe, four merklands of Drumachois, three merklands of Achacharne with office of seargeandry or marie of the lands of Benderloch between Ardmucknish and Invermow [not yet identified], two merklands of Dalness with the keeping of the forest of Glenetive, the five pound lands of Achlian including Duchollie, Benbreck and part of Stranemoir extending to the burn running in Stranemoir Benbowie and the sheilings of Stucksgarden and Stuckagew in Glenshira, with the Isle of Freachyllan and the piece of land called Dowyllan.<sup>87</sup>

The original of the above does not survive as it was burnt at Dunstaffnage in 1942, however transcript survives from the Awe Fishing Case. On the 6th and 7th of December 1650 a fuller

Sasine of the lands was given (below). Although this is long and complicated, it seems worth giving in full since it spreads out in words the map of all the lands for whose people and communities Dougall was responsible and from whose rentals he was able to afford their protection and administration of justice, plus the inevitable hospitality expected of his house. While today some with an industrial legacy in our hopefully more egalitarian age could consider this 'wrong,' it was the result of what had come to be expected in human society in his time:

An Instrument of Sasine, dated on the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> of December 1650, was 'given into the hands of Allan Campbell, lawful son of the deceased Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, as attorney for Dougall Campbell now of Inverawe, eldest lawful son and heir of the said Archibald his father, and also as attorney for Archibald Campbell eldest lawful son and heir apparent of Dougall Campbell, proceeding on a Feu Charter granted by Archibald Marquess of Argyll with consent of Archibald Lord Lorne, his eldest lawful son and apparent heir, for his interest, to the foresaid Dougall Campbell, now of Inverawe, in liferent, and the said Archibald Campbell, his son and heir, in fee, and the heirs male of his body, whom failing the said Dougall etc., irredeemably of the whole lands and other underwritten, viz: The 4 merklands of Inverawe with the salmon fishing of standing nets and ground fish on the water of Awe - the 4 merklands of Drumachois - 3 merklands of Achacharne with the office of Sergeandry or Mairie of the whole lands of Benderloch extending between Ardmucknish on the one side and Invermow on the other, with the fees and profits accruing to the said office; the 6/8 lands of Branrie with the houses and pertinents, fishings, outsets, pasturages etc., of the lands above mentioned. Also the 2 merklands of Dalness with the Keepership of the forest and woods of Glenetive as they have been held by the Keepers thereof of before with the fishing on the Water of Etive [*'ab introitu fluminis in aquaeductum usque ad summitatem ejusdem'*], indicating all the lands on the Moor of Rannoch drained by the Etive and its tributaries] with the pertinents, all lying in the lordship of Lorn and sheriffdom of Argyll:

Also all and whole the five pound lands of Achalian comprehending therein the lands of Duchollie and that part of Stranmoir extending to the water which runs in Stranmoir and which is near Benbowie, and to the border of the moors and sheilings [*'tugurium'*] of the lands of Stucksgarden and Stuckagew in Glenshirra, together with the Isle of Freachyllan and that small island adjacent called Dowyllan in Lochow, pertaining to the said lands of Achlian, with the office of stewartry or bailliary of Over Lochow ( except those lands therein over which John McArthur of Tirevadich and his predecessors are and were heritable bailies to the said Marquess and his predecessors) with the fess and profits [pertaining?] thereto, and particularly the one-third part of the fines and exits of courts held within the bounds, but reserving to the granter and his heirs the other two-thirds of the fines, exits and casualties of the said courts.

Also all and whole twenty shilling land of Tirvinzie (Tirvine) and the twenty shilling lands of Ardeachin, with the house and pertinents, salmon and other fishings, sheilings etc. in the lordship of Lorne.

The charter contains a Novodamus to Dougall's cousin Neill Carswell, formerly of Carnassarie. In the precept it is stated that Dougall Campbell of Inverawe may at any time during his lifetime burden the foresaid lands or any part thereof with the sum of 6000 merks in terms of certain obligations referred to in the Charter though not here innumarated.

The Charter is dated at Inveraray on the 29<sup>th</sup> of October 1650 and witnesses were James Campbell of Ardkinglas, Archibald Campbell, lawful son of the deceased John Campbell of Lochnell, Archibald Campbell, lawful son to the deceased Duncan Campbell Captain of Carrick, George Campbell the Marquess' Depute and John Yule, servitor to George.<sup>88</sup>

Sasine was taken by Dougall on the lands early in the following December, in the dark of the year: Sasine was taken on the ground of the lands of Achalian and the Isle of Freachyllan and on the ground of the lands of Ardeachine, Tirevinzie, Branrie and Innerawe, and at the mill thereof, and on the Water of Awe, respectively on the 6<sup>th</sup> of December between 9:00 AM and 4:00 PM and upon the lands of Achacharne, Drumachois, Innerelan, Innercharn[an], Dalness and at the Water of Etive, respectively, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of December between 8.00 AM and 3.00 PM. These times would have been calculated by light and dark, rather than any clock.

Witnesses to the Sasine, on what one suspects could have been chill weather with much movement by boat and on foot, were Robert Campbell McBarron VcLauchlane [which Campbell was a Baron?], John Campbell McBarron VcLauchlane, Donald McNiven and Lachlan Dow Campbell McGillespie VcLauchlane, servitors to the said Dougall Campbell now of Inverawe. There was a McNiven family in Glen Etive until the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century. A ‘Servitor’ was more than a servant, often being literate, and may in some cases have been young men being fostered by Inverawe.

Dougall was now once again free to be involved with the required attendance at the regular meetings of The Synod of Argyll. They met at Inveraray on the 12<sup>th</sup> of December 1650. The decision was made ‘and ordained’ that the kirks (parishes) of Killespicerel [Muckairn] and Ardchattan be separated. Inverawe would henceforth relate to Ardchattan across Loch Etive, rather than to Muckairn across the River Awe. They also ordained that a new kirk be built ‘on the water mouth of Kinglas, or any other commodious pairt thereabout’ for the ease of the people of Glenetive, Glenkinglas and both sides of Loch Etive ‘and the east syid of Ben Croachan, to be servit by the minister of Ardchattane ilk third Sabbath day’. Stipends were discussed and both Ardchattan and Dougall Campbell of Inverawe being present, acquiesced to the proposal.<sup>89</sup> This separation of Ardchattan and Muckairn suggests that since 1470 and until 1650, members of the Inverawe family may have been buried at Muckairn.

The plans of the Synod for a new kirk at Inverkinglas on Loch Etive seem remarkable today when there is hardly a family living between Invernoe and Kinlochetive, other places being far more fertile.

Dougall was again at Inveraray that winter. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of December 1650 Dougall of Inverawe and Archibald, Captain of Dunstaffnage and Donald Campbell of Auchinard, were witnesses at Inveraray to a Renunciation to the Marquess by Donald Ewing.<sup>90</sup>

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1651 Argyll placed the crown on the head of Charles II at Scone. However when the King proposed to march into England in June 1651, Argyll advised caution. But when the time came to move south, Argyll was obliged to withdraw from following the King into England due to his first wife being on her deathbed. With the defeat of the royalist cause at Worcester on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of September 1651, Argyll retired to Inveraray where he managed to keep himself well defended for a year.

After the defeat of the Scots Royalist forces at Worcester on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of September 1651, Lord Lorn led a group of followers back into the Highlands, ‘readily acting with the most inveterate enemies of his family for the King’s service’. His father wrote to him in the strongest terms for disturbing the peace of the country in general and Argyllshire and his own family in particular. Was this a cover for having a member of the family on both sides? It had been a custom in many situations since the Middle Ages in the Highlands.



One of Dougall's sisters was to be married to Neil, the son of Archibald Campbell of Eilean Rie, the island in Loch Craignish. A Sasine dated the 29th of October 1651 refers to Dougall's sister Catherine as 'lawful daughter of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe'. Her attorney John Campbell, brother german of Patrick Campbell of Achaha, arranged that liferent provided to her by Archibald Campbell of Ellanrie and Neil Campbell his son. This was preparatory to a marriage contract between Catherine and Neil.<sup>91</sup>

As the year before, Dougall was at Inveraray in December. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of December 1651 Dougall was signatory to a Precept of Clare Constat by Argyll to John McNeill now of Taynish. The lands included Gigha. James of Ardkinglas, Colin of Lochnell and Archibald of Dunstaffnage were other signers.<sup>92</sup> This raises the question as to whether Dougall's second wife, who was a MacNeil, was of the Taynish or Gigha family. Had he already met her, or did he meet her through being put in temporary charge of the lands of Largie, opposite Gigha?

Three days later, on the 13<sup>th</sup>, Dougall was given a 19-year tack of the 53 merklands of Largie in Kintyre. MacDonald of Largie was under forfeiture for the meantime and the place was temporarily in the hands of Argyll who wanted it both kept in forfeiture without attack and well administered. The task cannot have been an easy one for Inverawe, but must no doubt account for several MacConnochie families being established in Kintyre at that time, since Dougall would need loyal support from those to whom he let tacks on the Largie lands, the local people all being loyal to Largie and in a sense a conquered people. Besides, Argyll forbade the tacks to be let to any local people.

When the Restoration of 1661 came, although it could not yet be foreseen, the lands would be returned to MacDonald of Largie, so that Inverawe had ten years in which to restore the devastated lands. However a number of MacConnochie families stayed on and continued as tacksmen of Largie and Kintyre lands. That there were MacConnochie families among the Inverawe kindred who could move to Kintyre and take up these tacks, suggests a more extended kindred within Dougall's sphere of influence than the records of Inverawe lands show. Some would likely have been descendants of Dougall's great-uncle John *dubh* Tutor of Inverawe, or of John's brothers Patrick and Duncan.

The conditions were quite severe: The eventual rent to Argyll was to be 50 merks per merkland or 2,650 merks a year. But due to the 'state of waste' this was not payable in full until 1654, with an initial payment of 10 merks per merkland. No lands were to be let to any of the name of MacDonald, MacAlister, MacKay or MacEuan or any Islander without the Marquess' personal permission in writing. Dougall had also to repair 'the Laigh [ground-level hall] House of Rownaherin' and he or his brother had always to be in residence. This was almost certainly his brother Archibald *oig* who had also been his Lieutenant commanding his troops on the Braes of Lochaber during their time at Inverlochy. Further, the woods of Rhunahaorine and Leargnahension were to have the old timber and 'scrogs' cut at Dougall's own expense. Inverawe also had to act as Keeper for the isle of Cara off the south end of Gigha and to maintain any wild beasts that the Marquess might have placed there, but for that he would pay Dougall an annual pension of 600 merks for the service.<sup>93</sup> In the event, it seems clear that it was Archibald *Oig* who lived on, and managed, the Largie lands

Once again Dougall was bound by his religious commitments. The Synod of Argyll met at Inveraray again on the 27<sup>th</sup> of December 1651 and discussed changes to the old parishes spanning Lochawe at the northern end: The gist of their conclusions were that, considering that a part of the parishes of Innishail and Kilchrenan lay on both sides of Lochawe and that the places where the kirks then stood 'are not central', they ordained that, for the ease of the parishioners that [a kirk]

be built on the east side of Lochawe upon the lands of 'Coulquerelane' [Kilchurn] for all the lands of both parishes which are on the east side of Lochawe. The lands they were considering were between 'the water of Belloche' and the march of Achlian. 'Belloch' may mean Ballach, but has not been identified.

The Inverawe lands of Achlian, which had formerly been in the parish of Innishail, were now to be annexed to the parish of Clachandysart [now Dalmally]. This proof of the supporting lands of Faoch Eilean being in Innishail supports the reported use of Innishail as a burial ground by the Fraoch Eileain – MacConnochie family before Inverawe was placed in the parish of Ardchattan. Between the 1470s and 1651, they may then have used the burial ground at Kilespicerell, then Muckairn and now called Taynuilt.

Further, there was to be a new kirk built on the ground and lands of Inverinnan Easter for all the lands of both the parishes that are on the on the west side of Lochawe except Ichrachan and Fanans which still would pertain to Kilchrenan. The Tiends formerly paid for the - now to be dismembered portions of Innishail, Clachandysart and Kilespickerill [Muckairn] - were now to be paid to the new kirk at Kilchurn.<sup>94</sup> The decision would affect Dougall's teinds.

Eventually in fact the kirk would be built much later at Clachan Dysart, now Dalmally. The church there was built in that brief era when it was understood that a design that lifted people's spirits could aid morale and so community values, both spiritual and economic.

Dougall's winter visits to Inveraray to deal with paperwork suggest that he was using those parts of the year when there was less work on the place, whether with crops or cattle, to handle administration. At Inveraray on the 1st of February 1652 Dougall of Inverawe paid off the outstanding wadset on the Glen Etive lands of Invercallan which he had purchased from John MacDougall, formerly of Raray, but which had been wadset by MacDougall to Patrick Campbell of Dalmarkglen in liferent and to his son Alexander in fee on the 12<sup>th</sup> of January 1633. Dalmarkglen and his second son Arthur put their mark on a Discharge of the payment of 1,300 merks. Campbells of Dunstaffnage, Rachean and Duncan Campbell, fiar of Ormsary were witnesses. This again suggests that Dougall may well have been paid his arrears from his command at Inverlochy.<sup>95</sup> Patrick of Dalmarkglen would be the founder of the family of the Campbells of Barcaldine. He was known as 'Para *dubh beag*' and was a son of Sir Duncan of Glenorchy, himself known as Duncan *dubh* or also as 'black Sir Duncan of the seven castles.'

Four days later on the 5<sup>th</sup>, a Renunciation was signed by Dalmarkglen of the above lands to Dougall of Inverawe and his eldest son [Archibald]. Inverawe had now redeemed the wadset by Raray to Dalmarkglen and bought the land from Raray. Witnesses were Archibald of Dunstaffnage, Archibald of Rachean, Duncan Campbell in Aird and Duncan Campbell fiar of Ormsary.<sup>96</sup>

There seems to have been a quiet year for Dougall until the autumn of 1652, when the Marquess of Argyll was lying sick at Inveraray. Suddenly he was surprised by General Dean who took him prisoner to Edinburgh. There, he was entrapped into being present at the Privy Council proclaiming Cromwell as Lord Protector, the supposedly Christian dictator. In one sense this left the County of Argyll leaderless, leaving more weight on the shoulders of those like Dougall who were responsible for their people's protection.

There is no news of Dougall again until the 4<sup>th</sup> of March 1654 when he gave a Discharge to Campbell of Glenorchy for forty pounds for the rent paid to him on the lands of Letterbeann.<sup>97</sup>

These would appear to have been the slopes of Ben Cruachan running down to Crunachy in the mouth of the Pass of Brander.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of April 1654 Dugald was a Cautioner for Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan and Barbreck on a Bond. This was mentioned on the 24<sup>th</sup> of October 1675 after Dougall's death.<sup>98</sup> The Barbreck mentioned here is near Kilchrenan, Barbreck Lochawe rather than Barbreck Loch Craignish.

In 1654 the Marquess of Argyll's son Lord Lorn joined the Earl of Glencairn's rising with almost 1,000 men and received a commission of Lieutenant-General from Charles II. Lt. Col. Dougall of Inverawe was not with him, evidently, for he dutifully attended the Synod. The Provincial Assembly of the Synod of Argyll was held at Inveraray in May of 1654. Those gathered considered the 'great necessitie for a visitatione of Kintyre'. In addition to the two ministers of the presbytry appointed, Mr. Alexander Gordon and Mr. Archibald McLean, and another minister Mr. John Cameron, those appointed were 'my Lord Marquess of Argyll, Lord of Bucastle(?), Carskey, McConochy of Inerawe' [Dougall], John Campbell Bailie of Kyleslate and James Brown, the ruling Elders. 'Kylsslate' was what is now known as northern Kintyre but was then Caol Slate, from Tarbert on Lochfyne down to just beyond Clachan and including all the lands of Skipness. This was when Kintyre was still only the land to the south of Caol Slate. Dougall was still involved in Kintyre due to Argyll having appointed him to administer MacDonald of Largie's lands during the period of his forfeiture.

Their task was to try to admit Mr. James Garner, expectant, to the work of the ministry of Saddell 'all instructions being removed out of the way'. These were presumably 'obstructions.' Also they were to 'exercise descipline as neccessitie requires within the bounds of Kintyre'. The later rather notable Mr. Dougall Darroch of the Jura family was appointed to prepare the way and summon all parties interested and to serve the edict in relation to the admission of Mr. Garner. It was then ordained that in addition to the above committee, there be added, 'being best acquaint with the bounds', Lord Neil Campbell, the Laird of Ralstone [a Lowlander earlier invited into Kintyre by the earl and with lands near Campbeltown], the [MacAllister] Laird of Loup, the Captain of Skipness [Matthew Campbell] and an intriguing figure, 'Hillabith, Lachlane mc Neill bowie'.<sup>99</sup>

Lord Neil Campbell, who was the Marquess of Argyll's second son and aged about 23 or 24 at the time of this Synod, would live at Ardmaddy in Lorne. He would marry, secondly, Susan, eldest daughter of Sir Alexander Menzies of Weem who afterwards married Colonel Alexander Campbell of Fonab and Monzie. One of their daughters, Jean, would marry Dugall's great grandson, Duncan Campbell of Inverawe.<sup>100</sup>

In 1654 the servitors of Dougall of Inverawe were Dougall and Archibald Campbell who were witnesses to a precept of Sasine whereby John, fiar of Glenorchy, the future 1st Earl of Breadalbane, disposed to Alexander of Achouran the lands of Over and Nether Fernoch and others in Lorn.<sup>101</sup> Servitors were more than servants. They were likely literate and perhaps even foster sons of Inverawe. Most likely they were young men, sons of neighbours, learning about life beyond the farm from Dougall, and acting as his assistants.

A Sasine not long afterwards added Inverinan Easter and Wester which lands had been wadset to the by now deceased Alexander, 2nd of Achouran, in 1649.<sup>102</sup>

Another Sasine on a Charter by Alexander Campbell of Achouran dated on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May and 8<sup>th</sup>

of June 1654, at Inveraray and Castle Kilchum, clarified many of Dougall's relationships. Dougall's next younger brother had been John Campbell, first of Achouran on Lismore. John's heir and Dougall's nephew was Alexander. John's next younger brothers were another Alexander and Lachlan, both now dead. Dougall was Tutor testamenter of John Campbell, the only son of his own brother Patrick who had been killed at Inverlochty after his marriage to Moire Cameron of the Callart family. Dougall's younger brother Allan was still alive in May 1654. The witnesses were Colin Campbell, son of the Laird of Inverleiver on Lochawe, Colin Campbell, brother of Glenlyon and Alexander Campbell in Glenure. Witnesses to the Sasine were, again, Dougall and Archibald Campbell, servitors to Dugald Campbell of Inverawe.<sup>103</sup>

The complex issue of dealing with the heirs of the Achouran lands wadset [a lease-purchase arrangement] to them by Glenorchy on Loch Awe continued. For some reason not now clear, it was necessary to find an intermediary who would buy the lands from the Achouran heirs and sell them back to Dougall of Inverawe who could then dispose of them for the benefit of the heirs. This was possibly because it would not be appropriate for Dougall, as Tutor or guardian of any of the beneficiaries, to purchase the lands from them directly. Yet he was the one responsible for dividing the benefits to the different heirs. Campbell of Drimsynie in Cowal was the chosen trusted intermediary. He appears to have been a descendant of Ardkinglas, although a ring with the Inverawe arms survived in his family and resulted much later in the Inverawe arms being placed mistakenly on a Drimsynie tombstone. Perhaps the wife of one of the Achouran family was his sister.

So, as a part of the arrangement. all the Achouran wadset lands on Loch Awe, including Inverinnan, had been disposed to Campbell of Druimsynie by Dougall's nephew Alexander of Achouran on the previous 23rd of May. The Charter was dated at Carrick [Castle in Cowal] and Castle Kilchurn. Witnesses were Neil and Robert Campbell, sons of the late Donald Campbell, minister of Kilmartin; Archibald son of Alexander Campbell, sometime in Raslie; Colin Campbell, brother of Glenlyon and Alexander Campbell of 'Glenurne' [Glenure?].

Then, on the 6th and 8th of June 1654, Dougall of Inverawe got Sasine for himself and his second wife, Agnes McNeill, on a Charter by Archibald Campbell of Druimsynie in Cowal with the consent of John Campbell, fiar of Glenorchy, his superior, of the four merklands of Inverinnan, easter and wester, Nether and Over Fernoch and other lands. These were a part of the 27 merklands of Lochawe. On the 9th of June 1654 Dugall of Inverawe received final Sasine for these lands.<sup>104</sup>

All these Sasines meant that Alexander of Achouran and his cousin John, son of the late Patrick, 5th son of Archibald of Inverawe, had alienated the wadset lands to Archibald Campbell of Drumsynie on the 23rd of May 1654, who in turn sold them to Dugald of Inverawe and his wife on the 6th and 8th of June 1654. Clearly, since Alexander had inherited Achouran he no longer needed the wadset and needed to separate the partnership with his young cousin John who must only have been about ten or twelve years old at the time, with his mother much in need of his father Patrick's inheritance. She and Patrick had lived at Dall [Dial on the OS map] on Loch Etive.<sup>105</sup>

Alexander's father John had been in partnership in the lands with his late brother Patrick and his younger brothers Alexander and Lachlan. John, Alexander, Lachlan and Patrick were all now dead. Lachlan and Alexander left no children and so had made Alexander 2<sup>nd</sup> of Achouran their heir.<sup>106</sup>

Late in 1654 young Lord Lorn was so pressed in his Royalist campaign in the Highlands that he was obliged to retire to an island with only a few friends. He eventually submitted to Cromwell. On the 9<sup>th</sup> of May 1655 the Provincial Assembly of the Synod of Argyll met at Kilmichael Glassary. Among other business, concern was expressed about the Isle of Skye where ‘credible reports of several things to be remedied in the said bounds, especially of priests, Jesuits and papists resorting there’. It was therefore thought fit that there be a visitation of the bounds of the presbytery of Skye ‘for endeavouring the redress of the forsaid enormities’. Dougall of Inverawe was evidently among those considered capable of ‘redressing enormities’. The members of the Assembly appointed to depart from Dunstaffnage by boat on the first Tuesday of July that summer were; Mr. John Stewart and Mr. Colin McLachlan, ministers, and Alexander Campbell, elder, out of Cowal; Mr. Dugald Campbell, minister, and Dougall Campbell of Inverawe out of Argyll; Mr. Ferquhard Fraser and Mr. Colin MacCalman, ministers, and Colin Campbell of Lochnell out of Lorn; Mr. Dugald Darroch the minister out of Kintyre and certain substitutes should any of the above fail. Each was to have ten merks out of funds for their costs.<sup>107</sup>

The likelihood is that in July 1655 Dougall departed for Skye dressed in suitably sober garb from Dunstaffnage with his colleagues of the Synod of Argyll. The Almighty must have been considered very remiss not to have grown horns on the papists so that they could easily be recognized.

Dougall was in trouble with the Synod at their next sitting on the 31<sup>st</sup> of October 1655 at Inveraray. In those days the Kirk was still strongly emphasising the Old Testament, still committed to a God of ‘wrath and vengeance’ and meddling in the beds of their parishoners in an always vain attempt at behaviour control. The presbytery of Lorn had generally been approved, however some ‘scandalous miscarriages’ had come to light, miscarriages which had come about through slackness in discipline, which they were desired to reform by a more vigorous exercise of the same. John McEuen, ‘adulterer’ was reported to be dwelling in Inverinane, a part of the lands of [Dougall] MacConnochie of Inverawe, with his adulteress no less. The Synod recommends to the said MacConnochie to cause them to separate and put him to do duty and to give public evidence of his (McEuen’s) sorrow at Gillespicarell [the kirk of Muckairn]. Dougall, being present, undertook to deal with McEuen. Whether the gentleman of the artistic morals was one of the McEwen Bardic family is not recorded. Dougall and other heritors was also desired to see Mr. Archibald MacCalman ‘contented in his stipend’ as allowed for burnt and waste parishes, presumably a hint to the heritors to look to their duty in paying the minister in a timely way.<sup>108</sup>

In November 1655 Lord Lorn was compelled to find five thousand pounds security for his peaceable behaviour by General Monck, Cromwell’s ruler of Scotland.

Dougall of Inverawe’s daughter Anna was to be married. On the 26<sup>th</sup> of August 1656 a marriage contract was signed between Donald, brother of Colin Campbell of Lochnell, and Anna, eldest daughter of Dougall Campbell of Inverawe. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of November Sasine was given to Donald and Anna, his future spouse, on the lands of ‘Arduallin’ [Arduallan]<sup>109</sup>

On the same date Colin Campbell of Lochnell granted to his brother german Donald Campbell and his future wife Anne, daughter of Dougall Campbell of Inverawe, the lands of Arduintallan.<sup>110</sup> Donald died in 1702 aged 75 and was aged about 29 at the time of his marriage. Their descendants would later have tacks of Torinturc, Kilchamaig etc.<sup>111</sup> Marriages of Inverawe daughters presumably took place at Inverawe as was the custom of the time, rather than at the former priory church of Ardchattan, that later surviving an attempted burning by Cromwell’s troops.

On the 27th of May 1657 the Provincial Assembly of the Synod of Argyll met at Kilmore, at the head of Loch Feochan in Lorne. No mention was made of whether Dougall had reformed his tenant. Again, presumably due to his administering the lands of Largie and a lack of members from Kintyre, Dougall of Inverawe was numbered among those representing the Presbytery of Kintyre. His brother Archibald *oig* must still have been living there and administering the Largie lands for Argyll. Dougall's colleagues were; Mr. Edward Keith; Lord Neill Campbell; Mr. John Cunnison, Elder (absent); Mr. David Simpson; Mr. Dugald Darroch, another Elder (absent), Martin McLachlan, Elder (absent); Mr. James Gardiner and Mr. John Reid, Elder (absent). Under the Presbytery of Argyll, the Marquess was listed with Campbells of Kirnan and Clark of Braelecan among others. John McLean of Ardgour was listed with a Hector McLean the ministers of Lorn.<sup>112</sup>

Dougall's eldest son Archibald was to be married. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of June 1657 Sasine was dated at Ullodill [not identified, unless Ugadale, a McNeill place in Kintyre] for Mary McNeill, widow of Neill Campbell of Duntroon 'now future spouse of Archibald Campbell, fiar of Inverawe, on a liferent charter by Dugald Campbell of Inverawe and the said Archibald to her, of an annuity of 700 merks out of the lands of Inverawe and others'. Actual Sasine was given on the lands on the 20<sup>th</sup>. Witnesses were Mr. Ewen Campbell, sometime of Achnagoull; Archibald *oig*, brother to Dougall of Inverawe; Duncan, son of Dougall of Inverawe. John Campbell in Inverawe gave Sasine as bailie. John may have been Dougall's Writer brother.<sup>113</sup>

The marriage contract arranged between Duntroon and McNeill of Taynish for Mary's first marriage was so advantageous to her that when Neill of Duntroon died suddenly while young, his heir John was unable to pay Mary's liferent out of the lands. So he sold Duntroon to his cousin Patrick Campbell in Inveraray and retired to nearby Tayness. Patrick's family then formed the second line of Duntroon. Archibald, younger or fiar of Inverawe, would spend much time extracting the payments due to his wife from her former kinsman Patrick. She had no children by either marriage. The liferent drain on lands, while kind to widows, was a system that could bankrupt families where the father's widow and perhaps also the grandmother were still living and drawing their liferent from the lands.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of May 1658 the Provincial Assembly of the Synod of Argyll was held at Inveraray and Dougall of Inverawe was again present and still listed with the Presbytery of Kintyre. Also listed as forming the Presbytery of Argyll were the Marquess, and Campbell of Kirnan, Clark of Brealecan, and the ministers, now joined by MacLachlan of 'Inschonnill' or Innis Chonnell and Zacharie McCallum, ancestor of Poltalloch and hero of a challenge to MacColla.<sup>114</sup>

Once again Dougall was at Inveraray in winter. In February 1659 at Inveraray Dougall Campbell of Inverawe signed a Discharge to Patrick Campbell of Duntroon for 80 pounds as annual rent, from Martinmas 1657 to Martinmas 1658, of the 2,000 merks owed to Mary McNeill, relict of Neill Campbell of Duntroon and spouse of Archibald Campbell, fiar of Inverawe. The witnesses were John Lindsay, Minister of Kilchrennan, Donald Campbell brother to Lochnell (and son in law of Dougall) and Zacharie McCallum.<sup>115</sup>

Again at Inveraray Dougall of Inverawe was attorney for Jean Campbell, third lawful daughter of James Campbell of Ardkinglas, now spouse to Ronald McAlister of Tarbert, on a liferent granted to her by her husband. The writing and signings were on the 26<sup>th</sup> of July and 3<sup>rd</sup> of August 1659.<sup>116</sup>

After the Restoration of Charles II in May 1660, Argyll wrote to the King and was encouraged by the King's attitude to his son Lord Lorn when presenting the letter. So, against the advice of his

friends, he went to London. He arrived on the 8<sup>th</sup> of July 1660 and went immediately to White Hall. But Charles refused to see him and had him committed to the Tower. In December he was sent under guard to Edinburgh.

Dougall of Inverawe made a contract with John, fiar of Glenorchy on August 1660.<sup>117</sup>

The Marquess of Argyll was executed on the Maiden in Edinburgh on the 27<sup>th</sup> of May 1661. He would be succeeded by his son Archibald Lord Lorn as the 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll who, 24 years later, would meet the same fate as his father on the same guillotine.

The death of Argyll and the Restoration would have ended Dougall and Archibald *oig's* requirement to administer the forfeited lands of Largie for MacDonald of Largie who would in due course be restored to his inheritance. Angus, 9<sup>th</sup> MacDonald of Largie had been involved with MacColla in the burning of Inveraray in 1647. His son would be the last of the original male line of that family, the inheritance passing through his daughter to the Lockharts of Lee who added the name MacDonald. Their descendants still live on the lands.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1662 Dougall's heir Archibald was still 'fiar of Inverawe' which meant essentially that he was both an adult and the heir.<sup>118</sup>

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of July 1662, Lord Lorne, now 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll and elder brother of Lord Neil, presented himself at parliament in Edinburgh. Even as a royalist, he was immediately arrested and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle. He was not released until the 4<sup>th</sup> of June 1663. On the 26<sup>th</sup> of August he was sentenced to be beheaded and his lands forfeited, but the day of execution was left to the King's decision. He remained in prison in Edinburgh until the 4<sup>th</sup> of June 1663 when his enemy Middleton lost power at Court. This must have been an uneasy time for Dougall and his colleagues in Argyll.

The Restoration also meant that Dougall of Inverawe, like all Covenanting officers how had opposed the king, was in danger of forfeiture himself. For the last five years of his life, the protection of the government would only be extended periodically, not permanently in his case. His atrocities against the Lamonts were not easily forgotten, doubtless on his part also.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> of October 1662 John Campbell of Dunstaffnage and Dougall Campbell of Inverawe signed a Bond to William Johnston.<sup>119</sup> So Dougall was able to administer his family affairs meanwhile. However the Protection of the Privy Council was extended to Colin of Lochnell, Dougall of Inverawe and John Campbell of Dunstaffnage on the 18<sup>th</sup> of November 1662.<sup>120</sup>

The difficulties over claiming his wife's rights in Duntroon occupied Dougall's son Archie. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of December 1662 a contract was signed between Archibald, fiar of Inverawe, and Patrick Campbell of Duntroon who, in part lieu of what he owes to Archibald's wife, wadsets to Archibald certain lands. One witness was Zachary MacCallum 'of Poltalloch' and another was John MacCallum of Ardbrecknish.<sup>121</sup> The MacCallums were neighbours of Duntroon and appear from earlier witnessings to have been friendly with Inverawe.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> of October 1663 Lord Lorn was restored to his grandfather's title of Earl of Argyll under the Great Seal and the same day had a charter of the earldom of Argyll. He was sworn a Privy Councillor and appointed a Commissioner of the Treasury.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of March 1664 a marriage contract was dated wherein John Campbell of Dunstaffnage, taking burden on him for Annabella Campbell his daughter, and Duncan Campbell of Stronchormag, with advice of Dougall Campbell of Inverawe. Dougall's position in this was presumably as senior of the MacConnochy kindred, since Duncan's father had already died.<sup>122</sup>

Among the Inverawe papers and dated the 28<sup>th</sup> of June 1665 is a copy of a confirmation to the feuars of Argyll that their holdings are secure despite the forfeiture of the Argyll lands. Signed above by Charles R and below by Lauderdale: '...having received a petition from the feuars of Argyll humbly showing us that in respect of the clause contained in our commission directed to you for the settling of the Estate of Argyll conceived in favour of the creditors of the said estates - lest the said creditors might suppose that they had some ground to trouble the said feuars in their respective requests and points - humbly craving we might declare our Royal sense and meaning as to the interest of the said creditors. And having taken the same to our Royal consideration in pursuance of our gracious answers hereto we have thought fit by these to declare that our Royal sense and meaning in the said commission as to the interest of the said creditors was that the estates be surveyed and disposed upon to the said creditors was such only as was possessed and enjoyed by the Lord Marquess of Argyll before the forfeiture. And therefore the creditors of the said estate of Argyll to have no access or interest upon pretence of the said commission or anything therein contained to trouble or question the said feuars in the peaceable brooking and enjoying of their estates...'<sup>123</sup>

No doubt the above, if late in the day, may have brought to Dougall a sense of some security in an insecure time, if he lived to see a copy. He held all his lands from Argyll, who had held them from the Crown. During the forfeiture of Argyll, Dougall had held directly from the Crown.

Young Alexander, eldest son of Agnes MacNeill, Dougall's second wife, was old enough to have a Bond signed to him, dated at Inveraray on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1665. The Bond was by Walter Colquhoun and Dougall McClerich (Clarke) of Brealecan, burgesses and indwellers in Inveraray, and signed to 'Alexander Campbell, lawful son to Dougall Campbell of Inverawe.'<sup>124</sup>

Dougall was evidently ailing and in sight of his earthly end. On the 4<sup>th</sup> of September 1665 he disposed all his moveable goods or gear to his son Alexander, eldest by his second marriage, evidently as a means of avoiding the 17<sup>th</sup> century equivalent of death duties - or was he in debt?<sup>125</sup> The lands would automatically go to his heir Archibald.

Dougall died on that 4<sup>th</sup> of September 1665.<sup>126</sup>

About the time of his death, his daughter Janet was married to Dugald Campbell, son of the late Colin, Commissary of Lorn. On the 5<sup>th</sup> of September 1665 a Marriage Contract was [presumably registered] between Dugald Campbell, son to the late Colin Campbell, Commissary of Lorne, and Dougall Campbell of Inverawe and Archibald fiar of Inverawe, and taking the burden for Jonet [Janet], daughter to the said Dougall and sister to Archibald.<sup>127</sup>

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of October 1665, either unaware of Dougall's death or asking for support from his son and heir Archibald, the Earl of Argyll commissioned Dunstaffnage and Inverawe to uplift moneys promised for his support.<sup>128</sup> Argyll had been restored to his lands but was woefully short of the cash needed to support his family and status and his responsibilities for his people. In July and August of 1665 most of the 'gentlemen heritors' of Mid-Argyll and some of Lorn and even of Mull, volunteered to pay £40 Scots out of each merkland 'in testimony of our due affectione to the



said familie and out fellow feeling of the burdens their of.' Dougall had slipped away in time to avoid his part of the burden.

Following his death, Dougall's children [other than Archibald but including his full brother Duncan], John, Alexander, Dougall and Isobel Campbell, brought an action of Horning against John Walker, Sheriff of Argyll, who had charged them to give up their father's moveable goods and gear. They claimed that he had already disposed it all upon Alexander before his death and on the 4th of September 1665. The Horning was suspended (case settled) on the 24<sup>th</sup> of March 1670.<sup>129</sup>

Dougall's second wife Agnes McNeil died between August 1660 and April 1667.<sup>130</sup>

Dougall's grave slab at Ardchattan is inscribed 'DUGALL CAMPBELL WAS THUS PERSONS NAM - RENOUNED FOR HONOR AND UNDOUBTED FAIM - OBIT ANNO 1665.'<sup>131</sup>

Archibald of Argyll's charter to Dugald's heir Archibald of Inverawe for his inherited lands was not dated until three years later, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of September 1668.

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### ***Endnotes:***

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4. Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-61, vol. 8, fol. 35 (reg. 24 June 1654)
5. Donaldson (Ed.) Register of the Privy Seal, vol. 8.
6. RCAHMS, *Argyll Inventory, Lorne*, vol. 2, Ardchattan, p. 114; Argyll Hornings 24 March 1670, reg. 6 May 1670.
7. Gen. Reg. Sasines 1617-61, vol. 49, fol. 377, (reg. 4 Jan. 1641).
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9. Herbert Campbell (Ed.), *Argyll Sasines*, vol. 2, fol. 141.
10. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, fol. 170.
11. *Highland Papers*, vol. 1, Scot. Hist. Soc. p. xx.
12. Frank Bigwood, *Commissary Court of Argyll 1700-1850*, p. 110; Reg. Contract of marriage in Reg. Deed Mack. 106.
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14. Argyll Transcripts (Agreement at Castle Campbell in March 1539-40)
15. Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol. 1, pp. 102-104
16. *Ibid.* vol. 2, p. 103.
17. *Balfour-Paul (Ed.), Scots Peerage, Article Argyll, 7<sup>th</sup> Earl.*
18. *Ibid. 8<sup>th</sup> Earl and Marquess.*
19. Dunstaffnage Inventory, 83.
20. Herbert Campbell, *Argyll Sasines*, vol. 30 fol. 69; Innes (Ed.), *Black Book of Taymouth*, Constable, Edinburgh 1855.
21. Herbert Campbell (Ed), *Argyll Sasines*, vol. 80 1<sup>st</sup> Series p. 113.
22. Reg. of Deeds, 478.
23. Herbert Campbell (Ed.), *Argyll Sasines*, vol. 37 1<sup>st</sup> series, pp. 147-148.
24. Gen. Reg. of Sasines, 1617-61, vol. 37, fol. 25 & 27, & GRS Abstracts, 462.
25. Herbert Campbell (Ed.), *Argyll Sasines*, vol. 37, 1<sup>st</sup> Series, pp. 147-148.
26. Innes C. (Ed.) *The Black Book of Taymouth*, Constable, Edinburgh, 1855.
27. Dunstaffnage Inventory, cited in Wimberly's *Memorials of the Campbells of Kilmartin*; Dunstaffnage Inventory, 99.
28. Herbert Campbell (Ed.), *Argyll Sasines*, vol. 49 1<sup>st</sup> Series, p. 212.
29. Gen. Reg. of Sasines, vol. 48, p. 511.
30. Herbert Campbell (Ed.), *Argyll Sasines*, vol. 49, 1<sup>st</sup> Series, p. 212.

31. Inverawe papers, (3) M.S. in Nat. Lib. Scot.
32. HMC, 6<sup>th</sup> Report, 616.
33. Gen. Reg. Sasines, 1617-61, Vol. 49, fol. 377.
34. Diarmid & Niall Campbell *Notes on the Campbells of Inverawe*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn. 1999, privately printed, Appendix III. (Nat. Lib. Scot. )
35. Balfour-Paul (Ed.), *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, article Argyll, pp. 352-353.
36. Gen. Reg. of Hornings.
37. Balfour-Paul (Ed.), *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, article Argyll p. 353.
38. HMC Report, Vol. 6, p. 629 a (201).
39. David Stevenson, *Alastair MacColla and the Highland Problem Problem in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century*, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1980. p. 153, (Hereafter 'Stevenson, MacColla') All information on MacColla is from Stevenson.
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44. Bishop Maitland's *Memoirs*, quoted in Stewart of Garth, *Highlanders*, Appendix, edition of 1885 pub. by A & W Mackenzie, Inverness, p. 386.
45. Gaelic Lament published in two versions (one surviving in Nova Scotia) in Diarmid Campbell, *Notes on the Campbells of Inverawe*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. 1999, privately pub., Nat. Lib. Scot., Appendix 3.
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48. *Ibid.* p. 213.
49. Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol. 2, Polygon, Edinburgh, 2000, pp. 241-243.
50. Argyll-Dunstaffnage law case 1911, pp. 171 & 173-5,
51. Napier's *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 624.
52. ("F/416" – check w/ ALC)
53. Aff-Decreet of Forfeiture contra Clanranald 22 May 1649.
54. ("F/416" see above)
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59. ("F/255")
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74. David Stevenson (Ed.), *The Government of Scotland Under the Covenanters*; & Scot. Hist. Soc. Vol. 18, 1882 pp. 90-91 & 93.
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89. Duncan C. MacTavish (Ed.), *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1661*, vol. 1, Scot. Hist. Soc., pp. 232-233 (12 Dec. 1650)
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91. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, fol. 173.
92. Argyll Transcripts.
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94. Duncan C. Mactavish (Ed.), *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651*, vol. 1, Scot. Hist. Soc. 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, p. 231.
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103. Sir Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine, *Clan Campbell: Abstracts of Entries, Argyll Sasines*, pp. 841-845.
104. *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, p. 179.
105. Diarmid & Niall Campbell, *Notes on the Campbells of Inverawe*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn. Privately printed, Appendix III. (Nat. Lib. Scot.)
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108. *Ibid.* p. 103.
109. Gen. Reg. of Sasines, vol. 12, fol. 153.
110. Sir Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine, *Clan Campbell: Abstracts of Entries, Argyll Sasines*, p. 930.
111. Scottish National Archives, GD 50/191.
112. Duncan C. Mactavish (Ed.), *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-61*, vol. 2, Scot. Hist. Soc., p.144.
113. Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-61, vol. 9, fol. 99.



*Archibald MacConnochie Campbell of Inverawe —  
Governor of Duart for Argyll  
(b.circa.1635 – d.1705)*

Chapter 10

*Draft of 2002 – Additions and Corrections of March 2010. Refs put into footnotes June & Revisions October 2010.*

The motto of the Inverawe family has come down to us as ‘Pro Aris et Focis’ in Latin, or ‘For Hearth & Home’ in English and ‘Air son teinntean agus dachaigh’ in Gaelic. If the character of one of the kindred seems to run along those lines, there is temptation to draw a parallel. Archibald MacConnochie Campbell of Inverawe can be seen either as seventh Laird of those scattered lands in the feudal or Lowland sense, or as seventh Head of Kindred responsible for the survival of the communities under his care, in the Highland sense. His life was focused mainly on preserving a balance between survival and tenuous prosperity. While he had not the extreme violence of his father’s years to cope with during the Civil War, the ambitions and religious convictions of his overlord the 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll placed him in various positions of leadership in the conflicts of his day. And latterly, once the Jacobite or Catholic threat loomed, he became perforce a practiced balancer on the fence with his cousin John Campbell, Earl of Breadalbane, falling occasionally to one side or the other.

His motives were less religious or political conviction than attempting to keep what he passed on to his heirs intact while royal religions shifted and consequent dangers loomed on one side and then the other. In this he was a successful steward. He could be firm with those who owed him funds, yet preferred to have them approached personally rather than immediately ‘put to the horn,’ although he could also be very slow to pay a debt where he felt that interest was too high. He was a fluent correspondent and fielded the growing paperwork of his era adeptly on the whole. His chief merit lay in care for the extended MacConnochie kindred, helping them deal with the demands of the government of the day. He gave funds yearly to a cousin whose mother needed personal care, having left sanity behind. He was a loyal servant and officer to Argyll who appointed him, with Campbell of Lochnell, to be governors of Duart Castle while the earl prized those lands away from the Macleans in lieu of carefully augmented debts. He was trusted by both the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> earls to set the leases or ‘tacks’ of their lands in Mull over a range of years and to collect the rents. He survived the forfeiture and beheading of the 9<sup>th</sup> earl and lived to see the 10<sup>th</sup> made a Duke.

Archibald of Inverawe’s parents were married in about 1633. His mother Agnes Campbell was daughter of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy. As their eldest son, Archibald could therefore have been born in about 1634-5. He lived until 1705, suggesting that he could have been aged about 70 on his death. His father, Lt. Col. Dougall Campbell of Inverawe, often known locally as ‘Mac Connochie,’ died in 1665. So Archibald would have been about 30 when he succeeded. Little is known of his younger years. He could have been about ten when Alastair MacColla devastated Argyll. He evidently did not attend university, never being addressed as ‘Master,’ although at the time it was not uncommon to leave before matriculating. However his writing is never scattered with Latin tags. What seems a likely option for him when a young heir to the family was to be given tack of the farmlands and community of Tirvine on Lochawe, long kept in hand by the family as their best grain lands. But, apart from his atrocious handwriting, Archibald’s education gave him fluency of expression in his writing, and it was clearly a task that in no way daunted him. The local

minister likely provided his education, who would himself have attended university. He also gained a rudimentary understanding of the law, both for his own use and for his acting as baillie of parts of upper Lochawe, perhaps spending a year or two as a 'servitor' or assistant to Glenorchy while a lad, or with whomever he may have been fostered. But that is conjecture.

In terms of the historical scene in which Archibald found himself on adulthood, the execution and forfeiture of the Marquess of Argyll in 1661 left those like Archibald's father Dougall, who held lands from Argyll, in temporary limbo. However this was eased by the General Act of Indemnity the following year and then by the restoration of the Earldom of Argyll to the 9<sup>th</sup> Earl in 1663. On succeeding his father in 1665, Archibald would then experience a brief period of relative calm before Argyll obtained a Decree of Removal against the Macleans of Mull in 1673, leading to his first expedition to Mull in 1674. In earlier years the Marquess of Argyll had lent funds to the Macleans of Duart and others, or bought their debts which they had then been unable to repay. Between the Marquess and his son it seems that these debts were enlarged by creative accounting until the interest reached a point where the Macleans could no longer hope to pay. Argyll then obtained the Decree that gave government support to his collection of the funds owed, by the act of physically occupying the Maclean lands and Duart Castle. This move, behind which lay other political and religious pressures, would influence much of Archibald's active life.

One of the earliest community acts by Archibald of Inverawe after he succeeded his father, was to join with others in signing a Bond by the Heritors and gentlemen of Argyllshire promising 10 shillings out of each merkland for the maintenance of the guard against thieves. The Bond was either signed or registered on the 31<sup>st</sup> of August 1666. This is likely the earliest vestige of any police force in the County.<sup>1</sup>

In that year after his father died, Archibald of Inverawe's Marriage Contract was registered. He must have been married some time before the registration, the date of registration being the 7<sup>th</sup> of November 1666.<sup>2</sup> After the death of Archibald's mother, his father, Lt. Col. Dougall Campbell of Inverawe had married a Janet McNeill as his second wife. She appears to have been one of the Tainish and Gigha family of that name who were perhaps descended from the same kindred as Suibne *ruadh*, builder of Castle Sween, whose ancestor Anrothan had come from a princely family in Ireland in the mid ten hundreds. Among Suibne *ruadh*'s descendants were the families of MacSweens, MacGilchrists, MacLachlans of Strathlachlan, and the Lamonts.

Archibald himself also married a McNeill, Mary, daughter of McNeill of Tainish who was a young widow of Campbell of Duntroon. Whether he met her through the Duntroon family or through his stepmother's family is not clear. The Marriage Contract that young Duntroon had agreed with her father was unusually generous. Then, when Duntroon died young, his nephew and heir John Campbell not only faced debts but a lifetime of life-rent payments to the young widow. The burden was so great that he was soon obliged to sell the lands and castle of Duntroon to his cousin who had been a fairly prosperous merchant in Inveraray. But law required that the purchaser also continue the payments for the widow's lifetime. The payments were both for tierce and jointure. Remarkably, although at times it was necessary for Duntroon to be prodded, on the whole they managed the payments regularly. Although there is a quality of routine to the Discharges [receipts] given Duntroon by Archibald of Inverawe, these are often mentioned here because they show where Archibald was at the time, and how he moved about quite frequently. The witnesses are also of interest, showing who was with him at the time.

Not long after he succeeded his father, Archibald of Inverawe would seem to have been extending

his influence about the upper arm of Loch Etive. The Inverawe lands already included the entire western side of Glen Etive serving four communities between the head of the loch and the Moor of Rannoch. He was given Sasine of the two merkland of Inverkinglas and the three merkland of Achacharne on the eastern side of the loch. Achacharne being far up Glen Kinglas. Both were based on a Disposition by Alexander Campbell of Lochnell, dated on the 5<sup>th</sup> of May 1667, under redemption upon payment to him of the principal sum of 3000 merks. The transaction was witnessed by John Campbell, a full cousin of Archibald of Inverawe's and by Colin Campbell of Inveresragan.<sup>3</sup> Colin Campbell of Inveresragan was of Archibald's generation. Colin's mother was Archibald's aunt, sister of his father Dougall.

There are two places called Achacha or Achacharne with which the Inverawe family were at times involved. One was in Benderloch, east of Barcaldine Castle, against the hill. The other was in Glenkinglas, half way between Glen Orchy and Loch Etive. Achacharne may well have been the earlier pronunciation for these places. Certainly the Benderloch name was later often simply given as Acha, not to be confused with the Acha north of Tyndrum. Both were in the parish called Baliveodan, later known as Ardchattan.

As was normal in confirming the inheritance following the death of his father, Archibald was given re-grants of the lands on which lived those communities for whom his family were responsible. On the last day of September 1668, Archibald 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll signed two charters to Archibald of Inverawe of the lands of Inverawe.<sup>4</sup>

In the time of Archibald of Inverawe's great-grandfather Archibald, there had been a fight on Loch Awe when the then Inverawe attacked some MacArthurs who had been granted lands by Argyll but these were lands which had only been leased to Argyll by Inverawe. The incident, known later as 'the drowning of Clan Arthur' took place in the 1570s. There was therefore a certain healing pleasantness that a century later, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of September 1671, Archibald of Inverawe was invited to witness the marriage contract of John, eldest son of Patrick MacArthur of Tirevadich and Katherine Campbell, daughter of John Campbell of Inveresragan. The witnesses included Archibald's cousin Alexander Campbell of Achouran on Lismore and his brother Dougall. Strangely, the signing took place at Knipoch, where perhaps John was farming a tack.<sup>5</sup>

Following the charters by Argyll to Inverawe in 1668, five years later, on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> of July 1673, Sasine was given to Archibald by his being handed turf and stone on each of the lands in confirmation of the charters. By now it must have become clear that it was unlikely that Archibald and Mary his wife would have any children. The charter was 'to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and the heirs male of his own body, whom failing to the nearest heirs male of Dougall Campbell his father, whom failing to his nearest heirs male and assigns whomsoever' that the lands were re-granted.

The record of the Sasine gives an idea of the extent of the lands, with various rights included, for whose inhabitants Archibald was then responsible. They were listed as follows:

The four merkland of Inverawe, the four merkland of Drumachoise [Glen Etive], the salmon fishing in the Water of Awe, the three merkland of Achacharne [in Benderloch] and the office of sergeandry and mairie of Benderloch, the 6/8 lands of Branrie [in the Pass of Brander], the two merkland of Dalness [Glen Etive] including the salmon fishing on the Water of Etive 'ab introitu fluminis...ad sumitem terram de Arealem' in the Lordship of Lorne, and the five pound land of 'Auchalane' [Auchlian] with the Isle of 'Reakillen'

[Fraoch Eilean] and the little island of Dowillan in Lochawe and the stewartry of Over Lochawe (except Iain MacArthur's lands of Tirevadich), the 20 shilling land of Ardeachin, the 20 shilling land of Tirerean [Tirvine] in the Barony of Lochawe, and the two merklands of Inneralan [InbherFhaolain, Glen Etive] and Invercharnan [Glen Etive] in the Lordship of Lorne; containing a novodamus.

Among the witnesses were John and Alexander Campbell, brother and half-brother of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and Patrick Campbell, called here brother german of the late Dougall Campbell of Inverawe.<sup>6</sup> However this is questionable since Dougall's brother Patrick had been killed at Inverlochy, this may have been the Patrick who elsewhere was said to be a natural son of Dougall's. The lands in Glen Etive included all the western side of that valley and out onto the Moor of Rannoch in the watershed of the tributaries of the Water of Etive.

Then, in that year of 1673, Argyll obtained the Decreet of Removal against the Macleans of Duart in Mull, due to his being the creditor for the debts of that family of Duart. This brought focus onto a conflict that would run on for some years. With Argyll as his overlord, Archibald of Inverawe would inevitably become increasingly involved.

By 1674 it seems likely that Inverawe's younger half brother Alexander had come of age. He was the eldest son of their father's second wife. Either by direction of his late father, or through funds left for him by his mother, he was to be set up with the lands of Kilmartin. Not long before, these lands had been bought by Neil Campbell of Duntroon, but he had evidently over-reached himself and needed to sell them again. Likely owing Archibald for the lady Inverawe's liferent from Duntroon, he agreed to sell them to Inverawe. An Account survives, seemingly by Neil Campbell of Duntroon, containing the item; 'money for a gowne to my wyf wch the sd McConochie [Inverawe] pmsd me when I sould the lands of Kilmartin 200: 00.' Neil was Sheriff Depute of Argyll until the autumn of 1674 and in 1678 was made a Commissioner of Supply for Argyll. The lands of Duntroon would pass to the MacCallum Malcolms of Poltalloch a century later by sale and purchase in 1792. They would spell the name Duntrune, but remain 'of Poltalloch.'

Kilmartin being held of the Earl of Argyll, Inverawe applied to obtain a fresh charter of confirmation for the lands from the earl. On the 30<sup>th</sup> of May 1674, a feu Charter was signed by Archibald 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and his heirs male and assigns, of the five pound land of Kilmartin in 'Ardskedneish' or Ardsceodnish, the old name for the district of Kilmartin. The lands named were the three merklands of 'ceravernan' [Glencavernan?], the three merklands of 'Fernache' [Fearnoch] and 20 shilling land of Laggan, and the tenements of the clachan of Kilmartin, reserving the manse of the minister with the glebe, also the three merkland of Auchynd in Ardsceodnish, with the bailiery of the lands, likewise the 3 ½ merkland of Largy Nether, called Largy McKeyssag in the barony of Ardsceodnish which formerly belonged to Neil Campbell of Duntroon and were resigned by him; to be held of the Earl for payment of 200 merks. The McKessags were the ancestors of the Malcoms of Poltalloch.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile Argyll himself was away in Edinburgh.

A week or so later, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 1674, the Earl of Argyll was meeting with the Privy Council and brought up the need for Justices of the Peace to be appointed in Argyll. In response to Argyll's suggestion, the Lords of the Privy Council appointed Alexander Campbell of Lochnell, Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, Robert Campbell of Barcaldine, John Campbell of Airs and others including Lauchlan MacLean of Torloisk in the Isle of Mull, to be Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Excise and for the Militia of the Shire of Argyle. This was not a hereditary



jurisdiction but was making use of those who already had such responsibilities.<sup>8</sup>

Considering the five or so years it had taken Archibald of Inverawe to come round to arranging for his own Sasines of Inverawe lands, he moved very swiftly on his charter of Kilmartin. That was granted on the last day of May and received Sasine on the lands on the 6<sup>th</sup> of June that same year of 1674.<sup>9</sup> Further Sasine was given to Archibald on the 22<sup>nd</sup> when John Campbell 'in' Inverawe was attorney for him. Whether this Tacksman of Inverawe was his brother or cousin is not stated.<sup>10</sup>

Then, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of July, Archibald of Inverawe signed a charter of the lands in and about Kilmartin to his half-brother Alexander. This Charter, while it mentions his brother Dougall, later of Shirvan, leaves out his other full brother John for some reason.<sup>11</sup> Again Archibald moved swiftly. He was undoubtedly both knowledgeable and efficient with the law and paperwork. Within days, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of July 1674 he had got a Charter of Ratification by Archibald 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll of his own charter to Alexander.<sup>12</sup>

Archibald 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll now pressed his claims against the Macleans with force. During the summer of 1674 the Earl launched an expedition to take possession of the lands and castle of Duart, due to the debts of the Macleans owed to him. Archibald of Inverawe now became directly involved.

Towards the end of that summer of 1674, Inverawe was himself at Duart where the Duart Maclean debts were being discussed. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of September he was a witness to an accounting of the rentals of the estate of Duart in Mull by Lachlan 'M'Laine' [Maclean] of Brolas 'since the decease of Sir Allane M'Lean of Dowart', Written by Nicoll Yule, notary public. Other witnesses were John Campbell, Captain of Carrick and John Yule of Darleith.<sup>13</sup>

The heir, young Duart, had declined to 'enter heir' and so was free of his father's debts, but it meant that he lost his home and lands to Argyll. The earl's father the Marquess had engineered, and he had continued, the evident padding of the Duart debts owed to the earl, who had then obtained Crown support for his forcibly taking the estate in lieu of what he was owed.

Meanwhile the process of installing young Alexander MacConnachie Campbell at Kilmartin continued. In the spring of the year, all the paperwork being completed, Sasine of the Kilmartin lands was given to Alexander on the 25<sup>th</sup> of March 1675. He was now 'of Kilmartin.' The document read: 'Sasine of the lands of Kilmartin etc., to Alexander Campbell, eldest son of the deceased Dougall Campbell of Inverawe by Janet McNeill his wife, on a Feu Charter by Archibald Campbell of Inverawe to him and his heirs male, whom failing to Dougall [later of Shirvan] his brother german and heirs male, whom failing to return to Archibald of Inverawe.' This was based upon the Charter dated at Inveraray on the 7<sup>th</sup> of July 1674. The witnesses include John Campbell, brother german of the grantor, Inverawe.<sup>14</sup>

What was curious was that here Alexander's mother is called Janet McNeill, whereas in the Sasine when she was given her liferent in Inverawe lands on the 9<sup>th</sup> of June 1654 she was called 'Agnes.' However since 'Agnes' was also the name of Lt. Col. Dougall's first wife, Agnes Campbell, that may have been the confusion and Miss McNeill's name must actually have been Janet. Her son Alexander would have known, and this was his Sasine.

Once again Argyll's ambitions for Mull boiled up, and he organized a new expedition there in 1675. However the results were indecisive. But the process of the take-over of Duart castle

continued. On the 30<sup>th</sup> of April Argyll was at Dunstaffnage on his way home from Duart when he wrote to Campbell of Glenorchy, telling him about his proceedings on Mull concerning the Macleans. He reported that there was no water within the gates of Duart, only a pit that the Macleans had filled in. 'They [presumably the Macleans] bragged lately that were it not for kindness to Lochnell they would pull him out by the ears... but I have given directions to use it for the time till a well be digged.'<sup>15</sup> Lochnell would seem to have been appointed governor already.

At the same time, the communication between Inverawe and Duntroon over Mary MacNeill's liferents continued. A sum of £100 was payable for 1675 and another 100 for 1676. Archibald allowed Neil of Duntroon half of all 'cess and exits' due to him on the preceding Martinmass. The Discharge by Inverawe was witnessed that spring by Donald Campbell of Oib on Loch Sween, a kinsman of Duntroon's, by Inverawe's brother John and by Nicoll Yuill in Inveraray.<sup>16</sup> The next domestic issue to relieve any stress of duty for Inverawe was the marriage of one of his sisters, Isobel. She was in fact a half sister, being full sister of Alexander of Kilmartin. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of April 1676 a Contract of Marriage was signed at Inveraray between Archibald of Inverawe for his sister Isobel, future wife of John Campbell of Knap and John himself. John, who was seemingly a widower, agreed to grant her a liferent of 300 merks out of the two merkland of Kilmorie, the two merkland of Fearnach, the four merkland of Ballimore and other lands in Knapdale. All these were about the point of land between Loch Sween and Loch Caolisport. Sasine followed on the 16<sup>th</sup> of May.<sup>17</sup>

The loss of Duart and the Duart lands for the young Maclean heir was naturally enraging for his supporters and followers. Some Macleans evidently vented their feelings by attacking a Campbell, presumably a tacksman of the MacDougalls of Dunollie, on the Isle of Kerrera. In June 1676 a 'Letter of Charge' was presented to the court by Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, William Campbell on Kerrera and others, also William Scott, servitor to the Earl of Argyll, plus Archibald Earl of Argyll himself for his interest, against Maclaine of Lochbuy, Lachlan Maclean of Brolas, Major David Ramsay and others, who had landed on the Isle of Kerrera, and armed with guns, dirks, swords etc., robbed and took away from William Campbell and others, many cattle, bulls, stirks, kye etc. Maclean and his complices were charged to appear before the Lords of the Privy Council at Edinburgh thereanent.' This was given under the Signet at Edinburgh in June 1676 (but not signed).<sup>18</sup>

### ***Archibald Appointed Governor of Duart***

That September 1676, on the 30<sup>th</sup>, the Earl of Argyll signed a document appointing Archibald Campbell of Inverawe to be Governor, Captain and Keeper of the Castle of Duart in Mull for a year, and to be Chamberlain of his lands in Mull with power to uplift the rents. For this he was to receive £2,000 for the payment of the soldiers, etc., being £500 quarterly. He was also to keep all arms given up to him at the Castle and to hand them over at the expiry of his Keeperhsip. Dougall Campbell, Bailie of Kintyre was a witness.<sup>19</sup> There is a similar appointment of that date to Campbell of Lochnell to be Governor of Duart, to commence on the 18<sup>th</sup> of October. He was to appoint a Lieutenant, two sergeants, a porter and 30 soldiers.<sup>20</sup>

However Inverawe was clearly the senior man and was already at Duart. They must have been intended to share the post, being there by turns, so that each could also take care of their own people, lands and affairs in turn. Lochnell would have been Alexander Campbell, 6<sup>th</sup> of Lochnell who had succeeded his father Colin in 1671 when the latter was killed at Inveraray. He was by now likely only in his mid twenties. His eldest son Duncan would not be born for another five years.

Alexander of Lochnell is thought to be the member of the family who moved from their original stronghold on the island in Loch Nell to a place in Benderloch with important sea access, his home now part of the present house at Lochnell.

Meanwhile conflict stirred up by Argyll's take-over of the Maclean lands continued. The Morvern Camerons and Mull Macleans invaded Ardnamurchan and drove off large numbers of livestock, including 1,300 sheep. This shows, incidentally, that although smaller animals than today, there were great numbers of sheep in the Highlands before the introduction of the flocks of larger animals in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. There were similar counter raids on cattle from the islands by various Campbells.

Argyll then petitioned for the Letters of Fire and Sword against the Macleans to be resumed. In October 1678 the Commission of Fire and Sword was granted, although an indemnity was also offered if the Macleans laid down their arms and submitted to the laws. But, there being no response, the Commission was granted to twenty-five Lairds, including MacAllister of Loup, the Laird of MacLeod, The Laird of MacFarlane, Col. James Menzies of Culdares, Bannatyne of Kames, and twenty Campbells including Lochnell and Inverawe.<sup>21</sup> The Earl of Argyll was also provided with, or allowed to raise, two Independent Highland Companies, plus an attached company of the Earl of Linlithgow's regiment, later to evolve into the Scots Gaurds. The Independent Companies were commanded by Inverawe's cousin Sir John Campell of Glenorchy Bt., [later earl of Breadalbane] and by Menzies of Culdares, as captains. The first Lieutenants were Sir James Campbell of Lawers and Archibald of Inverawe. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenants were Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine and John Campbell of Airds, while the Ensigns were Alexander MacArthur and another young Campbell.<sup>22</sup> Inverawe's commission was no sinecure. By December 1678 he was receiving ammunition on the eve of yet another invasion of Mull.

On the first of January 1677, Archibald of Argyll was in his tower at Inveraray, dipping his quill to write to John Campbell, younger of Glenorchy, who would be created Earl of Caithness that year and then, later, created Earl of Breadalbane instead. He thanked him for his New Year's gift and told him he would have more to write once he had met with Inverawe, whom he customarily referred to as 'McConachy,' and with Campbell of Ardkinglas. He mentions Duart and that if he can raise the funds, he plans to return to Edinburgh.<sup>23</sup>

If Inverawe had been at Duart for a while, then by the 29<sup>th</sup> of January he was home again at Inverawe. On that day he wrote a Discharge to Neil Campbell of Duntroon for meal and bere [small barley] due to his wife Mary MacNeill for the year of 1676. His half brother Alexander of Kilmartin was with him and witnessed the Discharge, along with a John Campbell whom Archibald noted was 'my servant.' This was perhaps John 'in' Inverawe, tacksman of the place.<sup>24</sup>

A month later, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of February 1677-78, Archibald was still at Inverawe and wrote to Argyll. Events had been stirring at Duart. Archibald's brother Duncan was representing him there. There follows a report on the contents by Duke Neill:

Archibald Campbell of Inveraw, to the Earl of Argyll

27 February 1677

Inverawe says that he has written to the sheriff that upon the 24<sup>th</sup> of that instant a party went out of the house of Duart, seized a boat with Irish victual in Locheill, six miles from Duart; and on Saturday night brought her to Duart. On Monday morning, before the boat was unloaded, Archibald, Ardgour's uncle, and the laird of Kingerloch's brother 'came under'

a rock betwixt the boat and the house with about three or four score men, and hindered the pass. Sixteen of his men in the boat kept the boat and victual until Wednesday. The countrey having convened, although the specials however did not appear, they were necessitated to row to the shore, having no firewood to prepare victual, when the load of victuals were seized and carried away by the McLeans. His men went safely to the house standing to their defence. The house was loth to fire lest they should harm their own men, and did not fire; when they seeing their own men safe and not “prejudged” except in the seizure of the boat, which they afterwards claimed under a commission from Angus McHutchion *alias* McDonald, from the counsell for the Isles, notwithstanding that his (Campbell of Inverawe’s) men were the first seizers of the boat.<sup>25</sup>

The import of meal was often needed at the hungry start of the year if the previous harvest had been poor. On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May 1677 Inverawe again sent a report from Inverawe to Argyll regarding events at Duart. This is also a precis of the report by Duke Neill:

Inveraw, 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1677

He had been informed by his brother [Duncan] out of Duart that within the last few days frequent meetings and messages had been held and passed betwixt the Macleans and Lord Macdonald. Brolas was to meet the next day with Locheill in Morvern; and he was informed also by his brother that they had begun their trenches, one of the them at the “green spoat of ground,” where his lordship’s tent lay when he was at Tobermory, and another trench high towards the point above the place where the ship was lying. They had resolved fully to hinder any vessel’s entry. The McLeans expected a vessel with guns from Lord Macdonald, and if it was so, they had “greater persons advice in it”.<sup>26</sup>

Alexander ‘Sandy’ Campbell of Kilmartin had spent a year or two in possession of his lands as a bachelor. By now he had evidently had enough of perching alone with some servants in his little castle of Kilmartin. He had met and courted one of the Carradale girls whose father had died and whose brother was the heir to Glen Carradale. Alexander signed a marriage contract along with Archibald of Inverawe on the one part, and with Margaret Campbell, lawful daughter of the deceased Archibald Campbell of Glencarradale on the other. Liferent was agreed for her in the lands of Largie [McKessag] and others. This was signed with the consent of her brother Duncan Campbell of<sup>27</sup>Glencarradale and Barbara Campbell her mother, and others. The contract was dated on the 21<sup>st</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> of September 1677.<sup>28</sup> Within little more than a fortnight, Margaret was given Sasine of the appropriate Kilmartin lands on the 15<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> of October.<sup>29</sup>

The following year, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of February 1678, Archibald of Inverawe was likely attempting to stay warm in the dank stone spaces of Duart castle when he wrote another Discharge to Neill Campbell of Duntroon for his wife’s jointure of 1677.<sup>30</sup> He received further cheerful news in late May, after a charter of confirmation was signed under a grant in favour of him in Edinburgh on the [11<sup>th</sup>] of May 1678.<sup>31</sup>

Argyll was now launching a third expedition to Mull. This one would finally be successful. On the 4<sup>th</sup> of December 1678 he wrote from Dunstaffnage to Angus Campbell of Kilberry. Angus would later be ADC to the handsome but ill-fated Duke of Monmouth. Kilberry is said to have married a sister of Inverawe as his first wife but she may have died about that time for he would marry again in 1679. [BLG]

[*Translated to modern spelling*]:

Loving Cousin. Dunstaffnage 4 Dec. [16]78  
I desire to be easy to your party and to provide for ... .. for them at Fran... .. wherefore  
I write you not to cross at the Connel but to quarter tomorrow night at Bundravaig where  
I shall send you meal and upon Friday morning I shall cause boats [to] wait on you near Rhu  
na Finart to cross you over to Lismore where you may quarter in warm house 'till you and  
I go together to Mull.  
I have ... .. of your party at Ard[maddy?] is to return [to] you fresh.  
Your loving Cousin  
For [signed] ARGYLL  
Kilberry

[*original spelling*]:

Loving Cusen Dunstaffnage 4 Dembr [16]78  
I desyre to be easie to yor pairty and to provydd for ... .. for yem at fran ... .. qrfor I wryte  
yow not to Cross at the Connel bot to qrtr two morrow at niggt in Bonedraivig qr I shall send  
yow meall and upon fryday morning I shall cause boats wait on yow near rownafynart to  
cross yow  
over to lessmore qr yow may qrter in warme houses till yow and I goe togr to Mull.  
I have ... .. of yor partie at Ard ... is to returne to yow fresh  
Your Loving Cusen  
Ffor Kilberrie [signed] ARGYLL<sup>32</sup>

Three days later, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of December, Argyll wrote again to Kilberry:

[*Tranlated to modern spelling*]:

Kilberry  
You must send one of your little boats with some ammunition at once to Pornacroish where  
it shall be received from you by Archibald Campbell of Inverawe – Fail not.  
  
Given at Balleveolan the 7<sup>th</sup> of Dec. 1678 [signed] ARGYLL  
  
For Kilberry  
Or any commanding his boats  
At 'Salanardanro' [Salen Ard an ruadh?]

[*Original spelling*]:

Yow must send ane of yor litle boats with some ammunition  
at ones to portardnaross qr it shall be received from yow be Archibald Campbell of  
Inverawe fail not  
Given at Baliveolan ye 7th Dembr 1678 [signed] ARGYLL  
ffore Kilberrie  
or any Comanding his boats at Salanardanro”<sup>33</sup>

Baliveolan, the clachan of the mill, occurs in a number of places. This is likely on Lismore, a name taken at one point by Campbells of Baliveolan from there to what is now Drimavuic on Loch Creran. Baliveolan is easily confused with Baliveodan, the parish name for Ardchattan. Bonedraivig has yet to be identified. 'Portnardnaross' suggests Portnacraish in Appin.

'Rownafynart' would be Rhu na Fionard, the southwesterly point of Lochnell's lands in Benderloch.

Archibald of Inverawe would seem to have spent the rest of the winter of 1678-79 [or 1679-10 old dating] at Duart fulfilling his position as Governor and Keeper of the castle and collecting Maclean rents, which can likely only have been done under force of arms. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of January 1679 he was a witness to a Bond by Donald MacLean of Kingairloch to Argyll.<sup>34</sup> That year the Macleans were finally subdued.

Besides rents, Inverawe was also collecting arms that were being surrendered or discovered. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of February 1679 at Duart, Inverawe gave a Receipt to some MacLeans for arms given up by them:

Receipt on paper by Archibald Campbell of Inverawe [on the endorsement as usual it is called 'M'Conochie's Reccipt for the M'Laines their arms'] granting him to have received of the M'Laines their arms at several times 80 swords and 45 guns and from William Campbell 'Skipper' of my Lords 'frigget' for which he gave his receipt the number of 43 swords and 32 guns. This is besides three pistols and 5 lochabir axes and two hundred swords which the granter also has in his custody. Which number of arms in all extends to 185 swords 95 guns 3 pistolls 5 Lochabir axes and 'ane two handed sword I obleidge me to be comptable for to the Earle of Argyll when he calls for ane accompt of the same at my hands. Wit[nesses] Dugall Campbell writer hereof servitor to the sd. noble Earl, and Mr. John Campbell of Moy. [signed] A. Campbell of Inveraw.<sup>35</sup>

The Cambridge historian Paul Hopkins gives the most complete and detailed depiction of events during this period, so that his evaluation of Archibald of Inverawe is particularly interesting: 'In April 1679, Argyll obtained a special commission to disarm [Macdonell] of Keppoch, and the defiant Maclean leaders, whom he had also managed to represent (falsely) as Papists, or at least as rebels... Argyll, in his over confidence, never considered that this might drive their confederacy to a desperate action, which he was unprepared to meet. Campbell of Inverawe, more far-sighted, hastily renewed his bond of friendship with MacIain.... Argyll knew by mid-May that the Maclean leaders had again reoccupied Mull, but trusted his frigate to stop them crossing to the mainland....'<sup>36</sup>

Argyll was fortunate that his unwitting attempts to provoke Keppoch Macdonell and the Macleans, who had joined from Mull to the mainland, were not fully successful. Their confederation was stronger than his force. Towards the end of May they moved south by Glencoe and Glenorchy and threatened Inveraray from the slopes of Ben Buidhe. But they then infuriated the Keppoch's rabid poet Ian Lom by holding back from an assault. Some have suggested that he was actually of Campbell ancestry, and so felt that he must be more corrosively anti-Campbell so that his loyalty would not be questioned. Keppoch's traditional bodyguard were known as the 'Glaiserach' who were descended from a Campbell who had crossed the official known as 'The Crowner' in Glassary and so was obliged to escape to Lochaber.

Inverawe's cousin Sir John of Glenorchy, now Earl of Caithness and later to be Earl of Breadalbane, finally persuaded Argyll to allow him to negotiate. Macdonell and the Macleans then wrote to the Council that they had only convened out of self-defence and offered to join the royal army if only Argyll would promise to remain inactive. Hearing nothing positive in return, they began to retire from Argyll. The Earl of Argyll then chased them north into Lochaber but was mercifully held up by the flooded River Spean. In the lower Great Glen, without an enemy country

to live off, his forces suffered from starvation and dwindled. Leaving a party with Lochiel, he sailed with another group to Mull.

Again Paul Hopkins evaluates the wider perspective of what was happening: 'Most of the Macleans put up no resistance to Argyll; he was confident that, if they did, he could call on Clanranald and Sir Donald Macdonald for help... He prudently pardoned the lesser Maclean tenants, but he divided Mull up between Campbell tacksmen, and granted Morvern, whose inhabitants were mostly Camerons, to Cameron of Glendessary. Outwardly, the government supported him, approving his conduct as prudent and moderate (which Charles blindly endorsed). Yet he had ignored a national crisis for one his own selfish interests, and this was remembered.'<sup>37</sup>

On a more cheerful note, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of September 1679, John Campbell, Yr. of Glenorchy, now Earl of Caithness, was writing to his father Sir John of Glenorchy from their castle of Balloch [later Taymouth] at the east end of Loch Tay in Perthshire. He was concerned about his 'suited wedding clothes' and dealing with the tailor in Dunkeld for them. They were evidently going to be at their castle of Kilchurn on Loch Awe in Argyll and he had a question to 'Consider whither wee will be better accomodate in the castell [Kilchurn] or at Stronmulchan for bedds.' In a post script he continued: 'If McConachie [Inverawe] be out of Mull write for him also - the expence will be but the same and seeing the Provost is his relation its fitt you have also.' The Provost was presumably of Inveraray. These were not prospective wedding arrangements and invitations, since Caithness had married the previous year. His first wife had died in 1666, Mary, daughter of the beheaded first Earl of Holland. He would marry secondly on the 7<sup>th</sup> of April 1678, the widow of the Sinclair Earl of Caithness who was a daughter of the late beheaded Marquess of Argyll. The result of Argyll's aggressive style was a rise in cattle raiding. Although the Council sent 400 troops to guard passes from Dunbarton to Sutherland, the MacIains of Glencoe raided deeply into Argyll and Dunbarton that winter. There is a record of a Scroll of goods taken by the MacDonalDs from the friends and tenants of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe amounting in all to £2,607. 6s. 8d. [no date but with others about the MacDonalDs and MacLeans' plundering in 1679].<sup>38</sup>

In December 1679, the King's son, James Duke of York, was sent to Edinburgh to be the King's representative in Scotland. At first he continued his predecessor Monmouth's policies of moderation. Although personally Catholic, he succeeded in control by giving firm support to the Kirk. Yet some called him shallow and 'a silly man.' However, he did attempt to convert Archibald 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll to Catholicism, only to succeed in alienating him and making the task of ruling Scotland less easy for himself. York, later to become king on the death of his brother Charles II as King James, had his full-length portrait painted as a Roman Emperor, so perhaps he was not sure of himself. His Catholicism was anathema to most Lowland Scots. He sent Catholic missionaries to attempt to forward Catholicism in the western Highlands where the Protestant Church was less well established.

Perhaps Argyll had chosen to invade Mull in the winter as being a time of low energy. John of Caithness or his father of Glenorchy were at Duart on the 20<sup>th</sup> of December 1679.<sup>39</sup> Lord Neill Campbell the earl's brother was at Tobermory on the 22<sup>nd</sup>,<sup>40</sup> while on Christmas Eve Argyll was writing to Caithness that: 'I find the common people heir generally very desirous of peace.'<sup>41</sup>

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June 1680, Argyll issues a warrant to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe as his Chamberlain in Mull to poind [distrain] the tenants there for rents due by them.<sup>42</sup> The following year financial accounts for Inverawe's time at Duart were being settled by Mr. William Spens, Secretary to the Earl of Argyll. He repaid Inverawe in his role as Governor of Duart for funds which

he had disbursed to John Macfarlan when he was working at Duart in January 1681, for his 'dyet' the sum of £32-14 shillings and 8 pence, and for funds paid to John himself by Mr. William Spens from the 7<sup>th</sup> January 1681, inclusive of which John had received from Mr. William Spens the particular receipts. The total sum was two hundred four score seven pound 5s. 4d. This extended the two sums payed by Mr. William Spens to John Macfarlan, and to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe for a total of £319s 19 8d.<sup>43</sup>

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of April 1681 there was an Act of Council relating to the rights of Argyll's representatives to hold the castles of Duart and Kinlochaline. And then on the 29<sup>th</sup> of April 1681, Argyll signed three deeds to "McConochy of Inverawe" authorizing him to keep six men in the Castle of Duart and to act as his baillie and hold courts and uplift rents.<sup>44</sup>

James Duke of York had suggested to King Charles II that he should solve the Mull issue by paying off the Maclean debts. Argyll consented but the cash was not available. Argyll offered young Sir John Maclean the lands of Tiree, but then the Macleans damaged their position by invading Tiree from the one stronghold they still held, the precipitious island of Cairnbulg to the west of Mull. This harmed their cause with the King.

On Inverawe's domestic front, a move had to be made to secure the financial rights of Margaret, wife of Kilmartin. Releasing funds from lands for the 'tocher' of the Carradale daughters involved some work. Alexander of Kilmartin's wife Margaret had a sister who was married to Alexander Campbell of Dunstaffnage. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of May 1681 a Sasine was signed at Inveraray on which Archibald Campbell in Duspen [Dippen?] was to be attorney for Isobel Campbell, spouse to Alexander Campbell of Dunstaffnage, and Margaret Campbell, spouse to Alexander Campbell of Kilmartin.

The Sasine was based upon a Charter of Ajudication granted by Archibald Earl of Argyll, of the two lady's family lands in Glencarradale in Kintyre. The lands were the 3 merkland of old extent of Braklie, the 3 merkland of Achinbreac [Kintyre], the 1 merkland of Craigmore and the 3 merkland of Barmolich, called the 9 merkland of Brae of Glencarradale in the parish of Blairyet. The lands belonged to their brother Duncan Campbell of Glencarradale, as heir to his brother Archibald Campbell of Glencarradale and their father Archibald of Glencarradale. This sasine was to conform to the decret of adjudication granted against Duncan at the instance of his sisters Isobel and Margaret, before the Lords of Council and Session [on the] 16<sup>th</sup> of July 1675, in payment of a sum of 8,000 merks according to their Contracts of Marriage granted by Archibald Campbell their father and Barbara Campbell their mother. Five thousand merks were due to the elder daughter Isobel and three thousand merks to the younger daughter Margaret. The document was signed before Colonel James Menzies of Culdares, Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and John Campbell o Soceoch [Succoth].<sup>45</sup> Campbell of Silvercraig had earlier received Sasine on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1681, purchasing the Carradale lands from Duncan of Carradale, who presumably could not otherwise pay his sister's tochers.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> of May 1681 an Act was passed ordering a hosting of the Argyll Militia. The date for the muster was given as the 29<sup>th</sup> of June, with Dunstaffnage commanding the Lorne division, which included the Inverawe men.

Now, on the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of June, for some reason Archibald 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll required both Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinglass to give Bonds to him for the good behaviour of themselves and their dependants.<sup>46</sup>



Then on the 15<sup>th</sup> of October the Campbell Lairds Archibald of Inverawe, Alexander of Lochnell, John of Carrick, Alexander of Dunstaffnage and Angus of Kilberry, were required to give a total bond for £6,000 pounds Scots on that date to John Campbell WS. This appears to have been surety for their returning some documents to Ardkinglas.<sup>47</sup> A dozen years later they, or their successors, would redeem the Bond by returning some writs to Ardkinglas and the receipt would be dated at Inveraray on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of October 1693.

Meanwhile Archibald of Inverawe was again extending his responsibilities. He had come into a right by adjudication of the 3 merkland of Braiklie, 2 merkland of Barmulloch, all in the parish of Saddell on the east side of Kintyre, presumably representing the tocher of Alexander of Kilmartin's wife. These lands he would exchange by an 'Excambion.'

To that end, Archibald Earl of Argyll signed a charter on the 18<sup>th</sup> of October 1681 granting to Inverawe the 6 merkland of Cruachan [Lochawe], the ½ merkland of Ariescednich, the 2 merkland of Barmaddy and 2 merkland of Corriebeg in the barony of Lochawe. He signed a further related charter on the 1<sup>st</sup> of December. These charters exchanged Inverawe's aforementioned Carradale lands in Kintyre for those mentioned on Loch Awe. The lands of Cruachan were half way down the northwest side of Loch Awe and included the old hosting ground of the Loch Awe lordship across the loch from Innis Chonnel Castle.<sup>48</sup>

Also on that same 18<sup>th</sup> of October 1681 Archibald Campbell of Torrie, acting as attorney for Archibald of Inverawe, gave Sasine on his Resignation conforming to the contract of 'Excambion' [exchange] of the lands of Bracklie, Achinbreac, Craigmore and Barmolloch, all in the parish of Saddell in Kintyre. The witnesses were John Campbell of 'Moy' [Moir] and John his eldest lawful son.<sup>49</sup> The purpose of all that was evidently to add Margaret Kilmartin's inheritance nearby to her husband's lands.

No doubt the earl's predicament over the Test Act would have been a prime subject of conversation when, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of November, Inverawe had Sasine taken for him by Malcolm MacIntyre tacksman of Bracklie as his attorney, on the lands in Brae Carradale. The basis of this was the Charter by Argyll dated on the 18<sup>th</sup> of October. John Campbell, son of Walter Campbell of Skipness, was a witness to the Sasine.<sup>50</sup>

The above Charter of the 1<sup>st</sup> of December 1681 was one of the last Argyll would sign at that time. Moving back onto the national scene, this was the year when the 'Test Act' was passed. This, as one historian has put it, was 'a measure which, while asserting the supremacy of the Protestant religion, also claimed the Divine Right of the Crown.' Anyone appointed to a civil or ecclesiastical office was obliged to take the oath. In spite of the threat of impeachment, Argyll insisted that members of the Royal Family should not be exempt. Argyll took the oath but with his own amendments. For his arguments over the issue with the Duke of York, he was then convicted and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle on the 12<sup>th</sup> of December.<sup>51</sup>

But more dramatic news was to follow when, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of December, the handsome Earl of Argyll escaped from Edinburgh Castle, dressed as his step-daughter's page who entered with a bandaged face. He immediately changed disguise and set off for London from where he escaped to Holland. After the death of Charles II in 1685 he linked up with the Duke of Monmouth and they planned to invade Scotland and England and oust the Catholic James, who was by then King James VII and II.<sup>52</sup>

The Earl of Argyll's conviction and escape left his lands open to forfeit. This in fact took place in 1682 and his heraldic arms were formally reversed and torn to pieces at the Cross of Edinburgh. This left all those for whom he was overlord, like Inverawe, in jeopardy and subject directly to the Crown..

But life went on. On both the 6<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> of February 1682, Archibald of Inverawe signed discharges to Neil of Duntroon for payment, first for his wife Mary's tierce for 1681, the widow's claim of a third of her late husband's property, and secondly for her jointure for 1681. Both were witnessed by Alexander Campbell 'my Servitor' and Dougall Campbell 'my brother.' Archibald and Dougall would seem to have been particularly close, as eldest and youngest of the five brothers.<sup>53</sup>

Due to his association with the now exiled Earl of Argyll, Archibald of Inverawe was suspect. He was still operating under the earlier commands of the earl to manage his lands in Mull. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of May 1682 at Edinburgh, 'The Lord Advocate appointed to insist against Cameron of Glendessary against the first Council day of July next upon the information given in of some seditious expressions vented by him.' He was charged to give bond for his appearance. 'The Macers of Council were appointed to warn him and McConochy of Inneraw to compear before the Lord Theasurer and Exchequer upon Monday next to give ane account of their intromission with the late Earle of Argyles estate.'<sup>54</sup>

Not so long afterwards it became clear what this was all about. The Tutor or guardian of young Maclean of Duart had taken advantage of the exile and forfeiture of the Earl of Argyll to complain to the court of the continued Campbell management of the Mull lands. The imprisonment of Argyll had left them with the hope of retrieving the lands and castles without paying the debts. 'The Committee' being then the virtual government, had made moves in their favour. 'The Committee having considered the petition of the Tutour of McClain, complaining of Archibald Campbell of Inneraw, tacsman of Dowart, John Cameron of Glendeshier [Glendessary], tacksman of Morverne, and Donald Campbell for not delivering up of the houses of Dowart, Keanlochallan [Caenlochaline/Kinlochaline] and Cairnbulge, conforme to the Councils former order, and the saids Archibald Campble and John Cameron compearing personally and Donald Campbell, Governour of. Cairnbulge, not compearing, the Committee is of opinion that the defence proponed [put forward] by the saids persons compearing founded upon the act of Council of the twentieth of Aprile last [it] ought to be repelled [repealed] and they ordained to enter their persons in prison within the tolbuith of Edinburgh untill they find caution for delivery of the saids houses of Dowart and Keanlochallan to the persons formerly named by the Council upon his Majesties account within the space of [blank] under the penalty of [blank] and that the said Donald Cameron be charged to compear before the Council to answer for his contempt.'<sup>55</sup>

So Archibald of Inverawe had appeared at the Council as ordered, had quoted the Act of Council of the 20<sup>th</sup> of April 1681 that had given him the authority to hold Duart, and had then been told that the Act should be repealed and that, even before it was, he should walk over to the Tollbooth and incarcerate himself. Justice indeed.

Yet, by the 12<sup>th</sup> of December 1682 it seems that Inverawe was at liberty again to write yet another Discharge to Neil of Duntroon for Mary MacNeil's tierce for 1682.<sup>56</sup> The following year of 1683 in March, Inverawe was at Baravuline when he wrote the next Discharge for her jointure.<sup>57</sup>

Archibald of Inverawe had the advantage that one of his first cousins, Alexander Campbell, was

a merchant in Edinburgh and an astute man who acted as his agent in the capital. Alexander was a younger son of Alan Campbell in Barnaliamona, a place between Loch Awe and Loch Avich. Alan was a younger brother of Archibald's late father, Lt. Col. Dougall Campbell of Inverawe. Most of the letters of Archibald's that have survived are among Alexander's papers in the National Archives. Most, like this one, are strictly on business affairs. This is dated on the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> of March 1683 when Inverawe was in Edinburgh:

*Translation to modern spelling:*

Memorandum for Alexander Campbell [Burgess in Edinburgh]

That of the Precept drawn [up] by Lanlon upon which is in your hands, payable to me and Duncan MacDougall, of the 900 merks whereof 360 merks belongs to me, you shall give to Alexander the sum of 330 resting by my Bond which he is to get. Together with an Assignation from the late Bishop Scogie's relict and her daughter's Curator, to a registered Bond wherein I am caution for 200 merks for John Carswell. Together also with a Discharge of a ticket resting by myself to the said Bishop, of £45 Scots or thereby you shall give also to Dougall Campbell my brother £20 Scots which compleats the said 360 merks. In witness whereof I have submitted these presents at Edinburgh the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 1683.

A. Campbell of Inverawe

Edinburgh 21<sup>st</sup> March 1683

Received from Alexander Campbell the forsaid £20 Scots paid to me, Dougall Campbell.<sup>58</sup>

*Original spelling:*

Memorandum ffor Alexr Campbell

That of the precept drawne be Lanlon upon [blank] wich is in yor hands payable to me and Duncan McDugull of nyne nyndreth mrks qof three hunreth and sextie merks belongs to me Ye shall give to [blank] Alexr the soume of Three Hundreth and threttei mrks resting by my bond which he are to get w [? in] Together with ane assignation from the late Bishops Scogies[?] relict and her daughters curator to ane regrat bond qrin I am cation for two Hundreth mrks for John Carsuall Together also with a discharge of a ticket resting be my self to the sd Bish: of ffourtie ffyve pundis scots or theby Yee shall give also to Dugall Campbell my brother twntie pundis Scots qch compleits the sd three hundreth and sextie merks In witness qrof I have subt these prits at Edr the 3d March M vy c & Eightie three yeris

A Campbell of Inveraw

Edr 21 March 1683 Receaved from Alexr Campbell the fords twentie pundis Scots

P me

D<sup>all</sup> Campbell

John Carswell was likely a distant cousin, a descendant of John Carswell, Bishop of the Isles and builder of Carnassarie, whose daughter Christian was Archibald of Inverawe's great-grandmother. The bishop had died in 1670-72. 'My brother Dougall' appears repeatedly in Inverawe's correspondance. He would later be Breadalbane's Bailie of Nether Lorne, based at the old stronghold of Ardmaddy, and would still later buy Nether Rhudil in Glassary and then Shirvan, then just south of Kilmartin. His descendants the Graham-Campbells would later move Shirvan to the coast at Castleton, south of Lochgilphead.

While on the one hand Archibald of Inverawe had been gaining what he could of lands along the upper arm of Loch Etive, and Glen Etive, he now had Wadset or gave a lease to purchase, like a

mortgage, of the one merkland of Drumachoise in Glen Etive to James Stewart of Fasnacloch and his wife Isobel with their younger son Duncan. Drumachoise is on the western side of the upper arm of Loch Etive, just north of the head of the loch. The document was signed on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of May 1683. A witness was John Stewart, fear [heir] of Fasnacloch and Duncan Stewart's elder brother. This appears to have been a means of setting up the younger son Duncan Stewart with some land on which he could live. Fasnacloch lies northwest over the high ridges from Drumachoise.<sup>59</sup>

The deal on Drumachoise may have raised some funds towards Inverawe's interest in buying a tenement in the old town of Inveraray. In those days a 'tenement' was not always an existing building, but could simply mean a plot on which to build. Being under threat of forfeiture due to his loyalty to Argyll, he may have seen it useful to have an alternative dwelling, should his lands and houses be taken from him. Similar actions were taken by his descendants under threat in Zimbabwe in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. In Archibald's case, the Deed of Sale was dated on the 21<sup>st</sup> of July 1683. This was done at Inveraray by Donald MacOlvorie [like MacGillivray] Provost of Inveraray, and others, concerning a tenement in Inveraray to pass into the hands of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe. The witnesses were Dougall Campbell, cousin to Archibald, and Dougall Campbell, Archibald's half-brother [Dougall later of Shirvan]. The cousin Dougall may have been he of the Barnalian family who became a soldier and then made a fortune in London and was known in the family as Captain Dougall the merchant.<sup>60</sup>

There was little doubt that the continued payments from Duntroon for Mary McNeill gave Archibald leverage he would not otherwise have had. Nine days later, on the 30<sup>th</sup>, Archibald was writing to his first cousin Breadalbane on the subject of a bargain with Campbell of Lochnell.<sup>61</sup>

The following year, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of May 1683, Inverawe was given Sasine of the lands of Cruachan, Barmaddie and others on Loch Awe, based upon the Charter granted by Argyll on the 18<sup>th</sup> of October 1681. Donald Campbell of Drumdarroch was bailie and Alexander Campbell of Kilmartin was a witness.<sup>62</sup> This Cruachan, not the three high peaks, was on a shelf of hill on the northwest side of Lochawe about half way down the loch and just south of Barnalian. Although Inverawe was in a precarious position because he held his lands from Argyll and not directly from the Crown, these normal processes continued. During Archibald's father's life, under similar circumstances of the forfeiture of the Marquess of Argyll, the King had eventually stated that those with grants from Argyll should be left in place. Yet now, with Argyll in exile and his lands now forfeit, the situation of those who held from Argyll was unclear.

In 1684 the government, hearing of the Earl of Argyll's plotting in Holland with Monmouth for a Protestant invasion, appointed the Marquess of Atholl to be Lieutenant and Sheriff of Argyll. He was given orders to march there immediately with a strong force and to occupy the County. To finance the venture he was given 'the gift and tack of the houses, parks, and mill of Inveraray.' Atholl marched into Argyll with about 1,000 Highlanders. He apprehended several who were suspected of treasonable correspondence with Argyll. The Earl's brother, Lord Neil Campbell at Ardmaddy, was required to pledge himself to remain faithful to the government.

'Atholl's instructions were to arrest several leading Campbells, including Ardkinglas, Ellangreg, Inverawe, Barbreck and Dunstaffnage – and Cameron of Glendessary. He was to disarm the disaffected, demolish the castles and examine the indulged presbyterian ministers, to find pretexts for withdrawing their licenses. In August [1684], he entered Argyllshire without opposition. Ardkinglas was arrested for supplying Argyll with money, and the ministers were silenced, but Atholl acted with moderation. Rather than try other suspects and make them desperate with

sentences he had no authority to commute, he gave them bond to appear before the Council. He collected weapons from the militia and the disaffected, but unsuccessfully suggested to the Committee that the country people should be allowed to keep their arms. He obtained the heritor's promise to support the Inveraray garrison (but in the event had to pay for it himself) and demolished no castles as yet. Then he returned, leaving Steuart of Ballechin as his deputy with a small force.'<sup>63</sup>

In fact, Archibald of Inverawe was a first cousin of the Marquess of Atholl whose mother had been a sister of Inverawe's mother. Both ladies were daughters of 'black' Sir Duncan of Glenorchy. Nevertheless, Archibald was arrested with Ardkinglas and appears to have been spending his days in the Tollbooth at Inveraray. However his brother Duncan evidently had access to him, for Archibald was able to sign papers on the 26<sup>th</sup> of August. Given the uncertain nature of the time, and his own position, having no son and heir of his own, Archibald gave a Disposition to Duncan Campbell his full brother, of the lands of Inverawe and others. That was dated on the 26<sup>th</sup> of August 1684. It was followed by Sasine of the 15<sup>th</sup> of September that year. Some reservations survive as outlined in the Sasine which followed. Duncan's son Archie may well still have been Inverawe's servitor or assistant.

Meanwhile, on the 31<sup>st</sup> of August the Marquess of Atholl was at Inveraray from where he wrote to the Earl of Breadalbane. The latter had evidently been pressing for the release of Inverawe and Lochnell who must have been imprisoned upon Atholl's invasion. Archibald's wife was safely taking refuge in the little tower house in the castle of Fraoch Eilean. Atholl's line reads: 'and as for McKonachie he hath gotten liberty already and if Lochnell desyre it, he shall have it also.'<sup>64</sup>

Returning to the grant of Inverawe lands by Archibald to his brother Duncan, that was with the reservation 'that if it shall please God to bless the said Archibald with any son of this or any other marriage, then the said Duncan by acceptance of this Disposition shall be obliged to denude himself of his right to the said lands in favour of the said son and heir; and reserving the liferent of Mary McNeill, spouse to the said Archibald.' The witnesses included John Campbell, brother of Archibald and Duncan. Duncan's son was the ultimate heir of those then living. He was also named Archibald, so that to avoid confusion he will here be called 'Archie.' He was likely now aged about fourteen and would later appear to have been attending his uncle Inverawe as his Servitor or assistant.<sup>65</sup>

Due to the amount of cattle rustling taking place by the Macleans and MacDonalds who had taken advantage of Argyll's arrest to go out and plunder, Atholl instituted a list of approved drovers who were allowed to move beasts about Argyll to the trysts or fairs. Some of these were MacConnochies. One was Patrick Campbell in Inverawe, a natural brother of Archibald of Inverawe. Another was his cousin Patrick, son of Alexander of Achouran on Lismore. Inverawe's full brother Duncan was another, later known as Duncan of Crunachy.<sup>66</sup>

Charles II died on the 6<sup>th</sup> of February 1685. This meant that his brother, the Catholic James Duke of York, succeeded to the crown as James VII & II. This event caused Monmouth and Argyll and their colleagues in Holland to decide that the time had come to invade Britain for the Protestant cause.

Leaving the Netherlands, Argyll set sail and rounded the north of Scotland. On Friday and Saturday the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> of May 1685, his fleet sailed down the Sound of Mull. They passed Duart, but no shot was fired at them by the garrison.

'When, therefore, Argyll's ships arrived off Dunstaffnage Castle ...and landed his son Charles to

call out the clan, there was no leader to organize local opposition. The obvious candidate, Macdougall of Dunollie, had just died, almost a hint from Providence to exploit the opportunity. Instead, representatives were elected for a council. Certainly, the news that Argyll's son Charles Campbell brought was disappointing. A dozen potential supporters, such as Campbell of Dunstaffnage and Campbell (MacConnochie) of Inverawe, had been detained in Edinburgh [in fact in Inveraray for Inverawe]. Others even refused to see Argyll. One source alleges that Campbell of Lochnell promised to join, then sent Argyll's letters to the Council. Certainly by 26 May he was in Ardnamurchan raising men for Atholl and complaining that Lochiel was claiming them as his followers. Argyll's lowland colleagues were contemptuous of the result, and Argyll was dismayed. Yet the haphazard government detentions often weakened their own side. Most of Inverawe's men joined his cousin Breadalbane.' [For this last, see Hopkins p.103 note 133]<sup>67</sup> In fact, as we have seen, Inverawe was imprisoned by Atholl in the Tollbooth at Inveraray.

Argyll's fleet then sailed south and anchored in the Sound of Islay. But the Marquis of Atholl's forces had already occupied the island. Argyll moved to attack Atholl's men by night, but found they had fled to Kintyre. Only eighty Islay men came forward to join Argyll, the lands being Campbell of Cawdor's and held from the Crown rather than from Argyll. Cawdor's men were 'lusty, tall and handsome men' but few of them appeared the next day, however further efforts produced three companies to go over with Argyll to Kintyre.<sup>68</sup>

'Ironically, Breadalbane who violently demanded that order should be restored, was one of the first sufferers. His, Lochnell's and Inverawe's men were found guilty of carrying off a fellow Campbell's cows. They protested that the real raiders, Macdonalds, returning through their lands, had also plundered them, and that their tenants had recovered a mixture of their own and other people's cattle, while half the rest was carried to Glencoe, half to Brae-Lochaber.<sup>131</sup> Lochnell and Inverawe must anyway have had uneasy relations with other Campbells after their men joined the forces which ravaged the shire, even though his loyalty gave Breadalbane power to influence the government in favour of the gentry detained . . . The division now may partly explain why Lochnell and Inverawe followed Breadalbane into Jacobite plotting in 1689.'<sup>69</sup>

On Wednesday the 20<sup>th</sup> of May the 9th Earl of Argyll's fleet crossed to Kintyre and landed at Campbeltown where a 'Declaration' was read at the market cross.<sup>70</sup> A week later, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of May Argyll's fleet sailed north and arrived at Tarbert where they were met by Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck and the earl's younger son Charles with about 1,200 men, which brought up their forces to about 2,500 horse and foot.<sup>71</sup> On that same day, John Campbell of Glenorchy, no longer Earl of Caithness but now Earl of Breadalbane, was at Kilchurn in opposition to Argyll, whom he no doubt hoped to succeed. He sent word to Atholl that he had issued orders to take control of all the boats on Loch Awe. He reckoned there were eighteen to twenty to be collected, either at Kilchurn, at Innischonnel or at Fraoch Eilean where Archibald of Inverawe's wife Mary McNeill was secured.<sup>72</sup>

In June Argyll's army was ferried from Tarbert to Bute, with Charles disgracing himself by commanding troops who looted and burned. He was sent to recruit in Cowal with little effect, being attacked there, although he and his men escaped to their boats. Some escaped to Ellan Gheirig, an island in Loch Riddon [later owned by Gen. Peter Campbell of Southall, a cousin of Inverawe] that Argyll had chosen as his base. The castle there was used to store munitions and was destroyed when the Royal Navy later blew up the place. Argyll next shipped his forces to Castle Toward on the mainland but considered strengthening Ellan Gherig as a site for stores.<sup>73</sup>

A letter was sent on the 14<sup>th</sup> of June 1685 to John Earl of Breadalbane from the presently governing ‘Secret Committee.’ They had responded to a request from Archibald of Inverawe to allow him liberty to sell his cows for his maintenance ‘if the recipient thinks it expedient.’ This seems curiously out of touch with what was going on further south, but shows that Inverawe was not about to be recruited in support of the Earl of Argyll. Inverawe was again in the Tollbooth prison at Inveraray and would petition Atholl himself before long.

My Lord,

Maconochie of Inveraw represents that most of his people have joined yr Lop as shall his brothers [that] are not wt yow and desyrs liberty on surty, and that his kows may be allowed to be sold for his maintenance, weve judge this reasonable but most to add grants to what you judge expedient and we will give permission or not as you presume, we are ..... of hearing from you and are, My lord

affectionate

4 afternoon

humble servants

Queensberry, Perth, Tarbert

It is writ for certainty that the Duke of Monmouth is gone about the North of Scotland wt a ship of 32 guns and another lesser one etc.<sup>74</sup>

Monmouth’s Rebellion did not go well, either for Monmouth in the south or Argyll in the north. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of June Argyll was captured after crossing the Clyde and taken prisoner to Glasgow. Two days later he was taken to Edinburgh.<sup>75</sup>

As mentioned, on the 29<sup>th</sup> Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and other prisoners in the Tolbooth of Inveraray, petitioned the Marques of Atholl to give them a pass to Edinburgh to sell their cattle. Passes were granted by the Governor, and one also provided for Patrick Campbell, brother of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe. Patrick was not a full brother but a natural son of Archibald’s father Dougall.<sup>76</sup>

Then, in Edinburgh, Archibald 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll was executed by use of The Maiden guillotine in Edinburgh on Tuesday the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1685.<sup>776</sup>

In the aftermath of Argyll’s execution and the effective forfeiture of the lands of Argyll, those holding from Argyll were required to produce their Charters and other writs. Inverawe must have sent his to his cousin Alexander in Edinburgh who produced a list of them that October of 1685. It is worth noticing that none are earlier than 1630. The earlier Inverawe and Fraoch Eilean documents were possibly burnt in the destruction of Fraoch Eilean in the 1570s.

Note by Alexander Campbell, Merchant in Edinburgh, of papers produced by Archibald Campbell of Inverawe:

(docketed Octbr 1685) Not of papers produced be Ard Campbell of Inveraw

1. Charter, late Earl of Agyll to said Archibald, of Inverawe, Drumchoise, Achacharn, Branrie &c., dated 30 Sept; 1688 [?]
2. Instrument of Sasine thereon (Neill Zuill, notary), 1 & 4 July 1673
3. Charter of resignation, said late Earl to said Archibald, of Kilmartin, Glencaverane, Fernoch & Lagan & others, 30 May 1674

4. Instrument of sasine thereon (Alexander Zuill, notary), 8 June 1674
5. Charter of excambion, said late Earl with consent of Lord Lorne to said Archibald, of Crouchan & Arivodonich &c., 18 October 1681
6. Sasine following (not date given)
7. Charter of confirmation under the Great Seal of foresaid charters 1 February 1678 (marginal note, to Cha: Oliphant this 23 July 87)
8. Disposition by Donald McIlvorie 83 to Ard Campbell of Inverawe of ane Contract betwixt the sd Donald & Lord Lorne 1630 of houses in Inverary & accre.<sup>78</sup>

On the 11<sup>th</sup> of November Archibald Campbell of Inverawe wrote again to Alexander Campbell, merchant in Edinburgh and his agent. He wrote from Inveraray. Argyll was still under Atholl's occupation. His letter is full of evidence of the solidarity of the surviving MacConnochie kin.

*[Translation to modern spelling]:*

Inveraray 11<sup>th</sup> November 1685

Affectionate Cousin,

I have [probably 'returned'] my papers to you with the key of the Coffers so I have written to John Campbell of Succoth to call for them when he sees fit if need be. I have instructed Succoth also to keep the Viscount of Strathallan, General to his Majesty's Forces in mind to see when ever his Lordship thinks fit I go to Edinburgh. So let you keep Succoth in mind to speak to his Lordship from time to time, and if need be give you some money to Succoth if advocates must appear for me and [Campbell of] Stronchormaig and [all?] the [Campbell of Achouran?] and [Campbell of] Fanans and I shall pay you. Let me know what you hear from [cousin] Dougall or anything else.

Present my respects to your bedfellow.

Your affectionate cousin

A. Campbell of Inveraw

Write on the back of Dougall's letter where he may be found at London.<sup>79</sup>

*[Original spelling]:*

Affectionat Coosn

Invery 11 nobr 1685

I have retiend my peapers to you wt the ky of the Coffe so I have wrytten to John Campbell of Sockich to call for them qn he sies fit of nied bies. I have instructed Sockich [Campbell of Succoth?] also to kiep the vicount of Strathallan grll to his majestys forces in mynd to sie qn ever his Lo/ thinks fit I go to Edr so lett you kiep Sockich in mynd to speak to his Lo/ from tym to tym, & if nied bies give ye som mony to Sockich if advocats most compear for me & Stronchormick, & [?a]ll the [Achouran?] & phanans [Campbell of Fanans] & I shall pay you let me knuo qt ye hear from Dugall or any thing els

Present my respects to yr bedfello

Yr affectonat Coosy

A Campbell of Inveraw

Wryt on the back of Dugald letr qr he may be found at London<sup>80</sup>

'Cousin Dougall' was Captain Dougall Campbell, one of the younger sons of the Barnalian family from Lochawe. He had worked in an office as a clerk as a boy and later been in the army, possibly in the Dutch Service, and was then a merchant in London were he had considerable success. Late



in life he would marry a daughter of Viscount Grandison, widow of Skinner Byde, but they left no children. He would present the memorial silver cups to Inverawe, Kilmartin and Shirvan and leave a considerable fortune that was meticulously assigned to a wide range of members of the family and charities, including the education of 'poor boys' of the Inverawe kindred and the assistance of any of the poor of the family.

The author of the life of the 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll, outlined the effect of the attempted Protestant coup now generally known as 'Monmouth's Rebellion:'

'The suppression of the rebellion which Argyll had raised was attended with comparatively little bloodshed, so far as the regular administration of justice was concerned. The Highlanders who had taken part in it were regarded as having been in a measure obliged by their tenures to obey their chief. ... Yet many perished from starvation and disease in the loathsome prisons into which they were crowded, and numbers [were] sent overseas as slaves to the plantations. The Earl's sons, John and Charles, who had shared in the rebellion, were sentenced to death, but this sentence was commuted to banishment with forfeiture of all rights and property. Lord Neil Campbell, the Earl's brother ... in obtaining his liberty took refuge for a time in New England [in fact in New Jersey].

'But although the Government should be credited with comparative lenity in dealing with the rebels, many atrocities were perpetrated in Argyllshire upon members of clan Campbell who had aided their chief in his fruitless attempt. The persons responsible for this were the Duke of Gordon, the Marquess of Atholl and the Earl of Breadalbane. Thus we read of twenty-two or twenty-three persons, some of whom had surrendered under promises of quarter and protection, being put to death, and of an express being sent from the Privy Council forbidding further bloodshed, which is said to have been very unwillingly obeyed. Carnassery Castle, the residence of Sir Duncan Campbell [of Auchinbreck], was defended by his friends tenants for some time but was surrendered on honourable conditions. These, however, were violated, and the house was pillaged and burned. For thirty miles around Inveraray the country was laid waste, and in order to ruin it effectually, parties were sent to pull down houses, to break millstones, to destroy fruit-trees and to stave in boats and to burn fishing-nets. So shameful were their actions that the Government marked its displeasure at them by depriving Atholl of the Lord-Lieutenancy of the county.'<sup>81</sup>

In the midst of all these events, Neill Campbell of Duntroon valiantly continued to produce the payments for the lady Inverawe's jointure. Archibald gave him a Discharge on the 25<sup>th</sup> of May 1686 for the jointure of 1685. The paper was dated at Tirvine on Lochawe, the best of the sparse Inverawe arable farmland for growing oats.<sup>82</sup>

The Campbells at Achacha in Benderloch were struggling. Like Kilmartin, their lands were held through Inverawe. Whether they were themselves MacConnochies is not clear, but seems almost certain. Archibald was able to help out his kinsman there on the 19<sup>th</sup> of June when Donald Campbell, then living at Knipoch on Loch Feochan in Lorn and full brother to John Campbell of Achacha in Benderloch, borrowed the considerable sum of £100 [presumably Scots] and gave him a Bond.<sup>83</sup>

Next year, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of February 1687, Archibald of Inverawe was again writing to Alexander Campbell the Merchant, his agent in Edinburgh. Again, he was at Tirvine. Although the fashion for wigs was changing, Archibald preferred the old full style. Few could afford a wig so that the

wearing of one gave an air of authority, plus it is likely that Archibald was balding. Later, in 1687, Inverawe wrote for ‘ane perjucke either short or long as you get it, only of brown hair.’ And then in 1693, his brother Dougall would be writing to Alexander for a wig, seemingly of the new fashion, ‘one fair little periwig of a roundabout for myself.’

[*Translation to modern spelling*]:

Tirvine 10<sup>th</sup> February 1687

Affectionate Cousin,

Having this occasion I wish you to speak to John Campbell of Succoth and Mr. Colin MacKean[?] to see if there be any of the affairs of the Councils of the Shire to be in hand except these that are forfeited, and write to me with the boy I have sent. That like peruke you sent for [me], it will do me no good. It’s so little and short and too little hair on it. I have sent a dollar to buy another if it [can] be gotten exchanged, if not buy another and acquaint me what it costs and I shall send it with the first occasion.

Naught else but my respects to you and your bedfellow.

I rest,

Your affectionate Cousin

A. Campbell of Inverawe

If ‘black Colin’ [Campbell] of Clenamacrie’s brother be not in town, give my letter to Colin Campbell of Carwhin with six merks four shillings Scots and get his answer to my boy.

If that ‘black Colin’ nor Colin Campbell Captain Colin’s son be not there, break open his letter [from me] to send to the Captain’s lady and [seal]ing me her letter with our account.

[Addressed: Alexander Campbell, Merchant in Edinburgh.]<sup>84</sup>

[*Original spelling*]:

Affectionat Coussin

Tirvin 10 feby 1687

Having this ocan I wish ye to speak to John Campbell of Sockich & Mr Collin M<sup>c</sup>Keyin[?] to sie if ther be any of the affairs of the Cossalls [Councils] of the shyr to be in hand except thes tht ar firfault & wryt to me wt the boy I have sent[.] tht like piruick ye sent for it wil do me no good its so little & short & to little hair in it[.] I have sent ane dollar to buy ane other if it be gotten exchynged if not buy ane other & aquent me qt it soces & I shall send it wt the firt occa’n[.] not els bot my respects to your & yr bedfellow

I rest

Yr affectionat

Coussin

A. Campbell of Inverawe

If black Collin [Campbell of] Cleanimackry his brothr be not in toun give my lr to Collin Campbell of Corechuin [Carwhin] wt sex mrks four shillig Scots & get his ansuer to the boy[.]

If tht black Collin nor Collin Campbell captan Collins son be not ther brack up his letter to send to the Captans lady and [seal]ing me hir lr wt yr compt

[addressed: ffor Alxr Campbell merchant at edr]<sup>85</sup>

This letter makes clear Archibald’s continued concern about the status of the forfeiture and whether there were any developments on that score. When he mentions ‘the boy’ or ‘my boy’ he is referring to the ‘runner’ who delivered his letter. These were fit young men who were perforce

honest, trustworthy and athletic. They would often be on the road and were clearly valued members of the household or community. An 18<sup>th</sup> century illustration of one by Paul Sandby shows him barefooted and between 16 and 18 years in age.

A month later, on the 14<sup>th</sup> of March 1687, Archibald was again writing to Alexander in Edinburgh, but this time from Inverawe:

*[Translation to modern spelling]:*

Affectionate Cousin,

I would send the annualrent of Wellwoods but that I had no money here, this boy being in haste, but let the Discharge be kept and I'll send it. Be pleased to deliver my Charter and Sasine and Confirmation to the lands of Inverawe to John Campbell of Succoth when he requires it, for I sold to the Laird of Lochnell the three merk land of Achacharne [Benderloch or Glenleiver?] that a Disposition may be written to him by Succoth, and get back the writs as he has done and keep them with the rest. And get the Sasine I sent that I did give my brother Duncan and give it to Succoth with the rest of the papers and [then] lay it up with them again. I entreat you send me some peruke either short or long as you get it, only of brown hair. I spoke to Dunstaffnage's lady about the money and it will be sent so soon as she can. If I thought you did not keep a War house I would not send it. Let me hear from you. I rest,

Your affectionate cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe

Receipt my memorandum for seeds with thirty shillings Scots money to buy the worth of it for seeds.<sup>86</sup>

*[Original spelling]:*

Inveraw 14 March 1687

Affectionat Coossin

I would send the annualrent of Walwods bot tht I had no mony hier this boy being in haist bot let the discharge be keepeed & Ile send it, be pleased to delyver my chartour & Seasine & Confirmation to the Lands of Inveraw to John Campbell of Sockich qn he requires it for I sold to the Laird of Lochnell the three merk land of Achecharn tht ane disposition may be written to him be Sockich & got back the wrychts as he hes doon & kiep them wt the rest, & get the Seasin I send tht I did give my brothr Duncan & give it in to Sockich wt the rest of the peapers & lay it uup wt them again I entreat ye send me som peruick other short or long as ye get it, only of broun hair I spoak dunstaffnes lady anent the mony & it will be sent so soon as she can if I thocht ye did not kiep ane War hous I would not desre it let me hear from you I rest

Yr affectionat Coussin

A Campbell of Inve[torn]

Reseate my memorandum for sids wt thretty shilling scots of mony to buy the worth of it of sieds.

A 'War house' was presumably a secure house. Archibald of Inverawe would struggle over having those in Edinburgh process his Charters and other papers. This process was presumably required due to Argyll's forfeiture, so that the Crown knew who owned what as grants from the successive members of the Argyll dynasty for the lands that were now all in Crown hands. As to the 'annualrent' owed to Wellwood and Walker in Dunfermline, negotiations over this debt were

drawn out by Inverawe since he clearly found it unfair in some way. The business would not be finally settled until 1696. There would be further ‘annualrents’ later from lands that ‘cousin Dougall’ in London had bought. These had to be collected from the Bailie of Muckiarn, Cawdor’s agent Donald Campbell, and sent to Alexander in Edinburgh for transmission to London. Both these ‘annualrents’ would prove to be an irritation to Archibald of Inverawe.

Inverawe’s attempts to be sent a suitable wig or peruke ‘only of broun hair’ suggest that his own hair was originally brown. He is clearly not so fussy about style, only about quality. Since he was now only in his early fifties, his own hair may not yet have turned grey. Numerous 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century portraits show the full wig that would have been in style at the time.

Archibald’s next letter to Alexander, ten days later on the 24<sup>th</sup> of March, was written from Breadalbane’s castle of Kilchurn at the northeastern end of Loch Awe. He must have been ailing in some way, or hung over, since the letter was written by a scribe and Inverawe’s signature is shaky. The proposed transfer of land was not straightforward. Alexander Campbell of Lochnell and Archibald of Inverawe were clearly colleagues and trusted each other. What appears to have been the situation was that the family at Achacharne were in debt and needed to sell. Perhaps Archibald wanted to keep MacConnochie lands like Achacharne in Benderloch [not the one in Inverliever] in the family, but he may have been inhibited from buying the place himself, possibly due to being in a position of trust with the family, such as Tutor to the heir. This is not clear.

But what Inverawe proposed to Lochnell, and Lochnell evidently agreed, was that the lands should be sold to Lochnell but then bought back by Archibald of Inverawe, plus some further lands in Glen Etive. Although John Campbell of Achacharne in Benderloch is called ‘of Achacharne,’ it would seem as though he must owe Archibald, perhaps for a Wadset of the place. Again, the letter was written by a scribe at Kilchurn and signed by Archibald with a shaky hand.

*[Translation to modern spelling]:*

Castle Kilchurn March 24<sup>th</sup> 1687

Affectionate Cousin,

Lochnell and I have written to Mr. Robert and Succoth to cause draw up a Disposition by me and Duncan to Lochnell, of the lands of Achacharne, conform to the Minute [of contract] sent. And I entreat of new you [re]mind them [meaning ‘once again’] of it that it may be sent home by the bearer. I have also sent you my Disposition to my brother [Duncan] with the bearer which you would produce with the Sasine and my other writs and Conformation, if called for. And so soon as the Disposition is drawn [up], return this Disposition and Sasine thereon to me by the bearer. If Mr. Robert cannot attend [to] this you would return the Letters and Minute sent before with the Disposition and Sasine, that we may cause draw the writs here. Yet I had rather have it done there if possible, so I recommend to you to be urging with Mr. Robert. This is all at present from

Your affectionate

Cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe

[Signature of Archibald, very shaky]

[Annotated: April 13<sup>th</sup> Returned the disposition & seasing wth Jno McAllans brother]<sup>87</sup>

*Original spelling:*

Castlekelchourn March 24 1687

Affectionat Coosing

Lochnell and I hes written to Mr Robert and sockoch to cuase draw ane Disposition be me and Duncan To Lochinell of the Lands of Achacharn conform to the Minutt sent And I intreat of new ye mynd them of it that it may be sent home by the bearer I have also sent you my Disposition to my brother with the bearer qch ye would produce with the seassine & my other wrights & confirmation if called for And soe soon as the Disposition is dawn return this disposition and seassine theron to me by the bearer Iff Mr Robert cannot attend this ye would return us the Letters & Minutt sent befor with the disposition & seassine that we may cause draw the wrytts hier. Yet I had rather have it done their if possible soe I Recommend to you to be urging with Mr Robert This is all at pntt from

Yor affectionat

Coosing

A Campbell of Inverawe

[Signature of Archibald, very shaky]

[Annotated: April 13<sup>th</sup> Returned the disposition & seasing wth Jno McAllans brothr]<sup>88</sup>

About the middle of April 1687 Inverawe wrote again to Alexander in Edinburgh about the account with Wellwood and Walker in Dunfermline. Who Michael 'ruadh' and Col. Millar were is currently not known to the writer.

[*Tanslation to modern spelling*]:

Regard the enclosed account and speak to Wellwod & Walker [in Dunfermline] to see if you can get the forty pounds that I am asking off his five hundred this year. ...merks I owe and if I can get it I'll pay him his principal at the term, viz. at Candlemass next. You may ask that at Candlemass [I get] an account also. But if I get only the forty pounds down off the principal, I'd pay the cost. And I am sure you were never more penny worthy than I for it. Send me Michael Roy's son's bond that I sent you to convey [and] register. Send it with Col. Miller if it is registered now. If you have your brother Dougall's bond against me, I may pay it off his annualrent. And let me know what you heard last from Dougall, and what all you her in particular of Lord Lorn. And get Wellwood's decision on his annual rent [that was] sent in Candlemass last....

Your affectionate cousin

A Campbell of Inverawe

Since my brother writes to me that you say he did not send those papers [belonging] to Donald Mor ... in Inveraray, it is likely that he did not remember ...

you will find most of my papers and [those of Campbell of] Fanans in this bag...sent to me.<sup>89</sup>

[*Original spelling*]:

Affectionat Coosing

Forteen April

1687

Regard ye inclosed compt & speak to Walwood & Walker to see if ye can get ye ad forty pound yt I am [asking?] of his fyve hunder this year ... merks I owe & if I get it at Ile pay him his principall at the term, viz at Candle[mass?]nixt, ye may crave that in yt Candlemas ane accont... also, bot if I got bot ye forty pund down of ye principall I'd pay ye cost, & I am sure you was never worse peny worthy nor I had for it, Let you send me Mikell Roy son's bound [bond] that I sent you to [convey?] either at ... send it Ill bot [medle?] yt it be

regrat now, If ye have yr broyer Dougall's bond against me yt I may pay gt ... of his annualrent, & let me know qn ye heard last from Dougall, & qt ... all you hear & in particular of Lord Lorn & let you get Welwoods desyring for his annualrent sent the Candlemas last, Not anyr [torn] the ... mony sent me that compt

Yr affectionat Coossing

A Campbell of Inveraw

[Syne?] my broyer wryts to me that ye says he did not send of thet peapers [belonging?] to Donel More... in Inveraray its lyke he did not remember at fifty and [distance?] that nor sent in .. rest... send over ... have forgotten to Mr. Jager... nor yt at Edr my Coossing to find any ... of all men's peapers yt I sent .... [hour?] & to snd off... them all out of yr [torn] in hes ... [instudys?] for he pleases...[torn] to the Clerks & ...ye mony my Coffe [reposes?]agenst yr .

Ye will ffind in that most of my peapers & of Phanans's

Peapers in this bag... sent to me.<sup>90</sup>

'Donald mor' was likely Campbell in Achacha / Achacharne in Benderloch. Archibald's interest in Lord Lorn was to know whether he would have his lands restored by the Crown. The potential 10<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll was working every angle of influence to retrieve his patrimony. 'Your brother Dougall' was again the one who would be Captain Dougall Campbell, merchant in London. When he came to either position is not clear. But Inverawe owed him money on a Bond, and 'I may pay it off his annual rent' suggests that Dougall owed rent to Inverawe for some land. Archibald of Inverawe was also sending the papers of Campbell of Fanans 'in this bag.' Their place is just up river and on the other bank from Inverawe, it would have been a small farm community in the mouth of the Pass of Bander opposite Crunachy.

The origins of the Campbells of Fanans (sometimes spelt Phanans) are not clear, but their regular interaction with the MacConnochie kindred, being witnesses or curators to them, leaves a suspicion that they were also of that family. And now Inverawe is dealing with their papers. His paternal aunt Eithne (pronounced Eyna) had married Alexander, eldest son and heir to Ewen of Fanans, in 1630.<sup>91</sup> Alexander had died by the end of January 1648.<sup>92</sup> Their son Archibald of Fanans succeeded and gave Bonds for securing the peace in 1683 and 1684 when his cautioners were Duncan, brother to Inverawe, and Duncan of Stronchormaig.<sup>93</sup>

By the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May 1687 the needed documents for the deal over Achacharne were to hand, and the Disposition to Alexander Campbell of Lochnell was signed by Inverawe's brother Duncan, transferring to Lochnell the three merkland of Achacharne in Benderloch. The fact of Duncan acting for Archibald suggests that Archibald was still ailing in some way. The Sasine followed on the 5<sup>th</sup> of May, when Lochnell was given the handful of earth and stone on the land. The witnesses were John, Inverawe and Duncan's full brother, and their half brother Dougall, later Bailie of Nether Lorn and ultimately of Shirvan.<sup>94</sup>

Two days later, on the 5<sup>th</sup> of May, Lochnell made a Disposition of the three merkland of Achacharne back to Archibald of Inverawe, plus the two merkland of Inverkinglas on Loch Etive in the parish of Baliveodan, now Ardchattan, under redemption, upon payment to him of the principal sum of 3,000 merks. Sasine was given to Inverawe on various days from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> of May. The witnesses were John Campbell, cousin of Inverawe, and another cousin [although not stated as such], Colin Campbell of Inveresragan, the place just northwest over Loch Etive from Inverawe. John, now in his mid forties, was likely the son of Inverawe's uncle Patrick, who had

been brother of Lt. Col. Dougall of Inverawe and was killed at Inverlochy. His mother's Gaelic lament survives, as does the legend of Patrick's saving her from the plague. John had a tack of Aros on Mull.<sup>95</sup>

Later that month on the 28<sup>th</sup> of May, Inverawe was again writing to his cousin and agent Alexander Campbell, Merchant in Edinburgh from Inverawe. He must have recovered, since his hand writing is his own and the signature firm again:

*[Translation to modern spelling]:*

Inverawe 28<sup>th</sup> May 1687

Affectionate Cousin,

I am hearing that it were likely that the production of the Vassal's Right would be over again at Edinburgh the first of June next, so I have written to Succoth and Mr. Colin McKean[?] to be attentive about it so I expect you will [re]mind them. And let you acquaint me in the meantime what is likely to be done in it, or of anything you hear of the Shire's affairs. I am very pressing about that account of Dunstaffnage's relict but it is likely no money can be got until Martinmass. I could not trust the bearer with these annualrents of your brother's and your own. I rest,

Yr. affectionate

Cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe

I have sent five shillings Sterling to get a little glass of Fountain's eye water, sold at Mr. Blackwood's at Edinburgh.<sup>96</sup>

*[Original spelling]*

Inveraw 28 May 1687

Affectionat Coossin

I am Hearing that it wer lyke tht the production of the vassals richt would be over again at edr the first of Jun nixt so I have written to Sockich & Mr Collin M<sup>c</sup>Keyin[?] to be tentative anent it so I expect ye will mynd them & lett you aquent me in the mean tym qt is lyk to be doon in it or of any thing ye hear of the shyres affairs I am very pressing anent tht compt of dunstaffnes relict bot its lyk no money can be got till martinmus I could not trust the bearer wt thes anualrents of yr brothrs & yr selfe I rest

Yr affectionat

Coossing

A Campbell of Inveraw

I have sent five shilling sterling to get ane little Glasse of ffuntans ey water sold at Mr blackwoods at edr.<sup>97</sup>

The eye water, presumably a soothing salve, suggests that Archibald's scrawl may have been partly due to poor eyesight or some infliction of the eyes. His mention of not being able to trust the bearer suggests that he may have had a new boy messenger, or one sent with papers or letters to him and whom he does not know well enough and so hesitates to trust. 'Messengers' or 'Boys' may rarely have carried cash, more often notes of Bonds, what would now be called an 'IOU.' The hill tracks on which they ran in those days before military roads attracted those who might exploit an easy target.

The repeated mention of 'Sockoch' in Archibald's letters about his papers in Edinburgh,

presumably refers to Campbell of Succoth, a family from the Dunbretan area. (now spelt 'Dumbarton'). John Campbell of Succoth, 4<sup>th</sup> of that place, had succeeded to the lands in 1665 when he came of age, although his father had died in 1658. He did well in the field of law in Edinburgh, and had married Janet Hamilton in 1670. When she died in 1675, he married as his second wife Agnes, daughter of William Stirling of Law. Looking towards his retirement in the west, in this year of 1687 he was negotiating the purchase of the house and lands of Garscube on the sylvan banks of the river Kelvin, northwest of Glasgow.

Around the fifth of June in that same year of 1687, Inverawe was again writing to Alexander in Edinburgh. 'Candlemas' was the Catholic Feast of the Purification of the Virgin on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February and, with Michaelmas, Martinmas and Whitsunday, persisted as 'term days' in the Scots legal calendar of the year. The Michael 'ruadh' and Col. Miller whom he mentions were the same he had mentioned on the 14<sup>th</sup> of April that year. The 'production' of the papers of Stronchormaig, Fanans and Achouran, clarifies the continued unity of the MacConnachie kindred and Archibald of Inverawe's leadership in matters affecting them all. Kilmartin would not have been included since at this point he held his lands from Inverawe.

*[Translation to modern spelling]:*

Affectionate Cousin,

Inverawe 5<sup>th</sup> June  
1687

I wrote to Mr. John Campbell that you had produced my proposals and Stronchormaigs' and Fanan's and Achouran's [papers], so if he lets you know, you are to go with him to the Clerk who marked them with the necessary year. If it is not already done, I entreat you to send me Donald McNockard's Commission [or] else I'll lose ... it so send it with the bearer. I sent you nine and a half dollars that you asked for the production of the writs with Ardchattan ... two year's annualrent of Wellwood's money and has gone off ... for Dunstaffnage which close, and what more you spent about the production shall be given when you acquaint me what it is current you write in your first letter yet there was some expenses of ... since Donald Morison's Disposition of these papers of Inveraray. I mean my Lord Marquess Disposition to him and mine to join my brother['s] are marked in Mr. Hays' Minute Book at Inveraray ... for it. And ... not let Mr. John's produce it again. Its his productions that are put to from first to last. If there be any men against me not [your?]self, but my respects to you and your bedfellow, I remain

Your affectionate Cousin

A Campbell of Inverawe

I am surprised with a letter I got from Mr. John Campbell of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of this last month, about your productions of our papers, so give an account to Mr. John that my papers have been rightly produced, for it seems that [they]... ..are mistake about it.<sup>98</sup>

*[Original spelling]:*

Affectionat Coosing

Inveraw fifth [?]June  
1687

I did wryte to Mr. John Campbell that ye had produced my proposals & Stronchormick's & Phanans & Achechuorans so if he cognize yow your to go wt him to ye clerk qt marked thm wt the necessar year if it be not don already I intreat ye send me Donald McNokard['s] Comision els Il [?]confirm] some ...ied him it so send it wt ye bearer, I sent ye nyn dollars



& half ye did desyre for the production of the wryts wt Ardchattan he ... wt tuo years annualrent of Wellwods mony & has went of[f] ... for Dunstaffnages which close & qt mor ye spend anent ye production shall be given qn ye aqwent me qt it is corants ye write in yr fors letter yt yr was som expenses ad since that Donald Morison's Disposition of the puaper[s] of Inveraray, I mean my lord Marquis Dispositon to him & myn to joyn my broyr ar marked in Mr Hays minute book at Inveraray Idd for it , & fyl ... not lett MrJoyn produce it again, Its here productions that ar put to from frist to last, If ther be any mens agnsnt me not self bot my respects presented to you & bed fellow I remiane

Your affectionat Coossing  
A Campbell of Inveraw

I am surprysed wt ane letter I got from Mr. Joyn Campbell of the 22 of this last month, anent yer productions of our peapers, so give ye ane acompt to Mr. Joyn qt my peapers hs been rightly produced for it seems qt it ... are mistake anent it.<sup>99</sup>

There is a suggestion in these letters that some in Edinburgh may have been calling for re-registration of documents so as to collect more fees, illegally. Later that summer, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of August, Archibald was writing again to Alexander in Edinburgh, this time from Inveraray. He was concerned about the confirmation of the Charter of the lands of Cruachan because the arrest, imprisonment and ultimate execution of the late earl had prevented that being processed.

[*Translation to modern spelling*]:

Inveraray 17<sup>th</sup> August 1687

Affectionate Cousin,

I received yours of the 4<sup>th</sup> of this Instant showing that the certification [concerning] the Vassals of Argyll was called, and that Mr. Colin McKean desires to produce our papers, whereof General Drummond thinks [it] strange that any clerk desired production after that they were all produced and booked by Mr. Hay, his clerk here. For he says had but Mr. Hay been spoken [to about] it, that he would prevent any production. However, whatever money you paid more [than] that nine dollars and a half that the clerks got, it shall be paid for any expenses thereby. Only acquaint me what it is. You say there was produced for me a charter under the Great Seal and another charter from Argyll for the lands of Kilmartin. Which charter of Kilmartin is confirmed in that same charter under the Great Seal, and its only a charter of the two merk land of Cruachan that you have that is unconfirmed, for it was the time that my Lord Argyll went from this town that it was called, so look to that, and he was immediately laid up in the Castle [imprisoned in Edinburgh] and then I could not get it confirmed, though it was not my fault. I have written to Welwood & Walker that I will send their annualrent till Whitsunday last immediately after this Fair at Stirling with one of my own men, since it was not paid for want of a trusty occasion to carry it.

Let me hear from you as you get occasion. I rest, Your affectionate  
Cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe<sup>100</sup>

[*Original spelling*]:

Inverary 17 august 1687

Affectionat Coosing

I received yrs of the 4 of this Instnt showing that the certifica'n agst the Vassalls of Argyll was cald & tht Mr Collin M<sup>c</sup>Keyin desires to produce our peapers, qr of generall Drummond thinks strage tht any clark desyrd production after tht they wer all produced

& booked be Mr Hay his clark heer, for he says had bot Mr Hay been spoken in it, tht he wold preveen any production however, qt ever mony ye payd mor as that nyn dollars & half tht the clarks got it shall be payd for any expense forby only aquent me qt it is, ye say ther was produced for me ane charter under the great seall & ane other charter from Argyll for the lands of Kilmarteen qch charter of Kilmarteen is confirmed in tht sam charter under the great seall, & its only ane charter of the tuell mark land of Cruachan tht ye have tht is unconfirmed, for it was the tyme tht my lod Argyll went from this toun tht it was cauled so look to that & he was immediately liad up in the castell & then I could not get it confirmed thoch it was not my fault I have written to Walwood & Walker tht I will send ther annualrent till Whitsunday last immediately after this fair of Stirling wt on of my oun men since it has not payd for want of any trusty oca'n I rest Yr affectionat  
Coosing

A. Campbell of Inverawe<sup>1010</sup>

The 'Fair at Stirling' would be a cattle sale, after which cash be carried back into Argyll by the drovers. There is a further suspicion here that a minor bureaucratic industry had developed over the matter of 'production of papers' on the part of those who recorded them. And was Archibald using 'the want of a trusty occasion to carry it' as a means of delaying payment of a debt? Nine days later, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of August 1687, Archibald of Inverawe was either still or again at Inveraray writing to Alexander in Edinburgh.

[*Translation to modern spelling*]:

Inveraray the 26<sup>th</sup> August 1687

Affectionate Cousin,

I received yours about your production of my rights whereof: I sent an answer with Ronald 'mor' MacDonald, drover, and as to that Charter of the lands of Kilmartin, it is continued in my confirmation... of land, the General adm[its?] how any rights were called for after that Mr. Hay, the clerk, had here for all our rights produced here, and he has them all booked. It seems we must always produce, but since it was Mr. Colin [who] desired [them], I am satisfied though I had not need of more expenses. Let me [know?] with the first occasion that [you hear of Lord?] Lorn's affairs. I will ... Mr. Welwood so soon as I am ... man there, resting [i.e. except for] annualrents.

Your affectionate

Cousin, Campbell of Inverawe<sup>1021</sup>

[*Original spelling*]:

Inveraray the 26 agust 1687

Affectionat Coosing

I received yrs anent your production of my richts Qrof: I sent ane answer wt Ronald mor m<sup>c</sup>Donald drover & as to that Chartour of the Lands of K[ilmar]teen its continued in my confirm'n [torn] of Land, the generall admea... how any richts was cald for after tht Mr Hay the clark he had heir got all our richts produced heir, & hes them all booked it seems we mest always produce, bot since it was Mr Collins desyr I am satisfied thoch I had not nied of more expenses lett me [torn] wt the first occa'n qt [torn] Lorns affairs I will [torn] Mr Walwood so soon as I am [torn] man ther Resting anuellrents

Your affectionat

Coosing

A Campbell of Inveraw<sup>1032</sup>

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of September Archibald of Inverawe was still or again at Inveraray and wrote again to Alexander in Edinburgh:

*[Translation to modern spelling]:*

Inveraray 7<sup>th</sup> September 1687

Affectionate Cousin,

I shall desire to hear from you to this place with the first occasion particularly what papers are produced for me, for I did not find mention in your letter of the production of an Assignation that one Donald Monson [Morrison?] did give me of some houses in Inveraray with a Disposition from my Lord Marquess of Argyll to him, and that [should] be produced amongst the rest that no advantage be taken against me or otherwise advantage may be taken of me for not production since they are so peremptory, and see that you have got back all the papers again. I rest,

Your affectionate Cousin

A. Campbell of Inverawe

Addressed: Alexander Campbell, Merchant in Edinburgh to be found at Mr. Clark's Chamber, Edinburgh.<sup>1043</sup>

*[Original spelling]:*

Affectionat Coossin

Inverary 7 Sepr 1687

I shall desyr to hear from you to this place wt the first ocaion particularly qt peapers ar produced for me, for I did not ffind mention in your ler of the production of ane assignation that ane Donald Monson did give me of som houses in Inverary wt ane disposition from my Lord Marqus of Argyll to him & tht be produced amongst the rest tht no advantage be taken agst me or other ways advantage may be taken of me for not production since they ar so premtor, & sie tht ye have gotten back all the papers again

I rest

Yr affectionat Coossin

A Campbell of Inveraw

[addressed: Alexander Campbell Merd in Edhr to be found at Mr Clarks Chamber Edhr]<sup>1054</sup>

Two days later, still at Inveraray, Hector Maclean of Kinlochaline was borrowing 50 merks from Inverawe, for which Hector gave him a Bond. The witnesses to the Bond were Archibald's brother John and 'Archibald Campbell, servitor to Inverawe.' Again, this was likely Archie, Inverawe's nephew and potential heir, the son of Inverawe's brother Duncan, the same who had been his servitor on Mull. He would likely now be aged about seventeen.<sup>1065</sup>

That November Archibald of Inverawe was at Tirvine from where he wrote again to Alexander in Edinburgh on the 21<sup>st</sup>. He again mentions his 'coffer' which would have been his Charter Chest containing all the valuable papers. Who Inverawe's cousin John at Edinburgh could be is not clear, but likely one of the Breadalbane family. Again he was concerned about what had become of Lord Lorn.

*[Translation to modern spelling]:*

Tirvine 21<sup>st</sup> November 1687

Affectionate Cousin,

Receive the enclosed account and speak to Wellwood & Walker to see if you can get the odd forty pounds that I am resting [holding] of his five pounds and three Scots merks down, and if I get that I'll pay him his principle at this term, viz at Candlemass next. He may have this next Candlemass annualrent down also, but if I get but the forty pound down of the principal I'll pay the rest, and I am sure there was never a worse penny worth nor I had for it.

Let you send me Nicol 'ruadh's son's Bond that I sent you to be registred, so send it. It's but needless that it be registered now. If you have your brother [Captain] Dougall's Bond, [let me know so] that I may pay what it [is] by run of his annualrent. And let me know what you heard last from Dougall, and what news else you hear and in particular of Lord Lorn. And let you get Welwod's Discharge for his annualrent till Candlemass last with a [torn] of [torn]

John my brother writes to me that you say I did not send none of the papers relating to Donald Monson in Inveraray. It's like[ly] you did not remember at such a distance, yet they were sent in that Coffe[r] [torn] However I have written to Mr. John Campbell writer at Edinburgh my cousin to send a [torn] of all papers that I sent... and to see if he gets them all out of the [torn] in his own custody, so be pleased to [torn] to the clerks & give him my Coffe[r] [torn] what [until?] they were before, for he is to be my agent there. You will find in the Coffe[r] notes of my papers and of Fanans' and [Achouran's] and of Stronchormaig [rest missing].<sup>1076</sup>

[Original spelling]:

Tirvine 21 novr 1687

Affectionat Coosing

Receave the Inclosed compt & speak to Walwood & Walker to see if ye can get the od forty pund that I am resting of his five pundes & thrie scots marks down & if I get that ile pay him his principale at this term viz at Candlesmas nixt He may have this nixt Candlesmus annualrent down also, bot if I get bot the forty pund down of the principall Ile pay the rest, & I am sure ther was never worse peny worth nor I had for it let you send me Nickell Roy son's bound that I sent you to be registerat so send it Its bot niedles tht it be regrat now If ye have yr brother Dugalls bound aquent me tht I may pay qt it by run of his annuellrent, & let me know qt ye heard last from Dugall, & qt neus els ye hear & in particular of Lord Lorn & let you get Walwoods discharge for his anell rent till Candlesmas last wt any [torn] of [torn]

John my brothr wrytes to me that ye say I did not send non of the peapers relating to Donald Monson in Inverary its lyk ye did not remember at such ane distance yet they wer sent in tht coff[er] [torn] However I have written to mr John Campbell wrytter at edr my coosing to send ane [torn] of all ...peapers tht I sent & to sie If he gets them all out of the [torn] in his own custody so be pleased to [torn] to the clarks & give him my Coffe[r] {torn} qt until they wer befor for he is to be my agent ther Ye will find in the coffe[r] nots of my peapers & of Phanans & [Achueran] & of Stronchormick... [the rest cut off the photocopy] <sup>1087</sup>

Also that month of November 1687, Alexander in Edinburgh did an accounting of funds sent him by Archibald for the processing of his papers that were still in Edinburgh. Again, the reason that Inverawe had been asking about Lord Lorne was that the Argyll lands were still in forfeiture, and had been since 1685. He would only have to wait until the next year. After his father and grandfather had died on the scaffold for their Protestant convictions, Lord Lorn had tried converting to Catholicism in order to gain influence with the Catholic King James so as to regain his lands. That did not work. Late in the following year he would try another gambit. However

despite a liberal reputation between the sheets, he had produced two very fine legitimate sons, John and Archibald.

There follows an account by Alexander Campbell, Merchant in Edinburgh, of funds sent by Archibald Campbell of Inverawe (d. 1705) to Alexander as his agent:

November 1687

Compt mony sent to Alxr Campbell from McConche (dated November 1687).

	£	s	d
Imp: for production of papers	27	ii	00
It: for the lady Dunstafnedge hir acctt	31	09	00
It: for the @rent of 560 marks scots for 2 yeirs Fro Candlemas 1685 til Candlemas 1687	44	16	00
Suma	103	16	00 <sup>1098</sup>

On the first of December Inverawe was again writing to Alexander Campbell, Merchant in Edinburgh. Again, Archibald was representing not only the branches of the Inverawe family like Achouran and kinsfolk by marriage such as Fanans, but also Stronchormaig. They were of the MacConnachie kindred and had been since some time in the late fourteen hundreds. They clearly knew that they were kin, but not exactly how. While the Stronchormaig family had a clear tradition of descent from Duncan *na Crosta* in Sceodnish, the Inverawe origin tradition had been lost. This continuing strong link of trust over their papers strengthens their sense of shared identity in their similarity of origin from the same Duncan as their MacConnochie eponym. What is also interesting here is to see Archibald of Inverawe trusting Ardchattan with funds or papers, since the two families had been in repeated conflict over fishing rights in the previous century. The tenement, now a house or land in Inveraray, appears to have been passed on to Inverawe's brother John who had long worked as a 'writer' there, and may later have been a merchant in Glasgow.

[*Translation to modern spelling*]:

Inverawe the 1<sup>st</sup> December 1687

Affectionate Cousin,

I wrote to Mr. John Campbell that he had produced my papers and Stronchormaig's and Fanans' and Achouran's, so if he requires you to go with him to the Clerk that marked them, it's necessary you go, if it be not done already. I entreat you send me Donald McNichol's Bond, or else I'll lose that sum contained in it, so send it with the bearer.

I sent the nine dollars and a half you dispersed for the production of the writs with Ardchattan together with two years annualrent of Welwood's money and payment of 31 shillings for Dunstaffnage's relict's clothes, and what more you spent about the production shall be given when you acquaint me what it is. Because you wrote in your first letter that there was some expenses. I did find that Donald Monson's Disposition of the houses in Inveraray, I mean my Lord Marquess' Disposition to him and mine to John my brother as marked in Mr. Hay's Minute Book at Inveraray. I did see it and if that serve not, let Mr. John produce it again. It's sure productions we are put to from first to last. If there be any news acquaint me. Naught else but my respects to you and your bedfellow. I remain,

Your affectionate Cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe

I am surprised by a letter I got from Mr. John Campbell of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of this last month, about these productions of our papers, so give an account to Mr. John that my papers have been rightly produced, for it seems he is under a mistake about it.<sup>1109</sup>

[Original spelling]:

Inveraw first decr 1687

Affectionat Coosing

I did wryt to Mr John Campbell that he had produced my peapers & Stroncormicks & Phanans & Achechuarans so if he require you to go wt him to the clark tht marked them its necessary ye go if it be not doon already I intreat ye send me Donald M<sup>c</sup> Nickells bound, or els Ile lose tht some contined in it so send it wt the bearer I sent the nyn dollars & half ye did diespurse for the production of the wryts wt archattan to gether wt tuo years annuellrent of Walwoods mony & payment of 31 ll for dunstaffnes relicts close & qt mor ye spent anent the production shall be given qn ye aquent me qt it is because ye wryt in yr first letter tht ther was som expenses I did ffind that Donald Monson's disposition of the houses of Inverary, I mean my lord marques disposition to him & myn to John my brothr as marked in Mr Hays minot book at Inverary. I did sie it & if tht serve not lett Mr John produce it again its sure productions we are put to from first to last if ther be any news aquent me not els but my respects presented to you & yr bedfellow I remain

Your affectionat Coosing

A Campbell of Inveraw

I am surprised wt ane letter I got from Mr John Campbell of the 22 of this last month, anent thes productions of our peapers, so give ye ane acompt to Mr John tht my peapers hes been richtly produced for it seems he is in ane mistke anent it.<sup>1110</sup>

On the 19<sup>th</sup> of December an inventory was made of the papers of Inverawe's, Stronchormaig's, Fanan's and Achourans's that were delivered to Mr. John Campbell and that had now gone on to Mr. Charles Oliphant on the 30<sup>th</sup> of July that year. Mercifully there have been some improvements in the processes of bureaucracies and law offices since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The registration of these papers had taken two years.

Inventory of papers delivered [to?] Mr. John Campbell 19 December 1687, headed 30 July 1687, delivered to Mr. Charles Oliphant

(Latin) : Charter of feuferm Duncan Campbell of Stronchormigg by Archibald Earl of Argyll, 17 October 1667

Charter, Arch. Campbell of Phanans by ditto. 21 November 68

Charter, Alexander Campbell of Achouran by ditto, 21 November 1668

Charter, Archibald Campbell of Inveraw, of lands of Kilmartin, by ditto, 30 May 1674

Paid for production of above to Charles Oliphant £11 14

Paid wth McConichies 6 11

To Mr Colin's man £2 . 18 , To Mr Oliphant £ 2 2.<sup>1121</sup>

List of the charters of Archibald Campbell of Fanans:

Not[e of] peapers be Ard Campbell of Fanis

1. Charter, late Earl of Argyll to said Ard. Campbell of the 5 merk land of phanis, Argyll, 21 Nov 1688

2. Sasine thereon (Duncan Fisher, notary) 24 Feb: 1669
3. Chartr granted be the Earl of Argyll to Eun Campbell of the sd five merk land dated 2 of Apryll 1601<sup>1132</sup>

Papers produced by Alexander Campbell of Achouran:

- i. Charter, the late Earl of Argyll to sid Alexander of the 4 merk land of Achaworean over, Lordship of Lorn, 21 Nov: 1668
- i. Sasine thereon (Duncan Fisher, notary), 7 Sept: 1669
- i. Precept of clare constat by deceased Earl of Argyll to John Campbell as son & heir to Ewen Campbell, of the 4 merk land of Auchaverean over & the merk land of Clachleash [Clachlea], Lismore, Lorn, 28 Aug: 1612.
- i. Charter by John Campbell of Cloichlea and Archibald his son to John Campbell son to Inverawe of the said lands of Achoulirran, 8 Dec: 1637
- i. Sasine thereon, 27 Feb: 1638
- i. Instrument of resignation of the said lands in favour of the said John Campbell, 29 Dec. 1629 (George Campbell, notary).<sup>1143</sup>

Once again, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of February 1688, Neil Campbell of Duntroon paid Mary McNeill's Jointure for 1686, and also £400 as her tierce for 1684, 1685, 1686 and 1687 and was given a Discharge signed by Archibald of Inverawe. The witnesses were Dougall Campbell of Clenamacrie and, once again, Archibald Campbell, Servitor to Inverawe. Clenamacrie at the east end of Loch Nell, was a Dunstaffnage place and Dougall a branch of that family. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of March 1688 at Tirvine, Inverawe again gave Neil Campbell of Duntroon his Discharge for Mary MacNeill's jointure for 1687. This time the Witnesses were Dougall Campbell, brother to Inverawe and Archibald Campbell, Servitor to Inverawe, again likely his nephew.<sup>11514</sup>

The situation of the unfortunate Campbells, perhaps also MacConnochies, at Auchacha[rne] was now developing further. On the 19<sup>th</sup> of June 1688 there was another Bond signed by Donald, brother of John Campbell of Auchacha, presently living in Over Knipoch on Loch Feochan in Lorn. The Bond was to Archibald of Inverawe for a loan of £100. On the same date at Stronchormaig [Glenfeochan] Donald gave another Bond to Inverawe for 43 merks. The witnesses were Patrick Campbell, son of Archibald Campbell of Stronchormaig, Donald Campbell, innkeeper at Kilmore, and Dougall Campbell 'son to the said Colin Campbell' [sic] although no Colin is mentioned.<sup>1165</sup>

Meanwhile in England the unpopularity of the Catholic James Stewart, King of Scots and King of England, had increased. His sister Mary had married William of Orange. Their son, also William of Orange, had married his cousin Mary, the daughter of King James by his first wife. Lord Lorn had gone over to the Netherlands and placed his loyalty with James' Protestant daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange. They were now preparing to move on Britain. In June 1688, after many miscarriages, James' Catholic wife Mary of Modena, gave birth to a son, later to be called 'the old pretender,' father of Charles Edward Stewart. The infant was also christened James, Jacobus in Latin, and from his and his father's names the term 'Jacobite' was derived for those who showed support for their senior but Catholic line of kings.

King James decision to flee in the face of Mary and William's arrival, was an astonishing choice, although a humane one. Some suggested that his breakdown was due to syphilis. However one comment was, 'our good King James was a brave and honest man, but the silliest I have ever seen in my life.' Of his successor, one author has written, 'William II/III, who dethroned him, was his

antithesis, a Calvinist, odious but not silly, and with a penchant for choirboys which protected his person from syphilis and his country from a Dutch heir.’<sup>1176</sup>

In Argyll meanwhile, without the leadership of an Earl of Argyll to mediate between the local and national scene, and to hold with consistency to the Protestant cause as they had done since the Reformation of 1560, and with the insecurity of the forfeited lands still hanging over many in Argyll, there was only an awareness that stability was threatened. John, the Campbell Earl of Breadalbane was ambitious for the leadership role and influenced his cousin Inverawe for the status quo and to hold to the side of James as the established king.

So Inverawe, or more likely his nephew Archie sent by Inverawe, appears to have joined with many of the non-Campbell leadership of the County to show support for James at a gathering. Now doubt many saw this as being the most likely course to assure their own security and that of those for whom they were responsible. There is a high probability that instead of attending personally, Inverawe sent his nephew [and ‘servitor’] to represent the family, since even the ardent Jacobite Lochnell would seem to have sent his own son, rather than attend the gathering himself. The idea of having a member of the family on both sides where the leadership of the communities was at stake was an old one in the

They were no doubt misguided by fear, for the situation was evolving in the opposite direction. However, on the 6<sup>th</sup> of November 1688, the gentlemen of Argyll who were in arms for King James, gathered at Kilmichael Glassary They were there to oppose a landing of William of Orange which had been expected for several weeks. They could not have known that the Williamites had landed the previous day at Torbay in Devon.

At Kilmichael the assembled Jacobites signed an address of loyalty to the Catholic King James, offering them their lives and fortunes, ‘which is that true holocaust which all true hearted Scotsmen will give to so good, so just and so great a Prince.’ It was later to be published in the London Gazette (No.2401). The list of signatories was in many cases garbled by the English printers, but it is fairly easy to identify most of them. Many who held their lands from the forfeited Argyll would have been expressing loyalty to the supposed existing sovereign in the hopes of receiving confirmation of their responsibilities. They include:

Cameron of Lochiel and his son:

John Cameron of Glendessary

A. Macdonald of Largie

A. MacAlister of Tarbert-Loup

J. Macalister brother to Tarbert-Loup

John MacDougall of Dunollie.

Robert Stewart of Appin

John Stewart, Tutor of Appin

The Laird of Macnaughton’s two uncles:

Maclean of Lochbuie, Younger

Ewan Maclean Yr. of Ardgour and his son Allan:

John Maclean of Tarbert (Torloisk’s uncle)

Maclean of Kingerloch;

Andrew Maclean of Knock (the poet)

Alexander Maclean (brother to Knock)

[He was Commissary of Argyll and who had in 1686 been granted the estate forfeited



by Campbell of Otter]  
 D. Macneil of Tainish (Donald Macneill of Gallachelly)  
 Alex MacKuthlar (MacArthur?)  
 Sir William Lathlane, Parl. of Kilmartine [a mystery?]  
 A. Campbell (Archibald Campbell of Inverawe or his nephew and heir)  
 [or Archibald his nephew and heir?]  
 A. MacLochinell (son of Campbell of Lochnell?).  
 N. Campbell of 'Tonerdust' (Torinturk?)  
 H. Campbell of 'Kiprasie'  
 C. Campbell of Inverae

NOTE:

Two of the Campbells have been identified by Paul Hopkins, author of *Glencoe* as the son of Campbell of Lochnell and Archibald Campbell of Inverawe. Both later, under the Earl of Breadalbane, were to take the lead in local Jacobite intrigues in 1689. Perhaps significantly neither had served under Argyll in 1685, Inverawe had been detained in the Tollbooth of Inveraray, whilst Lochnell is said to have joined Atholl in 1685 and to have robbed other Campbells.<sup>1187</sup>

The arrival of William and Mary was seen in the south as 'the glorious revolution' for the Reformed or Protestant religion. After a series of switches back and forth through the centuries, perhaps Britain could now settle down to a future in which the dogmatism of religion would less often stir the blood to slaughter. Yet the 'revolution' was awkward for Scots, since on the one hand the majority were for the Protestant cause which William and Mary represented, and yet Mary was set up as their queen without their being consulted. This most naturally rankled, and in some turned a weak view of James into a loyalty for what he presented. Others reminded themselves that Mary was descended from the Scottish Stewart Kings and accepted the odd circumstances. Frustration caused others to smash the Stewart tombs at Holyrood. The insecurity of the Lowland folk about the Highlanders, often produced an appearance of Lowland superiority that rankled. In reaction, Highland pride, a support of morale in a subsistence life, was hurt enough to strike back. Peace had not yet come.

The change of rulers had restored Lord Lorn to his lands and title as 10<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll. On that score, Archibald of Inverawe could now relax. But the backlash against William would come.

And life went on: On the 7<sup>th</sup> of January 1689, Archibald of Inverawe was at Fearlochan when he signed yet another Discharge to Neil Campbell of Duntroon for Mary McNeill's jointure, this time for 1688. The witnesses were Lachlan Campbell and James McGregor, Servants to Inverawe.<sup>1198</sup>

Archibald of Inverawe's uncle, Archibald *oig* Campbell, brother of Lt. Col. Dougall Campbell of Inverawe, who had looked after the lands of Largie for Argyll while MacDonald of Largie was forfeit until 1661, would seem to have died in 1689. There is a grave inscription at Ardchattan in the Inverawe enclosure: 'AC 1689.'<sup>12019</sup> This would appear to be Archibald *oig* Campbell, tacksman of Kilmorie in Kintyre. The likely proof is that in 1738, Malcolm McIlldonich, then tacksman of Lephincorrach, told the 1738 Commission to settle Largie-Argyll marches that for four years, from 1689 to 1693, he had been herd to Barbara Mcalester, widow of Archibald 'oig' Campbell, tacksman of Kilmorie.<sup>1210</sup> The use of 'og' or 'oig' in Gaelic is in this case a distinguishing mark to avoid confusion between father and son who were both called Archibald. In this case it means 'younger.'

In late April that spring of 1689, Archibald of Inverawe was at Breadalbane's smaller castle of Finlarig at the west end of Lochtay. The earl also had with him Alexander Campbell of Lochnell. They all three signed a letter to 'their cousin' Campbell of Barcaldine on the 30<sup>th</sup> of April 1689. They suggest the need for a meeting to discuss the affairs of the Shire of Argyll, the Earl of Argyll having gone to London: The meeting was to be at Inveraray on the 9<sup>th</sup> of May at 10 o'clock. They expect that Barcaldine will be there.<sup>1221</sup>

One of Breadalbane's agile messengers set off with the letter for Alexander of Barcaldine in his tower house of Barcaldine Castle. What he read was as follows:

*[Translation to modern spelling]:*

Worthy Cousin,

Finlarig the 30<sup>th</sup> of April

1689

We have met at this place where we are certified of the Earl of Argyll's going to London, and finding an urgent necessity in his lordship's absence that such of us as are generally concerned in the affairs of the Shire of Argyll should meet for [considering] the same, have thought fit to name Inveraray to be the place, and the day of meeting to be Thursday the ninth of May, judging that no shorter notice can be given to those that live [at] so great a distance. Therefore we entreat you to meet us there against ten o'clock that day punctually, seeing it cannot be convenient for us to stay long.

Together we [remain],

Your affectionate Cousins

Breadalbane

Alexander Campbell of Lochnell

A[rchibald]. Campbell of Inveraw

For Alexr Campbell of Barcaldine.<sup>1232</sup>

*[Original spelling]:*

Worthie Cusine

Finlarig the 30 Aprile

1689

We have met at this place where we are certified of the Earle of Argyles going to London and finding ane urgent neecessitie in his Lo[rship's] absense that such of us as are Generally Concerned in the affair[s] of the shire of Argyle should meett for conserting the same, have thought fit to name Inveraray to be the place, and the day of meeting to be Thursday the nynt of May, Judgeing [th]at noe shorter tyme can be given to those [th]at leive at soe great a Distance, Therfor we intreat you to meett us there againts ten aclock that day punctually seeing it can not be convenient for us to stay long

Together we rest

Your affectionat Cusine[s] &

humble servants

Breadalbane

A Campbell of Lochnell

A Campbell of Inveraw

Letter 30 April 89 from

My Lord – Lochinell & Inveraw

For

Alexr Campbell of

Barcaltin<sup>1243</sup>

Opposition to William and Mary was not long in awakening in Scotland. Thirty-year-old John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, raised his standard for the now exiled King James on Dundee Law in the spring of 1689 and for four months toured the Highlands raising support.

The Campbell Earl of Breadalbane, Inverawe's first cousin, had been leaning towards a Jacobite stance, but now that there was once again an Earl of Argyll he was seemingly not prepared to take a stand when so vulnerable. 'In May – June 1689, Breadalbane retired to Kilchurn Castle and declared that he was suffering from gout and would meddle on neither side... By late June, however, Breadalbane could see that Dundee's rising would not collapse...' 'The chief agents whom Breadalbane, 'sitting with soar foot at the fyr seyde' used in his preparations were three of his chamberlains, Barcaldine, Campbell of Inverryeldie [sometimes Inverzeldie] in Lismore, and Toshach of Monievaire in Perthshire; Campbell of Lochnell, the most zealous Jacobite, and Campbell (MacConnochie) of Inverawe.'<sup>1254</sup>

Then, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of July, Dundee and his Highland force descended on a government army under MacKay at Killiekrankie in Perthshire. There he was killed. Some Highlanders melted away, while others, led by the political or religious convictions of those to whom they owed loyalty, continued in the hills. MacIains of Glencoe and MacGregors, being fully armed, raided fiercely on their ways home. The Glencoe folk burned and drove off the cattle of Breadalbane's neighbour and kinsman Campbell of Glenlyon and his people, while the McGregors raided the prosperous lands about Comrie including those of Campbell of Abruchill.

However Dundee's efforts had focused ideas about the change of leadership in Britain among Highland people and made them seem disturbing. And certainly, King William's main concern was not Britain but to use the country to recruit troops for his European wars with the French. His policies for Scotland would only serve to increase dissatisfaction, leading to further Jacobite disturbances in the future. But for Breadalbane and Inverawe the time had come to secure their situations by a demonstration of loyalty to William and Mary.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of September 1689 at Edinburgh, Archibald of Inverawe, Lochnell, Inverryeldies and Duncan Toiseach of Monzievaire attended the Privy Council to give their oaths of loyalty to William and Mary:

'Anent a petitione given in to the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council be [by] Alexander Campbell of Lochnell, Archibald Campbell of Innerawe, Alexander Campbell of Innerzeldies and Duncan Toshach of Monievaire, shewing that wher the petitioners were attending upon the saids Lords in the outer roume in order to receive the benefite of his Majesties indemnitie, and therefore humbly craving the saids Lords to call the petitioners and allow them the benefite of the said indemnitie, the Lords of his Majesties [Privy Council] having considered the above petitione, they grant and allow the petitioners the benefite of the indemnitie, they swearing and signeing the oath of alledgance, and granting bond and finding cautione to live peaceably and with all submissione to the present government under King William and Queen Mary, and that they shall not act, consult or contrive anything against them nor converse or corospond with the rebels or others they know to be acting, consulting or contriveing any thing against the present government.'

The size of the Bonds they were to pay in as surety for their good behaviour were outlined with those who were to stand 'caution' for them:

The said Alexander Campbell of Lochnell under the penaltie of any thousand pund sterling and Thomas Campbell of Skipnadge to be received as cautioner; the said Archibald

Campbell of Inneraw under the penaltie of five thousand merks and allowes Archibald Campbell of Torbreck [Tarrantuirc?] to be his cautioner; the said Duncan Toshach of Monievaire under the penaltie of two thousand merkes, and allowes John Campbell of Claffick [Clathic] to be his cautioner, and the said Alexander Campbell of Innerzeldies or Barracarren under the penaltie of ane thousand merkes, and Mungo Campbell of Burnbank to be his cautioner.<sup>126</sup>

The Council then ‘remitts to the Earle of Annandale, Lords Yester and Carmichaell to administrat the oath of alledgance to them and the other persones craveing the benefite of the Act of Indemnitie, and to receive their cautioners.’<sup>1276</sup> A merk was two thirds of a pound Scots, and a pound Scots was one twelfth of a pound Sterling, so the sterling amount for Inverawe would have been about £277.78, or over £30,000 in the funds of 2000.<sup>1287</sup>

‘Jacobites flocked to Edinburgh to take the indemnity before it expired on 10 September [1689]. They included several lowland gentry from Angus and Aberdeen; peers from the same area such as Strathmore, who had sympathised with Dundee but had not risen; Lord Livingstone, who nearly had; some McAlisters from Kintyre, a sign that Sir Alexander Maclean’s regiment was disintegrating; and Breadalbane’s chief Campbell subordinates in plotting his rising.’ These last including Archibald MacConnochie Campbell of Inverawe.<sup>1298</sup>

The following February the 24<sup>th</sup> of 1690, Archibald Campbell of Inverawe was again writing to his cousin and agent Alexander Campbell, Merchant in Edinburgh. This time as he wrote, he was securely perched in the tower his grandfather had built in the walls of the old castle on the island of Froach Eilean on Loch Awe:

*[Translation to modern spelling]:*

Fraoch Eilean 24<sup>th</sup> of February 1690

Affectionate Cousin,

I hear that Mr. McLean the Commisary’s brother was speaking to you about some money that I should be paying him. It’s true I did give him a blank Bond in two hundred merks, so I know not what name is [shown] holding in it [now], but in the meantime be pleased to give him fifty merks or forty pounds in his present condition and take his receipt in part payment of my blank Bond given [by] me to him, and I shall send it to you with the first sure hand, [when you are] sending me his receipt.

Your brother and friends are well. I rest,

Your affectionate cousin,

Campbell of Inverawe<sup>1309</sup>

*[Original spelling]:*

Ffrechelan 24 februy 1690

Affectionat Coosing

I hear that M<sup>c</sup>Lean the comissars brother was speaking to you anent som mony tht I should be resting him Its trew I did give him ane blank bound in tuo hunder merks so I know not what name is holding in it, but in the mean tym be pleased to give him fyftie merks or fortie pund in his present condition & take his reecat in part payment of me blank bond given to me to him & I shall send it you wt the first sure hand yet sending me his reecat yr brothr & friends ar well I rest

Yr affectionat Coussing

A Campbell of Inveraw<sup>1310</sup>

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1690 a battle took place on the Haughs of Cromdale near Grantown on the Spey, and there government forces defeated the last of the Jacobites who had risen under Dundee.

The gradual shift from a barter economy to one where cash was more important had begun. This created inevitable strains on people in the Highlands where the cattle trade with the Lowlands and England were developing and bringing more cash into the country. Signs of financial strain were beginning to show for Inverawe. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1690 he was borrowing funds from Robert Brown, merchant in Inveraray. Robert, then 33, was son of William Brown who was Provost of Inveraray. William was then 87 and would live to be 108. Archibald's cautioner for the loan was his half brother Dougall Campbell who would later be 'of Nether Rudall' and meanwhile he held a tack of the Inverawe land of Tirvine. He would spend much of his life as Baillie of Nether Lorn for Breadalbane.<sup>1321</sup>

As already mentioned, the late Alan Campbell in Barnaliam had been a younger brother of Lt. Col. Dougall of Inverawe and so Archibald of Inverawe's uncle. He had left a widow Janet Colquhoun who survived him. Sadly, she became deranged and, typically, a number of members of the kindred contributed to her keep. Her son Patrick in Barnaliam had looked after her for a long time, but as her mind gave way, it was more and more difficult for him to take proper care of her and carry on his farming life. On the 5<sup>th</sup> of December 1690, Patrick gave a Discharge to acknowledge receipt from Archibald Campbell of Inverawe of 60 merks Scots, in the name of Alexander Campbell and Dougall Campbell, for 'my mother's boarding,' from Lammas tide 1690 to Lammas 1691. He signed this at 'Burnaline' [Barnaliam]. The witnesses were Neil Campbell who wrote the Discharge and Duncan Gray, a servitor to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe.<sup>1332</sup> Besides Inverawe, Alexander had sent funds from Edinburgh and Captain Dougall from London.

As a 'Heritor' or one who inherited the responsibility for caring for the communities on granted lands, Archibald of Inverawe was obliged to collect, and contribute to, the funds to pay for the minister, the manse, church and glebe or field for the minister's cow. These funds were known as 'tiends.' Sometimes he would be paid by a Bond, in this case by by Duncan Campbell, fiar or heir of Asknish for the delivery and payment of certain tiend victual of the lands of Kilbride. The witnesses were Duncan's father Iver Campbell of Asknish, his brother Donald and Malcolm Campbell. They were of the McIver (pron. McEEver) Campbell family from whom Arthur, the great-grandson of Archibald's heir, would buy the lands he re-named Arduaine. The Bond was signed at Kilbryde near Lerags on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August 1691.<sup>1343</sup>

Finally, in 1692, Argyll received legal right to the Maclean lands and castle of Duart over which his father had striven so long. Their motivations had been various. One was to bring peace to an area of conflict, over the religious or Jacobite issue, and yet they had at times engendered conflict as a tool themselves. Another may well have been the pressure to provide land for the younger sons of the now numerous Campbells who could afford to provide them with some education. This could have been seen both as charity to their own but also in spreading minor legal abilities and literacy in order to ease governance. Archibald of Inverawe would play a significant part in administering both Duart, the collection of Mull rents, and the assignation of tacks on the Maclean Mull lands.

And again, in the spring of 1692, Archibald was accepting another Bond for tiends at Kintraw below the Beallach Mor at the head of Loch Craignish, this time from Archibald Campbell of Barbreck for some 'tiend duties' or payments for the Kirk that were due by him. The Bond was signed on the 26<sup>th</sup> of January 1692. Inverawe was likely on his way in the raw winter weather to

or from Kilmartin at the time. His brother John was with him and was one of the witnesses.<sup>1354</sup> The Williamite policy for Scotland would see its most ruthless incident a week later, when government forces planned and bungled the infamous ‘Massacre of Glencoe.’ What is seldom mentioned in modern reviews of the slaughter was that many of those who escaped, are most likely to have done so to the security of Campbell of Inverawe land, where Archibald’s tacksmen the MacDonalds of Dalness looked after the Forest of Buchaille Etive for Inverawe. Since the head of the glen was not blocked, as had been intended, it is said that many escaped by that route. The only nearby succour that could be found in that direction lay at Dalness. And MacDonald in Dalness was himself a Glencoe McLain.

As has most recently been acknowledged, the massacre was undoubtedly a government rather than a ‘clan’ event. Even the captain of the company that was billeted on the Glencoe people was unaware until the night of the action what their task was to be. The order delivered to Glenlyon, the company commander, was personally signed by King William. Even in those days, that was an unheard of event. The orders specifically threatened him personally. Glenlyon was only in the army due to being ruined by the deprivations of these very Glencoe MacLains, yet they were also his kin.

No doubt the news came down Loch Etive to Inverawe, but not a word of that has survived. Archibald’s earlier alliance with McLain of Glencoe does survive. The massacre served notice to all of government ruthlessness. Archibald of Inverawe perhaps felt a chill of fear at the news, given his earlier Jacobite actions with Breadalbane.

That April Inverawe’s brother John was over in Edinburgh delivering funds to their cousin Alexander the merchant. On the 22<sup>nd</sup> Alexander signed a Discharge for John to Inverawe stating that he had received from John Campbell in name of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe 300 merks Scots, received from the Chamberlain of Muckairn for annualrents due to ‘my brother’ Capt. Dugall Campbell by Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder [Cawdor].<sup>1365</sup>

Cawdor was seemingly renting back from Captain Dougall the merchant in London some lands the Captain had earlier bought from Cawdor.

That spring a type of Census was taken to account for the number of men and boys between sixteen and sixty who could be called out for defence. They were known as ‘the fencible men’ and the list for the MacConnochie lands of Inverawe and others gives an idea of the male population. ‘Dow’ is here short for Dougall. The names illustrate clearly how almost all are patronymics other than MacConnochie or Campbell, the Campbell people being mainly those related to the kindred responsible for the communities. The list is dated on the 26<sup>th</sup> of May 1692.

Most of the younger branches of the MacConnochie had moved to Kintyre when Archibald of Inverawe’s father and his brother Archibald *oig* had been caring for the MacDonald of Largie lands between 1648 and 1661. They were obliged by Argyll not to give tacks to local people and therefore brought in their kinsmen, most of whom stayed in Kintyre after the end of the forfeiture, although now all on Largie lands. Numbers of their descendants still live in Kintyre into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

*Parish of Baliveodan.*

Lands pertaining to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe.

<u>Farmtoun</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Farmtoun</u>	<u>Name</u>
Inveraw	Ard Campbell at Bunaw Johne Campbell ther Donald oig McIlechonill Johne mc andra Johne mcEune oig Neill Craford Duncan mc Ilechonill Donald mc Gilespick vc Ilepatrik Donald mc Andra Donald mc Ilechonill past sixtie	Inverelane  Invercarnan  Drumchuish  Nether Drumchuish	Johne mc Cavish Alexr mc Alister vc Insh Johne mc Ileyongart Johne mc Alister roy Donald mc Gilmichall past sixtie John mc Gilemichall his sone Ard mc alister vc Doull vc allan Duncan mc Gilespick vc lauchlane Ard mc an Vane past seventie Neill munro
Brandrie ffibwly	Lauchlane Campbell Gilbert mc Beane		
Dalincro	Alexr mc Intyr \ past sixtie Donald mc kilip		

*Lands pertaining to Duncan Campbell brother-german to Inverawe;*

Glenoa	Duncane mc Intyre past sixtie Donald mc intyre his sone Callom baine mc Intyre Gilpatrick mc Nicoll	Duo	Duncan Dow mc Intyre Duncane mc Gilepatrik vc intyre Donald mc Intyre Ard mc no Card past sixtie
Barnadeis	Duncan mc Calom Ard mc Calom Alexr mc Calom past sixtie	Crunachie	Malcolm mc Intyre Ard mc intyre John mc Andra John mc Gilechrist vc intyre Gilcrist mc intyre past seventie
Barhalchan	Euaine Campbell Donald mc kenrick		Duncan mc Phail John mc Bean Donald mc no Card
Kenlochettiff	Johne Campbell Allane Campbell		
Invergusichan	John mc Kendrick past seventie John mc Illespick vic Intyr		

*Innishail and Part of Kilchrenan - Mc Conechie property*

Cruachan	ffergus mc kerris John mc kerris Allexr mc Arther Dow: mc Illevory Dun: mc phersone Dun: mc Ilerrine John mc kay Dow: Campbell	Corbuy Barnaleine  Ardechine	Mallcollum Carsell Hew mc kay Allexr mc Arthor Dun: mc Cosam Dun: mc Clullich Gillies mc Illeis Don: mc Callum Callum mc Callum
Barmaddie	Neill Carsell Don: Campbell	Buchell	Ard Campbell Dun: mc keich John mc killip

Auchleine	John mc keich	Drumvrk	Pat; mc phederan
	ffinlay mc keich		Nicoll mc phederan
	Dun; Campbell		Don; mc bean
	John Campbell		Dun; mc bean
	Don; mc keich		John Campbell
	Dun: mc bean		Dun; mc Arthor
	John mc phadean		Pat: mc Nokard
	Don: Miller		Dow: mc Arthor
	Dun : mc Gregor		Pat; mc Arthor
	Dow: munro		John mc Inturner
Phanans	Neill munro	Barindryan	Gilbert mc Nokard
	John Campbell	Ardbrecknich	Dun: mc Nokard
	Hew Campbell		Pat: ferguson. <sup>1376</sup>

The 107 men listed did not include Archibald or his brothers Duncan and John or the heir Archibald. The listed Archibald Campbell at Bunaw was the innkeeper whose grand heraldic table tomb survives in Taynuilt kirkyard. ‘Johne Campbell ther’ meaning at Inverawe, was likely the tacksman listed elsewhere as ‘John Campbell in Inverawe.’ The other Campbells listed first at the farmtouns; Lachlan at Branrie, John and Allan at Kinlochetive, Archibald at Buchell and John at Fanans, may all have been tacksmen related to the family, but that is conjecture. At Fanans, Archibald McAlastair McEun Campbell of Fanans is not mentioned, so John would likely be his tacksman or farm servant.

Once again, at the end of October 1692, funds were being taken from Inverawe to Edinburgh and acknowledged with a Discharge by Alexander the merchant. This time to his brother Patrick Campbell in Barnalian. On the 31<sup>st</sup> of October 1692 at Edinburgh, Alexander acknowledged receipt from Patrick Campbell, ‘my’ brother, in name of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe of £296 Scots, £200 being of annualrents received for Capt. Dugall Campbell, ‘my’ brother from Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder’s Chamberlain of Muckairn, and £96 for the price of a horse belonging to ‘my’ brother Dugall and sold by Archibald.<sup>1386</sup> Archibald of Inverawe and some of his extended family and kin spent that Christmas of 1692 at their tower house in the old castle of Fraoch Eilean on the island in Loch Awe. The great hall took up a whole floor of the building, fifteen feet across and forty-four feet long with a great fireplace at one end. Part was likely divided off with a screen behind which the food preparation took place. The floor below was for storage with possibly a kitchen. Above was space for sleeping, likely in those days a ‘men’s room’ and a ‘women’s room’ and one for Archibald and his wife. Inverawe’s cousin Patrick in Barnalian was now being called ‘in Kilmun’, another place about half a mile north and a tip east of Barnaline. Before the Reformation, St. Munn had been the patron saint of the Lochawe–Argyll family, while that of the MacConnochie Campbells had been St. Martin of Tours, no doubt due to their likely eponym Duncan being fostered in Kilmartin.

That Christmas Day Patrick and his family were also present. Presumably before any festivities, he signed a Discharge stating that he had received from Archibald Campbell of Inverawe 180 merks Scots on behalf of Alexander Campbell ‘my’ brother, indweller in Edinburgh; and also £40 Scots in part payment of ‘my’ mother’s boarding. Dated at ‘ffrecheline’ [Fraoch Eileain] on the 25 December 1692, witnessed by Dougall Campbell, fiar of Stronchormag and Alexander Campbell ‘uncle sone to’ Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, writer hereof. Alexander was likely the son of John, brother of Lt.Col. Dougall of Inverawe. Young Dougall MacConnochie Campbell, heir to Stronchormag was the member of his family who would start to use the name Glenfeochan as



much as Stronchormraig for their lands in the parish of Kilmore at the head of Loch Feochan. The fact that the three surviving families of the MacConnochie Campbells were together at Fraoch Eilean on Christmas Day makes one wonder whether perhaps it had been an annual custom for their kindred since Archibald's grandfather had the tower there built in the first quarter of the century.

Although in those days 'New Year' was celebrated in March, the extended family must have stayed on after Christmas, because Archibald wrote on: 'Fraoch Eilean 7<sup>th</sup> January 1693.

'I got up my Bond to Mr. Blackwood for an hundred and twenty pounds Scots in lieu of the foresaid sum paid by me to Patrick Campbell for his brother Alexander being the like value. A. Campbell of Inverawe' <sup>1397</sup>

Early in the spring, Patrick was short of meal, as was often the case in the spring of the year. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 1693 he wrote to his cousin Dougall, brother to Archibald of Inverawe. He wrote from his new place at Kilmun, north along Lochawe from his former place at Barnalian. Dougall would be Bailie of Nether Lorne and later of Shirvan. Due to the content of the following letter after this one, it is clear that this Patrick Campbell is the son of Campbell in Barnalian and the same who was at Fraoch Eilean for Christmas in '92.

*[Translation to modern spelling]:*

At Kilmun 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1693

Affectionate Cousin,

Be pleased to send me with the bearer hereof that hundred merks that I got my brother to order for and receiving obligation from the bea[rer]. And also my brother orders [that] I stand in need of three or four bolls of meal and hope [you] will trust me the said meal until Lammas next. And send me word with the bearer what is your selling price.

This is all at present. With love to your self and your Lady, [I] rest,

Your affectionate cousin,

P. Campbell.<sup>1408</sup>

*[Original spelling]:*

At Killmun 03 March 1693

Affectionarr Cussine

Be pleased to send me wt the bearer hearof that hunder mark tht I gott my Brother order for and receiveing obligation from three bea and alsoe my Brother orders I stand in need of three or four boalles of meall and hope will trust me the sd meall till Lambas nixt and send me word wt the bearer what is yor sealing pryce This is all at prit with Lov to your self and yor Leady rest,

Affectionatt Cussine

P. Campbell <sup>1419</sup>

On the 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1693 Archibald of Inverawe was at Tirvine where he addressed a letter to Alexander merchant in Edinburgh, Patrick's brother and also brother of Captain Dougall Campbell in London. Their mother had gone off her head and was out of control and a major problem for the family:

*[Translation to modern spelling]:*

Tirvine the 10<sup>th</sup> May 1693

I have used all endeavours about your mother but none in this country would take

her in boarding and as for your brother Patrick, it's not possible he can keep her with him and his wife. So he is gone himself with her yesterday to [the] Lennox and brought a quarter year's boarding. He had her for four years and he got from me sixty merks a year and as ninety[?] the last. And he got before from Captain Dougall or else from yourself, a hundred merks, so in all he has got for four years until the first of August next, two hundred and twenty merks.

Let me hear from you and if that MacLean comes to Edinburgh, give him my letter and as this boy comes from Edinburgh, see if Colin Campbell, Argyll's Chamberlain, has anything to write to me in answer to some letters I sent him. And acquaint me what you hear of our brother Captain Dougall. Naught else at present, but my respects to yourself and your bedfellow. I remain,

Your affectionate cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe.

Speak also to Ronald Campbell, Writer at Edinburgh, that I sent him two letters lest the one should miscarry to show. I send a boy to Ludovick Drummond to come and receive his money and see if he has anything to write to me also.

Let you remember Colin Campbell Argyll's Chamberlain about the Baron of Achacha that you speak about it to the Earl of Breadalbane. And give Colin my letter. Deliver this other packet to Mr. John Campbell, Writer in Edinburgh, together with a letter to him.<sup>1420</sup>

*[Original spelling]:*

Tirvine the 10 May 1693

I have used all Indeavours anent yr mothr bot non in this country would take bording out of her & as for yr brothr Patrick Its not possible he can kiep her wt him & his wyff, so he is gon himself wt hir yesterday to lenox & brocht ane qrtr years boording wt him She is wt him three years & three qrtrs bot since ye pays her Quarter boording he hes her for four years & he got from me sextie mrks the year & as ninty[?] the last, & he got befor from Captain Dugall Or els from yr self ane hundr marks so in all he hes got for four years till the first of agust nixt tuo hundr & twenty mrks Let me hear from you & if tht Mclean cum to edr given him my Letter & as this boy coms from edr sie if Collin Campbell Argylls cchancerland hes any thing to wryt to me in ansuer of som letters I sent him & aquent me qt ye hear of yr brothr Captain Dugall not els at prit bot my respects to yr self and yr bed fellow I remain

Yr Aff Coassin

A Campbell of Inverawe

Speak also to Ronald Campbell Wrytter at edr that I sent him tuo lrs lest the on should miscarry to show I send any boy to Ladoveck Drumond to com & receave his mony & sie if he hes any thing to wryt to me also

Let you remember Collin Campbell Argylls chanerlane anent the barran of Achacha tht ye speak anent it to the Earle of Bradalban & give Collin my letter delyver this uthr packet to Mr. John Campbell wryter at Edr together wt ane Letter to him.<sup>1431</sup>

This is an intriguing letter, leaving more questions than answers. Ludovic Drummond sounds as though he was a well known figure, but he dos not appear in reference works. The 'Baron of Achacha' would seem to be Campbell of Achacharne, since he is so mentioned in later letters. Later still, when Inverawe was settling his affairs and writing about him, he called him 'The Baron of Acha.' This seems to refer to Acha, also known as Achacharne, in Benderloch, and not the place of a similar name in Glen Leiver on Loch Etive.

Alexander the merchant had now been elected as a Baillie of Edinburgh. A Baillie was like a

Burgess or an established member of the business community. He was keeping account of his brother Captain Dougall's income from his lands in Argyll. Possibly Dougall had an idea of retiring there some day. The account was from Whitsunday 1690 to 93, Whitsun being the 15<sup>th</sup> of May.

'ffitted accompt by Ard Campbell of Inveraw wt Alexr Campbell burgess at Edr for what annuelrents was received by the sd Ard from Whitsunday M y<sup>c</sup> and Nynty till Whitsunday M vj<sup>c</sup> & nynty three belonging to Captain Dugall Campbell his bror

	lbs	
Charge for the sd three yeres is	0720	- 00 - 00' <sup>1442</sup>

The cost of maintaining the widow of Barnalian was still being shared among the kin, which needed careful accounting. The costs from May 1689 to August 1693 were listed. There survives the Account by Patrick Campbell and Alexander for the boarding cost for their mother the incapable Mrs. Campbell, mother of Alexander Campbell, merchant burgess in Edinburgh, and Patrick Campbell in Barnaline and Kilmun, and Captain Dougall Campbell in London, plus several daughters:

Ffitted compt for four years from May eigty nyn till agust nynty three being in all four years on quarter charge of the wholl boarding during tht tyme

Is ane hunder marks yearly Inde	145 <sup>m</sup>	00	00
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Discharge

Imprimis received from Ard Campbell of Inveraw

Of moy [money] sent by Captain Dugall from edr to the sd Ard	100 <sup>m</sup>	00	00
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Item received from Ard Campbell of Inverawe

at tuo severall tymes of Captain Dugall's annualrent	120	00	00
--	-----	----	----

Item received from Arcd Campbell of Inveraw

in March 95 by ordour from Alexr Campbell my brothr	100	00	00
---	-----	----	----

Item alloed by Dugall McConchies brothr

Be ordour from the sd <u>Alexr my brothr</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>00</u>	<u>00</u>
--	------------	-----------	-----------

Suma received	420 <sup>mr</sup>	00	00
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Docket: acompt Patrick Campbell wt his brothr Alexr Campbell burges at Edr.<sup>1453</sup>

There is a Receipt dated at Inveraray on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of October 1693, signed by Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinglas, 'Knight Baronet,' to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, Alexander Campbell of Lochnell and Angus Campbell of Dunstaffnage, for certain Writs delivered to him in connection with a Bond by the said Archibald of Inverawe, Alexander of Lochnell, John Campbell of Carrick, the deceased Alexander Campbell of Dunstaffnage and Angus Campbell of Kilberry, to the deceased John Campbell WS, for £6,000 Scots, dated on the 15<sup>th</sup> of October 1681. This was of course the amount which they were obliged to put up as surety for their loyalty to the government on the eve of the 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll's imprisonment. The receipt was witnessed at Inveraray by Inverawe's half-brother Alexander Campbell of Kilmartin and by Colin Campbell in Inveraray. Inverawe would have been responsible for a fifth of £6,000, or £1,200 Scots. However it seems unlikely that at this point he was expected to pay, since the Receipt was for Writs, not cash.<sup>1464</sup>

Two weeks later, Archibald was enlarging his responsibilities by taking on a Wadset of more land. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of October Archibald Campbell of Barbreck granted a Wadset to Archibald Campbell

of Inverawe of the lands of Dalchelich in Glendore for 1,350 merks in security of Bonds listed. However it later turns out that this Wadset was only in security for a Bond.<sup>1475</sup> However, the very next day, a Disposition was signed at Kilmartin by Duncan MacGillise, to Inverawe, of his '2 merkland of Kilmun called Glenmeilshen with Tynabruaich and the ½ merkland of Tyghindaiker falling thereto in the parish of Kilchrenan.' The witnesses were Archibald Campbell of Barbreck and again, Alexander Campbell of Kilmartin. Why Inverawe needed lands in Cowal is not clear.<sup>1486</sup> Inverawe's brother Duncan, who must have been married for over twenty years to his wife Isabel, daughter of the late Patrick Campbell of Edinample, was now appointed to a position of trust. Edinample had been a younger son of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, so that besides Duncan, Isabel was also a cousin of Breadalbane's.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of January 1694, Elizabeth, Countess of Argyll, signed a Commission to Duncan Campbell, brother to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, and John Campbell in Falkirk, late Ensign to the Earl of Argyll's regiment, to be her Chamberlains and Factors to her in the Islands of Tiree and Coll. The witnesses to her signature were Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinglas, Colin Campbell, Sheriff Clerk of Argyll, and Colin Campbell in Inveraray. The position was no doubt well paid, but recent conflicts with the Macleans would not make the collection of rents an easy task. The Earl of Argyll and his wife had decided to live apart, and the Countess would move to Campbeltown where she would live quietly for the rest of her days. She was no doubt dependant on these rents for her income.<sup>1497</sup> John Campbell in Falkirk, 'late Ensign to the Earl of Argyll's regiment' in 1694, may well have served at Glencoe two years earlier.

At Duntroon, Patrick Campbell had succeeded his father Neill. Archibald was again at Fraoch Eilean on the 27<sup>th</sup> of January 1694 when he wrote a Discharge to Patrick for Mary McNeill's jointure and tierce for 1693.<sup>1508</sup>

By the 19<sup>th</sup> of February, Archibald had moved on to Inveraray, from when he wrote again to Alexander the merchant in Edinburgh:

*[Translation to modern spelling]:*

Inveraray 19<sup>th</sup> February 1694

Affectionate Cousin,

I find by a line from your brother Dougall that he desires your brother Patrick to settle with Mr. Moor, and that he allowed him to give down the annualrents and expense which he says is the third part of the sum, and after he got it that he would take Patrick's Bond for it, which Patrick is willing to do. But you having all these papers, and Rowallen, Mr Moore's brother whom they say does appear for his brother's debt, being at Edinburgh. So let you try Rowallen in this for you settled with John Yule for one debt of his brother's. And let me know what you say to it. You should speak to John *dubh* your uncle's son about your brother [Captain] Dougall's debt, then to write to me and you should do the like to McNaughtan. Naught else. I rest,

Your affectionate Cousin,

A Campbell of Inverawe.<sup>1519</sup>

*[Original spelling]:*

Inverary 19 Feby 1694

Affectiot Coosing

I fynd by ane line from yr brothr Dugall tht he desyrs yr brothr Patrick to sutle wt Mr Moor, & tht he allowed him to give down the anellrents & exspense Qtch he seys is the third

part of the sum, & after he got it tht he wold take Patricks band for it Qtch Patrick is willing to do, bot ye having all thes peapers & Rowallen Mr Moors brothr qn they say dos compar for his brothrs dept being at edr so lett you try Rowallen in this for ye sutled wt John Yuill so for ane debt of his brothrs & lett me know qt ye say to it ye should speak to John Dow yr Uncle son anent yr brothr Dugalls dept then to Wryt to me & ye should do the lyk to McNaughtan, not els I rest

Yr affect Coossing

A Campbell of Inverawe<sup>1520</sup>

John *Dubh* was the eldest son of the late Archibald *oig* Campbell in Kintyre. He would be, if he were not already, Campbell of Whitestone, a farm near Saddell on the east coast of Kintyre. His younger brother Patrick, known as 'Peter' became General Peter Campbell of South Hall on the Kyles of Bute.

The Moores or Muirs of Rowallen in Ayrshire were connected to the Loudoun family by marriage. Rowallen is a handsome old house, unusual as it appears as a castle, having narrow round towers flanking the entance door at the top of a long flight of steps. The house is not a vertical 'tower house,' but quite long. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century it must have been a fairly prosperous estate. The Earl of Argyll settled younger sons of the Moores in Kintyre. The earl's motive was that their more advanced Lowland farming methods would influence the local use of land. They were one of a number of Ayrshire families provided with grants of the level ground between Campbeltown and Machrihanish.

Then, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of February 1694, the work in sorting out the affairs of John Campbell of Achacha began. Earlier the place had been spelt Achacharne and later it was reduced further to Acha. On that date John of Achacha signed an Interdiction with his son and heir Archibald Campbell, fiar thereof, 'his eldest lawful son and apparent heir, in favour of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, Duncan Campbell his brother german, Duncan Campbell of Stronchormaig, Dougall Campbell fiar thereof, and Dougall Campbell of Clenmacrie, dated at Auchacha.' The witnesses were Colin Campbell of Inveresragan, Alexander Campbell his brother and Lachlan Campbell indweller in Brunrie.<sup>1531</sup> All of those named in the Interdiction were of the MacConnochie kindred, with the exception of Dougall of Clenamacrie who was of the Dunstaffnage kindred. Of the witnesses, the Campbells of Inveresragan were a branch of the Ardchattan kindred and Lachlan we have already met at Branrie when he was listed among the 'Fencible men.' In Scots law an interdiction can be the same as an injunction. What seems likely is that Achacha had got himself into debt with all of his kin and they were pressing for payment. He was already liable for the liferent of his brother Lachlan's widow.

Meanwhile, Inverawe was again at Tirvine when on the 28<sup>th</sup> of March 1694 he signed another Discharge to Patrick of Duntroon for Mary MacNeill's jointure for 1693.<sup>1542</sup>

But the issue of John of Achacha's affairs would continue. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of May those named in Achacha's Interdiction, including Inverawe, Stronchromaig and the others, put forward an Inhibition against John Campbell of Auchacha. An inhibition was like a restraining order. Since it was evidently also like a horning, this makes clear that it was an issue of debt.<sup>1553</sup> But they were not going to be ruthless since he was of their kin. So on the 8<sup>th</sup> of June John of 'Achachaw' gave a bond for £438-5s-4d Scots to Archibald of Inverawe, with the consent of all his Interdictors.<sup>1564</sup> This had the effect, presumably, of gathering all the debts into one and therefore making John only liable to Inverawe who, should he sell on the Bond to someone else, would be able to pay off the

others who were owed.

While this case was evolving. Inverawe's most distant Tacksman, Alexander MacDonald of Dalness, away near the head of Glen Etive, was negotiating to have a wadset of his lands there. This was only two years after the government massacre in Glencoe when many of the fugitives had braved a snowstorm to cross the high passes over to their kinsfolk at Dalness to find succour on Campbell of Inverawe lands. Although the document is a long one, the conditions, particularly relating to deer on the Forest of Dalness or Buchaille, of which Inverawe was hereditary Forester, are clearly spelled out and so worth outlining here.

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June 1694 at Bunaw, likely at the inn there, a Contract of Wadset was signed between Archibald of Inverawe and Alexander MacDonald in Dalness. The choice of Bunaw is interesting. The place was just down river from Inverawe and an Archibald Campbell who was the innkeeper there considered himself a member of the MacConnochie kindred. His wife would put what she considered the Inverawe arms on his table tombstone when he died. The stone survives at Taynult. Being near the tidal mouth of the River Awe, the inn was easily approachable by boat, and it would be by boat that MacDonald would most likely arrive from the head of the loch at Caenlocheteive. (Kinlocheteive on the maps). A family, who may have been kin of the Dalness family, had the lease of the stell-nets at the mouth of the Awe for a number of generations. These were wooden frames upon which nets were set and caught the salmon at high tide. All of which could be the reason that the parties met at Bunaw rather than at Inverawe. A 'kindly tenant' was one who was not limited to a 9 or 19 year tack, but had a fairly permanent right to the tack.

The Wadset was agreed by Archibald and his brother Duncan (of Crunachy) 'on the one part and Alexander McDonald, eldest lawful son to the umql [late] Alexander McDonald, kindly Doneleaser, tenant and possessor of the land of Dalness on the other part.' The price paid to initiate the Wadset was 1,200 merks. Inverawe set a tack of the land to MacDonald for 19 years, and within that time, should Inverawe choose, he could repay the sum of 1,200 merks [or £66.66 sterling], within the parish of Baleveodan and the lands would revert to him. What is likely was that this arrangement was seen by Archibald as virtually ensuring that the people for whom Inverawe was responsible in the communities on his lands would suffer no more raids from the young men of Glencoe whose tradition was that such raids were a normal experience of their coming to manhood. Now if they did raid, their kinsman of Dalness could lose their lands.

The Lairds of Inverawe had, at some far earlier date, been appointed Foresters or Keepers of the 'Forest of Dalness,' also known as 'Buchailleteive.' Since the position is not mentioned in any of the writs that survived in Archibald's time, it was likely from the previous century or before.

The Wadset to MacDonald in Dalness did not include the 'Forest' of Buchailleteive. But it included the position of Subforester for the Forest of Buchailleteive,

'for keeping and inbringing of the Deer, in and to, the said Forest, and killing of the samen Deer in about the said Forest as when desired or required by the said Archibald Campbell of Inveraw or his heirs ... or any having their orders and Command, and that MacDonald and his followers use and exerce [exercise] all and whatsoever things requisite and necessar for preserving and keeping of the Deer and killing of the Deer when desired or required as any subforester may do within this Kingdome with all Rights and privileges of the haill woods within the foresaid Bounds, and their Tenants and Cottars, to cut als much of the said woods als well fir as Oak, as will be requisite and necesar for Bridges and

erecting of new houses, or repairing old houses within the foresaid Bounds, together likeways with the Salmon Fishing in and upon the Water of Etive on both sides thereof from Craiginnarie to Cuibblie (except the marches of Inveraoline allenary) together also with the Tiends of the samen lands, als well parsonages as vicarages brock and stock thereof and Tiend Sheaver of the samen all by and in manner foresaid ...in the said lands etc....

This suggests that there was then more than a mere surviving remnant of the old pine forest, which today has a few lonely and immature trees by the river, fenced in the hope of regeneration.

The lands were to be held from Archibald for payment yearly the sum of ‘eighteen merks Scots money of feu on surplus duties with ten Merks Money foresaid to Tiend duties, and two Merks Money of dry multure yearly as long as Archibald or his heirs shall happen to keep a going Milne within the Bounds of Glenetive, all extending to the sum of Twenty pounds Scots money in feu, tiend, and dry multure, beginning the first years payment ... at and again the feast and term of Martinmas next to come...’ ‘Dry multure’ or meal was from oats that was hard to grow in shaded Glen Etive.

This was followed by the feudal requirement for;

‘hosting and hunting, not only of the said Alexander Macdonald himself and his heirs and successors, but also of the haill Gentlemen descended of the said Alexander... his goodsyr [as] many of them as will follow and obey the said Alexander... with the haill Tenants, Cottars, and Inhabitants of the said twenty Shilling land of Dalness, and that whenever they are called, desired or required thereto. And that upon the Cost and Expenses of the said Alexander ... for the first fifteen days of the said Hosting and hunting, and thereafter during the haill space thereof, upon the cost and Expenses of the said Archibald ... they being halways upon the head thereof and personally present, in ordering, conducting and managing of the said Hosting and hunting’ ...further Alexander is to relieve Archibald of all crimes committed in the lands of Dalness. Mention is made of the lands between ‘Lochanaline’ and the point of ‘Arduchras.’ Alexander MacDonald was assigned the right ‘to input and output tenants at their pleasure...’<sup>1575</sup>

Then, once again on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June 1694, Archibald was at Inveraray and writing to his agent Alexander Campbell the merchant Baillie in Edinburgh. Archibald seems a little irascible about the issue of Captain Dougall’s lands and the Bailie of Muckairn, Donald Campbell, since his advice about them was not taken originally, and tells Alexander to deal with them himself.

*[Translation to modern spelling]:*

Inveraray 26 June 1694

Affectionate Cousin,

I have sent you now as formerly an account [for?] your brother, [this would be Captain Dougall] so acquaint him as you think fit. He knew his case, the Bailie of Muckairn D... Campbell is at Edinburgh and so is young Caddell [Cawdor]. Two years now remains [owed] of your brother’s at Whitsunday last of annualrents, except the hundred merks got a little while ago. My advice was not followed in taking land from old Caddell, what need all right for your brother. So deal [with] them there. I remain,

Your affectionate cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe <sup>1586</sup>

[Original spelling]:

[torn] [?Invera]ray 26 Jun 1694

Affect Coosing

I h[ave] sent you now as formerly ane acompt from yr brothr so aquent him as ye think fitt [?H]e knew his cace, the bally of Mocairst D[onald] Campbell is at edr & so is young cade[ll] [Cawdor] tuo years now rests of yr brothrs at Whitsunday last of anuell rents, except the hundr mrks got ane little wheill ago my advice was not followed in taking land from old Cadell Qt nead all richt for yr brothr so deall them ther I remane

Yr Affect Coosing

A Campbell of Inverawe<sup>1597</sup>

Inverawe was again at Inveraray at the end of July when, on the 31<sup>st</sup>, he was witness to a tack by Archibald, 10<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll.<sup>1608</sup> Next day he was writing to Alexander the merchant in Edinburgh again.

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Inveraray 1<sup>st</sup> August 1694

Affectionate Cousin,

I did signify in my last to you that it was likely that the Bailie of Muckairn did not intend to pay your brother's annualrents. It's likely he is prohibited to pay it. I did also write to you that it was fit that you should speak to Mr. Moor's brother [Rowallen] that [compounds?] his brother's debt. So see if you can settle that particular of your brother's debt with him and acquaint me about it. You have Mr. Moor's papers which he got sent to you from me, and your brother Patrick can do nothing with Mr. Moor according to your brother's direction without the papers and a commission from Captain Dougall, but if you can agree with Mr. Moor's brother, it's far better. I rest,

Your affectionate cousin.

A Campbell of Inverawe.<sup>1619</sup>

[Original spelling]:

Inv[era]ray first agust 1694

Affect Coosing

I did signify in my last to you, tht it was lyk tht the bally of Mocairn did not intend to pay yr brothrs annuellrents its lyk he is prohibited to pay it. I did also wryt to you tht it was fitt tht ye should speak to Mr Moors brothr [Rowallen] tht conpons his brothrs dept, so sie if ye can sutle tht particular of yr brothrs dept wt him & aquent me anent it ye have Mr Moors peapers Qtch he got send you from me, & yr brothrs Patrick can do nothing wt Mr Moor according to yr brothrs direction wt out the peapers & ane commission from Captain Dugall, bot if ye can agreea wt Mr Moors brothr its far better. I rest. &c.

Your affect Coosing

A Campbell of Inveraw.<sup>1620</sup>

There is then no further word of Archibald of Inverawe until the first of December when once again he is at Inveraray signing a Discharge to Patrick Campbell of Duntroon for Mary's tierce for 1693. The witnesses were Dougall Campbell in Ardmaddie, likely his half brother who would be Bailie of Nether Lorn there, and John McIntyre, servitor to Inverawe. John was possibly one of the sons of McIntyre of Glen Noe, a neighbour up Loch Etive, perhaps even being fostered at Inverawe.<sup>1631</sup>



Less than a week later Archibald was back at Tirvine writing to Alexander in Edinburgh again.

[*Translation to modern spelling*]:

Affectionate Cousin,

I think as brother Dougall is ... with the Laird of Cawdor, it had been better for you to have taken my advice, for I advised him to take a wadset in Ichrachan from the old Laird. Now I find the young Laird is wadsetting Muckairn and if your brother would get the land of Ichrachan in his six thousand merks with power to reduce a croft that is called Tayinloan & Barfail, that is wadset to one of Cawdor's family who died the other year in seven hundred merks which Crofts are in the bosom of the land of Ichrachan, which is in all six thousand seven hundred [merks]. If he got this down he might see the bargain accommodated to the best advantage to him. So you may signify this to your brother and if it be a bargain betwixt you and young Cawdor, I would wish to be known to it to get it rightly accommodated, since I know the Laird best and how the bargain might be. It would be the w...at to speak to Mr. John Campbell in it if that once you did see your brother [as being] willing, so as you find occasion, acquaint me what his liability [opinion?] may be of this. I remain,

Your affectionate cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe

I have sent with Barcaldine five hundred and sixty merks to be given to William Walker, late Provost of Dunfermline, to whom you will get occasion, that he may deliver up my Bond together with a relaxation of the arrestment that was laid on it, so take my name from the Bond and send it with Barcaldine if you get it or his [torn –bearer?] come home. If not, send a receipt of what money I sent.<sup>1642</sup>

[*Original spelling*]:

Tirvin[?] 6 Jry 1695 [In modern dating January 1696]

Affectionat Coossing,

I think as brothr Dugall is ste... wt the Laird of Cadell, it had ben better for you to have taken my advice, for I advised him to take ane wadsett in Ichkrachen from the old Laird, now I ffind the young Laird is wadsetting Mocarn & if yr brothr would get the land of Ichkrachen in his sex thousand merks wt power to reduce ane craft tht is cald Tey in Loan & barefaill, tht is wadsett to on of Cadells family qo died the othr yeir in seven hundred mrk Qlk crofts ar in the bosom of the land of Ichkrachern Qtch is in all sex thousand seven hunder. If he got this doon he micht sie the bargon acomodat to the best advantadge to him so ye may signify this to yr brothr & if it be ane bargon betuixt you & young Caddell, I would wishe to be known to it to get it rightly acomodat since I know the laird best & how the burgon micht be. It wold be the w...at to speak to Mr. John Campell in it if that once you did see your brother ... willing, so as you find occasion, acquaint me what his liability may be of this. I remaine

Your affct coosine

A. Campbell of Inverawe

I have sent with Barcaldine five hundred and sixty merks to be given to William Walker, late Provost of Dunfermline, to whom you will get occasion, that he may deliver up my Bond together with a relaxation of the arrestment that was lid on it, so take my name from the Bond and send it with Barcaldine if you get it or his [torn –bearer?] come home. If not, send a receipt of what money I sent.

Your affectionate cousin

Archibald Campbell of Inverawe<sup>1653</sup>

Possibly Archibald's interest in Captain Dougall in London purchasing Ichrachan and the croft there may have had to do with the bounds of that land marching with Fanans or Inverawe across the river. Although this seems as though Archibald was finally paying off his long term debt to Wellwood and Walker in Dunfermline, some weeks later he would be sent a threatening letter about what he owed. He had taken advantage of Campbell of Barcaldine travelling to Edinburgh to send coin for the debt. Perhaps Alexander delayed taking action.

Among the Barcaldine papers in the National Archives, (GD170/608) there survives a letter from Archibald of Inveraw to Campbell of Barcaldine, dated at Inveraw on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 1695. Due to Breadalbane's ambitions, it was never easy to ride the fence of loyalty between him and Argyll. Argyll's brother Lord Neil had died, and Breadalbane wanted to buy the lands of Ardmaddy from his children. Inverawe had heard that Breadalbane was displeased with him, seemingly because of his concern for the widow Susan Menzies and the children;

Its trew I could wishe Lord Neill's children and the relict well, bot nothing to the Earle of Breadalban's prejudice ... ye may assure his Lordship that, although I would, I will nevir be for the prejudice of his family. I have been very jelus for the advancement of Argyll's familly, I wishe his familly nixt to it and wishes ane hapy understanding betuixt them. When Argyll did com to Inveraray from Flanders Last and was to put his affairs in ordour ... I proposed ... that the Earl of Argyll should nominat the Earle of Breadalban as oversman to regullat the esteat of Argyll, and I would pledge my oun fortoun for his lordship's fidelity to the familly of Argyll.

Patrick Campbell in Barnalian, also in Kilmun Lochawe, signed a Discharge to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe in name & behalf of Alexander Campbell 'my' brother, in part payment of Alexander and Patrick's mother's boarding during the time she stayed with Patrick, for 100 merks Scots. The Discharge was written by John McIntyre, who again appears as servitor to Archibald, & signed at Barnaline on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of March 1695 before Archibald McLachlan there & John McIntyre himself.<sup>1664</sup>

Discharge:

Patrick Campbell in Kilmun [& Barnalian] has received

Imper per Receipt from Alexr Campbell of	
The date 22 Aprill 1692	0200 – 00 – 00
Item be receipt from Patrick Campbell in	
Kilmun at his sevrall tymes	0800 – 00 – 00
Item per receipt from the sd Alexr of the date	
The last of October 1692	0100 – 00 – 00
Item given to Dugall Campbell brothr of the sd	
Archd by direction of the sd Alexr	0133 – 00 – 00
Item given to Patrick Campbell in Kilmun	
Per receipt 2 of March 1695	0066 – 00 – 00
Suma discharge is	<u>0680 – 00 – 00</u>
So rests	0040 – 00 – 00

Nota I am to pay the balance @rents to  
A. C. for my brothr<sup>1675</sup>

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of March 1695, Alexander Campbell the merchant in Edinburgh wrote to Archibald of

Inverawe asking him to pay to 'your' brother Dougall Campbell, later Bailie of Nether Lorn and of Shirvan, 200 merks Scots, out of annualrents received for 'my' brother Captain Dougall from the Chamberlain of Muckairn.<sup>1686</sup>

The next day at Inveraray, Archibald of Inverawe was witness to a Tack by Archibald 10<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll, to Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, of the lands of Aross and Morinish and others in Mull for nineteen years. Other witnesses included Lt. Col. Robert Campbell in Ardbrecknish and Colin Campbell, Sheriff Clerk of Argyll. The Tack was written by Ronald Campbell, son to Donald Campbell of Craignish.<sup>1697</sup> On the 20<sup>th</sup> of March, now back at his castle of Fraoch Eilean, Inverawe wrote yet again to his cousin and agent Alexander Campbell, Merchant Burgess in Edinburgh:

*[Translation to modern spelling]:*

Fraoch Eilean 20<sup>th</sup> March 1695

Affectionate Cousin,

I received yours and shall accordingly give two hundred merks to Dougall my brother which with the hundred merks I gave to Patrick your brother, does complete the annualrent of your brother's debts until Martinmass '93. Except that I did allow to the Laird of Cawdor's Chamberlain for the deduction of the annualrents [to] conform to the Act of Parliament [in] Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor's name as gratuity so that this can do no prejudice. So I have in whole fourscore pounds to clear the whole intromission of all the years that I meddled after that my brother gets at this time.

As for Mr. Moor's papers, you may well remember I sent them to yourself when I did see that John Cameron would do no good in it. So let you seal them out for certainly you have them which your own letter to me at the time declared. Naught else at present.

I remain, Your affectionate cousin.

A. Campbell of Inverawe.

Signed by Archibald but not written by him<sup>167</sup>

*[Original spelling]:*

Frechellan 20<sup>th</sup> March 1695

Affectionat Coossing

I received yors and shall accordingly give tuo hundreth mark to Dugall my brothr qch wt the hundereth marks I did give to Patrick yor brothr does Compleit the @ rent of yor brothrs Debts till Marts nynie three; Except that I did allow to ye Laird of Caddells Chamberlane ffor the deduction of ye @rents conforme to the act of parliat Sr Hew Campbell of Caddell did allow his Chamberlaine to give it back to me and only did give a receipt off ffourtie pound to him, in the Laird off Caddells name as gratuadie so yt this can doe no prejudice. So I have in wholl fourscore pouds to Cleir the wholl Intromissione of all ye years that I meddled after yt my brothr gets at this tyme as ffor Mr Mooors peapers you may weill remember I sent them to your self qn I did see qt John Cameron would doe no good in it So let yow seile ym out for Certanlie yow have ym qch yor own letter to me at the tyme Declared not else att pritt I remaine,

Yor Affectionat Coossing,

A Campbell of Inveraw<sup>1708</sup>

In Dunfermline on the 29<sup>th</sup> of March, Mr. Wellwood, or Wallwood, of the firm Wellwood & Walker, wrote to Inverawe a warning letter about a debt gone grey with age. For 'annualrents' in this case read 'interest' and these annualrents are spelt '@rent.'

*[Translation to modern spelling]:*

To Archibald Campbell of Inverawe  
Dunfermline the 29<sup>th</sup> of March 1695

We are aware that since Candlemass 1687, which was the last years annualrent we received from you of our principal sum of five hundred and sixty merks, that we have not received anything [it] being eight years past at Candlemass last 1695. You put forward that the money was held [up] by Robert Wellwod at Edinburgh, which arrestment he has past, from being satisfied of all he could ask to now, Sir, having the occasion of this bearer coming to your [area?] we resolve first [in] havinging the experience of your civility and good payment.

And now by your delay in not either paying of our annualrents or taking a ready way of paying our principal sum now so long owed, [we] write to you in a civil way that you will not after so long delay take present order for payment of both the principal sum and annualrents bygone, the annual rents being eight years behind, amounting to an hundred and seventy-nine pounds four shillings Scots money. Otherwise you will force us sore against our will to get one against you in using all legal diligence against you which we resolve presently to do if you do not prevent [that] by taking a speedy way for our satisfaction and payment, which wer are confident you will do and not put yourself and us to needless expence. And so we are,

Your humble servant

William Walker Robert Wellwood <sup>1719</sup>

*[Original spelling]:*

Double [copy] of a lettir Wallwood and Walker  
To Ard Campbell of Inveraw

Dunfermline the 29 March 1695

We admire that since candlemes 1687, qlk wes the last yeares @rent we received from yow of our princl somme of five hundreth & threescoir mrks that we have not received nothing being aught zeirs bygone at Candlemas last 1695 Ye pretended the money was areistit be Rob: Walwood at eder qlk areistment he has past fra being satisfeit of all he could crave so now sir having the occasions of this bearer comeing to your [fields?] we resolve first having the experience of your civilitie & gud payment And now by your delay in not nather payeing of our @rents or takeing a redy way of payeing our prill soume now soe long awand to wryte to yow in a civell way that ye will now efter soe long delay to take present order for payment of boith the prinll somme and @rents bygane ye @rents being aught yeres bygone amounting to ane hundereth three scoire nynteing pund four shilling Scots moe [money] utherways ye will force us sore against our will to get one against yow in using all legall diligence against you qlke we resolve presentlie to doe if ye doe not prevent by takeing a spedie way for our satisfacione & payment qlk we are confident ye will doe & not put yor self & ws to neidles expsnces and soe we are

Your humble servand

Will: Walker

R. Walwood<sup>1720</sup>

The day Wellwood wrote from Dunfermline, Archibald was writing about them from Tirvine to Alexander in Edinburgh:

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Tirvine 29<sup>th</sup> March 1695

Affectionate Cousin,

I shall entreat you to appoint Wellwood & Walker in Dunfermline about that five hundred and sixty merks the annualrent thereof is resting [owing] since Candlemass eighty seven, so let you deal with them to see if the annualrent be gotten down. I would pay them their principal against Whitsunday. If not to see what east you can get against Martinmass next with making what apology you think fit for me. I had many other sums to pay & fail not to take some pains in this. I did ... you in my last that certainly I did send you Mr. Moor's papers. Acquaint me what you do with these men. I remain.

Your Affectionate cousin,

i. Campbell of Inverawe.

Remember me to Mr. John Campbell and acquaint me what he has done in getting up the Baron of Achacha's papers from Carwhin.<sup>1731</sup>

[Original spelling]:

Tirvin 29 Mar 1695

Affectionat Coossing

I shall intreat ye to apoynt wt Walwood & Walker in drumferline anent tht fyve hunder & sextie marks the annualrent therof is resting since Candlemus eichty seven, so let your deall wt them to sie if the anuellrent be gotten down I would pay them ther principall agst Whitsunday If not to sie qt ease ye can get agst martinms nixt wt making qt apology ye think fitt for me I had many other somes to pay & faill not to take som pains in this I did agu... yow in my last tht certainly I did send you Mr Moors peapers aquent me qt ye do wt thes men I remane,

Yr. Affectionat Coossing

A Campbell of Inverawe

Remember to Mr John Campbell to aquend me qt he has doon in getting up the barran of achecha his peapers from Correchuin.<sup>1742</sup>

Closer to home, Inverawe was using his funds within the family. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of May Patrick Campbell in Barnalian, now in Kilmun [Lochawe], wrote him a Discharge for £40 Scots in the name of Alexander Campbell, burgess in Edinburgh 'my' brother. Patrick was at Inverawe where his signature was witnessed by Archibald McLauchlan in Barnaline, who had likely accompanied him there, and Mr Colin Campbell [of Achnaba], mininster at Ardchattan, 'writer hereof.'<sup>1753</sup> Colin was a most remarkable man, a deep scholar who corresponded with Sir Isaac Newton, who told a gathering of his fellows in London that were Colin there with them, 'he would make us all look like children.'

Two days later, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1695, Inverawe was responding to the letter of William Walker of Wellwood and Walker in Dunfermline:

[Translation: to modern spelling]:

For William Walker and Wellwood at Dunfermline

Inverawe the 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1695

Sir,

I received yours and I believe it [the debt] is so long holding [[being withheld] as you write, but I did not see any loosening of that arrestment of Robert Wellwood at Edinburgh as yet so I have interested my cousin Alexander Campbell, Burges at Edinburgh, to settle

with you. And if you do settle he will assure you of payment of all I promise against Martinmass next. I assure you I never got anything of the benefit of the Bond I gave you, so I expect ordinary civility in ease of your annualrents, and the principal shall be punctually paid against Martinmass next without fail if you give me such favour as I expect. I remain,

Your loving friend,  
A. Campbell of Inverawe.<sup>1764</sup>

*[Original spelling]:*

ffor William Walker and Walwood at Dunferline                      Inveraw the 10 May 1695

Thes Sr

I receaved yrs & I bellive it is so long resting as ye wryt, bot I did not sie any lousing of tht arrestment of Rt Wallwood at edr as yet so I have Interested my Coosin Alxr Campbell burges at Edr to satle wt yow, & if ye do satle he will assure yow of payment of all I promees agst marmas nixt I assure yow I never got any thing of the benefit of the bound I did give you, so I expect ordinair Civillity in ease of yr annuelrents, & the principall shall be punchially payd agst Martins nixt wt out fail. If ye give me such favour as I expect I remane

Yr loving freend  
A Campbell of Inverawe.<sup>1775</sup>

Next day, on the 11<sup>th</sup>, Inverawe wrote again to Alexander in Edinburgh:

*[Translation to modern spelling]:*

Inverawe the 11<sup>th</sup> of May 1695

Affectionate Cousin,

I received yours of the 27<sup>th</sup> of last month and when ever Dougall my brother goes I shall send all my receipts of your brother Dougall's annualrent. I will not be resting [owing] above forty pounds Scots as my accounts & receipts will testify. I have sent you the double of Welwood & Walker in Dunfermline's letters to me, and I have sent enclosed a letter to them as you may see. And I expect you will deal with them to the greatest advantage that you may. Yet you may pretend that my estate is so conveyed [i.e. burdened with debt so owned by others?] that they can have but personal action, so it's better for them to settle with me, so acquaint me as soon as you meet with them, and whatever you do with them, I'll stand by it and shall send you money against what time you agree with them. There is many in as good circumstances as I am in that gets down all their annualrent in, so that they paid more profit [than?] I had in their Bond. I hope it's true what you [write?] about your good sister [in-law] Captain Dougall's lady, for I did dream that I was at London two nights before I got your letter [and] that I did see them hale and [well?], and I hope it shall be so. Let you try all ways with Mr. Moor. McNaughtan has not been at home this quarter of [the] year but about Stirling and Doune, and I expect no money by his long absence. If he be at Edinburgh I wish you [would] see him. I remain,

Your Affectionate cousin,  
A. Campbell of Inverawe.<sup>1786</sup>

*[Original spelling]:*

Inveraw 11 May 1695

Affectionat Coosing

I received yrs of the 27 of the last month, & qn ever Dugall my brothr goes I shall send all my receats of yr brothr Dugalls annuellrent. I will not be resting above forty pund scots as my compts & receats will testify I have sent yow the double of Walwood & Walker in dunferlins lrs to me, & I have sent enclosed ane letter to them as ye may sie & I exspect ye will deall wt them to the greatest advantadge yt ye may ye may pretend yt my esteat is so conveyed yt they can have bot personall action, so it better for them to sutle wt me so aquent me as soon as ye meett wt them & qt ever ye do wt them Ile stand be it & shall send you mony agst qt tyme ye agree wt them ther is mony in as good Circumstance as I am in tht Gets down all ther annuellrent in so tht they pad more profit as I had in ther bound I hop its trew qt ye [write?] anent yr good sister [in-law] Captain Dugall's lady ffor I did dream tht I was at Lunden tuo nights befor I got yr letter tht I did sie them hale & [well?] & I hope it shall be so let you try all ways wt Mr Moor McNaughtan hes not been at home this qrter of year bot always about Stirling & down & I exspect no mony by his lang absence If he be at edr I wishe ye did sie him I remain,

Yr. Affectionat Coossing

A Campbell of Inverawe.<sup>1797</sup>

Besides a son Archibald, now likely aged about 25, Inverawe's brother Duncan had a daughter Marjory. Marjory had been courted by Donald Campbell, the eldest son and heir of Neil of Auchinard and his wife Jean. On the 12<sup>th</sup> of July 1695, a Marriage Contract was signed between Marjory and Donald. Then on the 15<sup>th</sup>, Sasine was given to Marjory on the four merkland of Auchinard in Lismore, reserving priority to the liferent of Dougall's mother Jean.<sup>1808</sup> The Auchinard family were a branch of the Campbells of Dunstaffnage. Neil, Donald's father, was the second son of John Campbell, Captain of Dunstaffnage, and had married August 1664, Jean, daughter of his great-uncle Donald Campbell of Auchinard. Donald and Marjory would have a son whom they traditionally called Neil, born in 1700. He would succeed to Dunstaffnage in 1742 and live until the 8<sup>th</sup> of March 1762, leaving a daughter and a son Angus who succeeded him. However Angus had no sons so in time the castle and lands of Dunstaffnage passed to a cousin.

Archibald of Inverawe was again writing to Alexander in Edinburgh on the first day of December 1695:

*[Translation to modern spelling]:*

Inverawe 1<sup>st</sup> December 1695

Affectionate Cousin,

I received yours after writing my other letter to you and since I find that Kilh...d's deputy is like to trouble McNachtan presently, I thought best to send that Horning and regrant Bond of McNachtan's to you, that you may cause renew the Horning and Caption since he lives at Glasgow but write to him first to meet you if you see him not there. He promised too often payment to me that I cannot trust him although [torn] ... him some ease it's best you end it or get sufficient caution of him if he delay it, for as I will not have occasion to see him in haste [soon?].

I will give your [Mannie?] six pounds and let you buy me a flying net for a setter dog for partridges and moor fowl, you will get several that has store of them. They are to be had with a John Maitland that gets them overseas, he is at the head of F... Wynd. My Lord Morton would send his man to chase the net if you be acquaint with him. The net to be four or six ply and very small. They say that the net will cost four [or] five shillings Sterling. Send also ... of fir seed, I got it the last year for five shillings Scots the ... And give the bearer what surplus will be of the six pounds Scots. I rest,

Yr. Affectionate Cousin,

A Campbell of Inverawe

Give a receipt of your brother's papers with the bearer

[Note on the back]

To send him a net & some firseed & with McNachtans papers... Sent him 8 [?'bunr'?] fir seed cost 02 00:<sup>1819</sup>

[Original spelling]:

Inveraw first dec 1695

Affectionat Coosing

I received yrs after wrytting my othr ler to you & since I ffind tht Kilh..ds dept is lyk to truble M<sup>c</sup>Naughtan pntly, I thocht best to send tht Horning & regrat bond of M<sup>c</sup>Naughtans to you, tht ye may caus renew the Horning & Caption since he lives att Glasgow bot wryt to him first to meet you if ye sie him not ther he promised to oft payment to me tht I can not trust him althoch [torn] him som ease its best ye end it or get sufficient ca'on [caution?] of him if he delay it for as I will not have ocation to sie him in hast. I will give yr [Manny?] sex pund & let you buy me ane flying nett for ane setting dog for partrixs & moor fouls ye will get severalls tht hes Steur [?] of them they ar to be had wt an John Metlan tht gets them over sea he is at the head of f... wyn my lord Morton would send his man to chase the nett if ye be aquent him, the net to be four or syks ply & very small they say tht the nett will coast four five sh sterling send also ... of fir seed I got it the last year for five shilling scots the ... & give the bearer qt superplus will be of the sex pund scots I rest

Yr. Affectionat Coosing

A Campbell of Inverawe

G... ane receat of yr brthrs peapers wt the bearer

[Note on the back]

To send him a nett & some firrseed & with McNachtans papers... Sent him 8 ... firr seed cost 02t 00:<sup>18280</sup>

Inverawe wanted his debtor McNachtan put to the horn, allowing anyone to arrest him for debt, and yet he still wanted Alexander to 'write to him first' to give him a last chance to pay. Archibald was again writing to Alexander on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of that month. He was at Inveraray and finally ready to pay Wellwood & Walker. The juxtaposition of these two debts is interesting.

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Inverawe 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1695

Affectionate Cousin,

I shall desire you agree with Mr. Walker late Provost of Dunfermline that according to my promises I have his money ready when ever I get occasion to send it. I did see a relaxation he got from [Wellwood &?] Walker about the loosing of his arrestment, but write to him it must be renewed for it wants any Witness to it. So let him depute one at Edinburgh to receive the money and I'll send it to you by the first occasion, and let him send my Bond to be given up to me.

I hear that the Laird of Lamont is at Edinburgh that he try out the nature of the right he had to his estate, for his father asks me two thousand merks by Bond, and I know not how to win at him [reach him] because it's by ... and other ... he comes to his estate, I suppose it's before the [sixteen] sixty year of God. I wish that he try it out with some that are agreed with Laumont's condition. I wish to hear from your brother Captain Dougall.

I remain. Yr. Affectionate Cousin,



A Campbell of Inverawe

[*Note on the back*]

26<sup>th</sup> February 1696 ...sent him home his bond & a discharge from Welwood & Walker.<sup>1831</sup>

[*Original spelling*]:

Inverary 23 decer 1695

Affectionat Coossing,

I shall desyr ye agree wt Mr Walker leat proverst of drumffirline tht according to my promises I have his mony rady qn ever I get oca'n to send it I did sie ane relaxa'n he got from Walker anent the lousing of his arrestment, bot wryt to him it most be renewed for it wants any Wittnes to it so lett him deput on at edr to receive the mony & Ile send it to you by the first oca's'n & lett him send my bound to be given up to me I hear tht the Laird of Lamont is at edr tht he try out the nature of the richt he hes to his esteat for his fathr asks me tuo thousane marks be bound & I know not how to win at him because its by ... & othr .... he comes to his esteat I sipose its before the sextie year of god I wish tht he try it out wt some tht are agreed wt Laumonds condition. I wish to hear from you[r brother?] Capt Du[gall]. I remaine,

Yr. Affectionat Coossing

A Campbell of Inverawe

[*Note on the back*]

26 ffeby: 1696 ...sent him home his bond & a discharge from Walwood & Walker<sup>1842</sup>

That appears to be the end of Inverawe's debt to Wellwood and Walker. Archibald's next letter to Alexander, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of February 1696, saw him again at his tower house within the castle walls of Fraoch Eilean.

[*Translation to modern spelling*]:

Fraoch Eilean 17<sup>th</sup> February 1696

Affectionate Cousin,

I expect by this time you have gotten up my Bond from the Provost of Dunfermline together with the raising of the arrestment. And if you have given it to Patrick Campbell of Inverinan behind ... with the bearer. Let me know what you hear of your brother Captain Dougall or of any news else but my respects to you and your bedfellow. I rest,

Your affectionate cousin,

Campbell of Inverawe

Take up ... from the b..d..s you deliver it.<sup>1853</sup>

[*Original spelling*]:

Ffechellan 17 feby 1696

Affectionat Coossing

I exspect by this tyme ye have gotten up my bound from the provest of dumferline together wt the rasing of the arestment & if ye have given it to Patrick Campbell of Inverinan behind wt the bearer, lett me know qt ye hear of yr brothr Captain Dugall or of any news else bot my respects to you & to yr bedfellow I rest,

Yr. Affectionat Coossing

A Campbell of Inverawe

Take up .. from the b..d..s ye deliver it.<sup>1864</sup>.

The troubles over Achacha surfaced again. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1696 Archibald felt obliged to press for legal action against Alexander Campbell in Lochnell and Donald Campbell, brother german to John Campbell of 'Achachaw' for a debt of 300 merks. That was not Campbell 'of' Lochnell but the tacksman 'in' Lochnell.<sup>1875</sup> On the 27<sup>th</sup> of May Inverawe was at Breadalbane's castle of Kilchurn on Lochawe where he would meet from time to time with his colleagues who were also agents for the earl. There, he made a Declaration in favour of Archibald Campbell of Barbreck, stating that, although he had Wadset dated on the 18<sup>th</sup> of October in 1693 of Dalchelich in Glendore for 1,350 merks, that contract of Wadset was granted only in security of Bonds referred to in the writ of the Wadset and not for further advance. The Declaration was written by Patrick Campbell, writer in Edinburgh, who witnesses with Dougall Campbell, later of Shirvann and half brother of Inverawe.<sup>1886</sup>

There was further dealing with Achacha on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of July that summer of 1696, when John Campbell of Achacha gave a further Bond to Inverawe for 44 merks Scots.<sup>1897</sup>

What appears to have been a 'charter of confirmation' was granted to Archibald of Inverawe by Archibald 10<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of October, calling him 'now of Inveraw' although his father had died thirty years before. This was of the lands of Drumachoise in Glenetive, for the payment of 13 shillings and 4 pence Scots.<sup>1908</sup> This confirmation was likely necessary due to the forfeiture and restoration of the earldom.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> of October, at Edinburgh, Archibald Earl of Argyll further granted to Inverawe a tack of various lands on Mull, which he may already have held earlier. These included the £20 land of Aross, the 35 merk land of Morenish, Glenbewart, Oresnish, Isle of Geometra, Osgeomell, Corquomull, Glanengray, and Phanmore, for 19 years. Two discharges were written on the back of the document. The witnesses were, Captain Charles Campbell, brother german to the earl, and Mr. John Campbell WS.<sup>1919</sup> On the same day in Edinburgh, the earl granted a charter of the office of Bailyard of the lands of Inverawe and others to Archibald of Inverawe. He was given Sasine following on the above Charter.<sup>1920</sup>

In 1696 the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies was formed. Mercifully for most people in Argyll who were cosmopolitan enough to be aware of the scheme, few if any had adequate cash to invest. Archibald of Inverawe certainly made no investment and so avoided the financial disaster which struck so many others over the next four years. A Highland Laird of his kind sailed close enough to the wind of survival already, despite his broad lands and a hundred families in his care.

Archibald Campbell of Barbreck would seem to have been unable to pay off his Bond to Inverawe that was secured by the 20 shilling land of Dalchelish in Glendore, and so let them to him with a Contract of Wadset on the 18<sup>th</sup> of October 1696.<sup>1931</sup>

Archibald of Inverawe's next letter to Alexander in Edinburgh deals with issues beyond debts and showing papers. The comments on Archibald's ignorance of his ancestry show the disconnect caused by the Tutorship of John 'dubh' during the minority of Archibald's grandfather Archibald. (b.1582-3). The issue and that of the arms of Inverawe were no doubt brought up by Captain Dougall since he wanted to have the Inverawe arms engraved on the cups that he planned to give to 'the three brothers,' Inverawe, Kilmartin and Shirvan. Of all Archibald's surviving letters, this reveals the most about him.

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Inveraray 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1697

Affectionate Cousin,

I received yours wherein you say that your brother [Captain] Dougall as you supposed would do nothing until that I did wait what my brother's advice was [and if?] they think the work good. If he can spare it but none will advise him beyond his ability and that while he can spare it. If he could get either Ichrachan or Ardgaw in Muckairn of Lochnell, especially Ichrachan at the present rent, but Ardgaw is in Warrantice of other lands already, which signify to him. As to your brother Patrick he inclines not this year for Mull, neither can I advise any for fear of the troubles of the time, but of present I would give him his choice of land as cheap as I could.

As to the Memorandum of the coat of arms, he says that a Gentleman's blazon is 26 ll and a Baron 38 ll whereof I am not, for I hold not of the King. Neither can I prove my descent but by the Genealogy of the family of Argyll, and you may advise not that man..[that?] gave you the Memorandum that I have no other way [of] giving my descent but he get the Earl of Argyll to verify my descent. And if this do, I'll write to the Earl of Argyll and he to back it, with my sending the double [copy] of the book of Genealogy to his Lordship.

So enquire and again acquaint me. And whenever I can have any money (which is very scarce with me at present) I shall send it. For the supporters, they can not be had by the Memorandum except I prove by possession [that] I have been a King's Baron since King James' time, which I cannot see signify this also. And acquaint me by the first if I shall write to Argyll about a certificate. And let my respects be presented to your brother. Let me know when he comes to England [Britain]. Naught else but my respects presented to your. I remain,

Your affectionate cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe.<sup>1942</sup>

[Original spelling]:

Inverary 22 feby 1697

Affectionat Coossing

I received yrs qrin ye say that yr brothr Dugall as ye siposed would do nothing until tht I did weyt qt my brothers advice was they think the work good. If he can spair it bot non will advyse him beyond his ability & tht wheill he can spair it If he could get othe Ichkrachern or Ardegaw in Mocarn of Lochnell especially Ichkrachern at the prit rent bot Ardgaw is in Warrantice of other lands already Qch signifie to him as to yr brothr Patrick he inclines not this year for Mull neither can I advyse any for fear of the trubles of the tym bot of pe..nt I would give him his choyse of land p as cheape as I could

as to the memorandum of the coat of armes, he says tht ane Gentlemans blazon is 26 ll & ane barron 38 ll qrof I am non for I hould not of the king nather can I prove my descent bot by the Genealagy of the family of Argyll and ye may advyse not that man give yow the Memorandum tht I have no othr way to giving my descent bot he get the Earle of Argyll to verifie my descent, & if this do Ile wryt to the Earl of Argyll and he to back it, wt my sending the double of the book of Genallagy to his Lo so Inquire & agane aquent me. & qn ever I can have any mony (Qch is very scarce wt me at prit) I shall send it) for the siporters they can not be had by the Memorad / except I prove by possession I have been ane kings barron since King James the first tyme Qtch I can not sie signify this also, and aquent me by the first if I shall wryte to Argyll anent ane testificat & let my resepects be presented to yr brothr let me know qn he comes to England not els bot my respects presented to your I remane

Had Argyll been asked, he could only have recourse to *The Genealogie of the Campbells* first put together by Judge Colville at the request of the then earl. While it stated that Inverawe was descended from Sir Neil in the days of Robert Bruce, King of Scots, the one branch of the MacConnochies with a surviving origin tradition, saw them descend from one of Sir Neil's great-grandsons, Duncan, son of Gillespie of Lochawe.

Next summer in July 1697, Archibald was at Auchinellan when he signed his Discharge to Patrick Campbell of Duntroon for Mary McNeill's jointure of 1695 and for her tierce of 1695 and 1696. On that occasions the witnesses were his half-brother Alexander Campbell of Kilmartin and Archibald Campbell, Servitor to Inverawe, again, likely his nephew and heir who would now be aged about 27. Duntroon Papers quoted in Lorne Campbell PhD's Notes.<sup>1964</sup>

Archibald of Inverawe would seem to have acquired a right to the 2 merkland of Dalavich and the Mill of Avich from Angus MacLachlan, Captain of Innis Chonnel castle for the Earl of Argyll. Archibald's great-nephew Duncan would discover years later that although the Minute of Contract of the promise to Dispose the lands to Inverawe was signed, the contract remained unfulfilled and MacLachlan had been continuing to collect the rents of those lands. The area was important since it was between Patrick Campbell's two places of Barnalian and Kilmun. The Minute of Contract was dated on the 27<sup>th</sup> of December 1697.<sup>1975</sup>

The following 16<sup>th</sup> of March 1698, Archibald of Inverawe was again concerned about Achacha – now simplified to 'Achaa' – and wrote to Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine, called his 'cousin' about a rental. On the doquet it is inscribed 'Achaa's peapers.' SRO/NAS GD112/39/177/10.<sup>1986</sup>

That summer on the 10<sup>th</sup> of June Inverawe was at Slochavullin between Kilmartin and Duntroon where he met with Patrick of Duntroon who signed a Disposition with consent of Mary MacNeill, widow of the late Nial Campbell of Duntroon and now wife of Inverawe.<sup>1997</sup> This shows Mary MacNeill, the lady Inverawe, still living on that date.

The Earl of Argyll was still making use of Archibald of Inverawe for the administration of his lands on the Isle of Mull. On the 7<sup>th</sup> of November 1698 the 10<sup>th</sup> Earl signed a Commission of Coronorship to Inverawe as his Depute Crouner within the bounds of the Isle of Mull and islands thereof, other than Tiree and Coll.<sup>2008</sup>

About mid March 1699, Mary MacNeil, the lady Inverawe, Archibald's wife, took ill and retired to her bed. What she was experiencing must have been serious, because five months later Archibald would write that she was not likely to recover. Meanwhile John Campbell of Achacha[rne] had also died, leaving his son Archibald, his own widow and that of his brother.

By the 15<sup>th</sup> of March 1699 there would have been signs of spring when Inverawe signed a Discharge to Archibald Campbell, son to Anna Campbell, relict of John Campbell of Achacha, as to teinds and vicarage for the crop of 1698 and the preceding year.<sup>2019</sup> At least the poor widow of Achacha was able to come up with the funds and at a time of year when often poverty bit the hardest, before the grass improved the grazing.

But before long, John's son Archibald, still 'fiar of Achacha' and therefore a minor although heir

to his father, was increasing the family debt by signing a Bond to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe for £132 Scots. This was dated the 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1699. To do this, because of the Interdiction, he had to first gain the consent of Dougall Campbell of Stronchormiag and Duncan Campbell, brother german to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, to whom he and the deceased John Campbell of Achacha, his father, were interdicted.<sup>2029</sup> The debt would still be due on Archibald of Inverawe's death.

Clearly Archibald of Inverawe held the superiority of Achacha, because next day he was at Kilchurn and signed a Disposition of the lands of Achacha and Barnamuic to his cousin John, Earl of Breadalbane. The earl must have agreed to buy the lands to relieve Archibald of their burden of debt and to offer some security for the widow Anna and the boy Archibald. The lands were conveniently adjacent to those of his kinsman Campbell of Barcaldine's.<sup>2030</sup> The names of the lands were written in this document as 'Acha and Carnamuck' while in a later document, below, they are spelt 'Auchacha and Barnamuic.' This identifies them clearly as those lands against the hill to the east of Barcaldine Castle.

Two days later Inverawe was still at Kilchurn. John Campbell 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Breadalbane granted a Heritable Bond to him for 900 merks Scots with an annualrent out of his wadset lands of Glencie and Crunachy, signed at Castle Kilchurn by the earl before Duncan Toiseach of Monyvaird, Colin Campbell, Clerk of Lismore Diocese as Notary on the 13<sup>th</sup> of May 1699.<sup>2041</sup>

As Breadalbane's agents, Inverawe and Duncan Toschach of Monyvaird must have been staying with him at Castle Kilchurn while the affairs of Achacha were sorted out over the following days. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of May some particularly hard work was undertaken producing writs.

First, Alexander Campbell, Notary, wrote out an Obligation by Alexander Campbell of Clanamacrie that, whereas John Earl of Breadalbane has made payments to Anna Campbell, widow of John Campbell of Achacha, for her liferent right of half the lands of Auchacha and quarter of Barnamuic, she could not herself subscribe a Disposition at present, since two notaries and four witnesses would be required, and he therefore states that he will procure a valid disposition by the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1699. Witnesses to the Obligation were Archibald of Inverawe and Duncan Toschach of Monyvaird.<sup>2052</sup>

The next document produced and signed that day at Kilchurn was another Obligation written by Duncan Toschach of Monyvaird whereby Archibald Campbell of Inverawe agreed that, whereas John Earl of Breadalbane had delivered up to him a Bond for 800 merks for young Archibald Campbell sometime of Acha, as the remainder of the price for his lands, the earl shall have no further responsibility for his maintenance as in a Bond dated at Castle Kilchurn on the 13<sup>th</sup> of May 1699. Duncan Toshach of Monyvaird witnessed with Alexander Campbell of Clenamachrie.<sup>2063</sup> Since it appears likely that Inverawe was Tutor to young Archibald, sometime of Achacha, the responsibility for the boy's future lay in his hands.

Yet another Obligation was written that 15<sup>th</sup> of May at Kilchurn. Again it was penned by Duncan of Monyvaird. The document obliged Archibald Campbell of Inverawe to deliver to Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine in the name of the Earl of Breadalbane by the 1st of August all the writs of the late John Campbell of Acha and his predecessors then in the hands of Dougall Campbell of Stronchormaig and Donald Campbell, brother to Alexander Campbell of Clenamachie, who was himself a witness.<sup>2074</sup>

Then that same day, Duncan of Monyvaird wrote out an Assignment by Archibald of Inverawe in favour of John Earl of Breadalbane of some Bonds:

Bond for £438. 5s. 4d. Scots dated the 8<sup>th</sup> of June 1694.

Bond for 144 merks Scots of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of July 1696.

Bond by Archibald Campbell of Achacha for £132 Scots dated the 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1699.

These were the bonds given to Inverawe in return for funds lent to the late John of Achacha and the last to young Archibald of Achacha. The Assignment provides that the Bonds listed may be security only on the lands of Acha[cha] and Barnamuic disposed on the 11<sup>th</sup> of May 1699 at Castle Kilchurn by Archibald Campbell to the earl. Duncan Toisach of Monyvaird was again a witness with Alexander Campbell of Clenamachie.<sup>2085</sup>

But there was yet another Bond. Later that 15<sup>th</sup> day of May at Kilchurn, Angus MacDonald, Servant to Archibald of Inverawe, wrote another Obligation to be signed by Inverawe agreeing to deliver to Breadalbane a Bond for £226. 4. shillings Scots granted by the late John Campbell of Achacha to James Robertson at Parkhead of Keir. Angus was witness to his signature along with Alexander Campbell of Clenmachrie.<sup>2096</sup>

The next document produced at Kilchurn that day was an Obligation by Archibald of Inverawe to deliver up to Breadalbane the Bond granted by young Archibald Campbell, fiar of Acha [Auchacha], for £132 Scots dated on the 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1699 to which he had granted assignation. This Obligation was again written by Duncan Toshach of Monyvaird who was a witness with Alexander Campbell of Clenamachie. That appears to have completed the day's work concerning Achacha.<sup>2107</sup>

Two weeks later, Archibald of Inverawe and his colleagues were all back at Kilchurn again on the 24<sup>th</sup> of May that year of 1699. With him, Duncan Toshach of Monyvaird and Alexander Campbell of Clenamachie was young Archibald of Achacha himself, Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine, Donald Campbell who was Cawdor's Baillie of Muckairn with his son Campbell of Skinderlands in Islay, plus Alexander Campbell, the Notary Public. He it was who scribed the first piece of business; an Extract of Disposition by Archibald Campbell of Achacha with consent of his interdictors, Archibald of Inverawe, his brother Duncan, Dougall of Stronchormaig and Alexander of Clenamachie, with young Acha's maternal uncle Colin Campbell Sheriff Clerk of Argyll. The Disposition was to John, first Earl of Breadalbane, of the 6 merkland of. Auchacha and the 4 merkland of Barnamuck in the Parish of Balleveolan, Lordship of Lorne, Argyll, saving to James Stewart of Fassnacloich his wadset of Barnamuck, to [Anna] Campbell, his mother, widow of John Campbell of Auchacha, her liferent of half of Auchacha and a quarter of Barnamuck, and to Janet Campbell, widow of Lauchlan Campbell of Auchacha, elder brother to the said John Campbell, and now wife of Archibald McCorquodale of Phantillands, her liferent of the other half of Auchacha and quarter of Barnamuck. The witnesses were Monyvaird, Barcaldine, the Baillie of Muckairn, his son Campbell of Skinderlands and Alexander of Clenamachie.<sup>2118</sup>

The document clarifies that the unfortunate young Archibald of Achacha, who had signed over his birthright and so would seemingly vanish from record, was the son of John of Achacha who had succeeded his elder brother Lachlan. Further, it shows that Archibald's mother Anna Campbell was sister of Colin Campbell, Sheriff Clerk of Argyll, and that her sister-in-law Janet, widow of the late Lachlan of Achacha, was now wife to Archibald MacCorquodale the baron of Phantillands. Although Achacha and Barnamuic were placed in the hands of Breadalbane as overlord, he was granting responsibility for the lands to his kinsman and agent, Campbell of Barcaldine. He was now responsible to continue to pay the two widows, Anna and Janet, their liferent for their lifetimes.

From Kilchurn a party, including young Archibald of Achacha, rode eastwards up Glen Lochay, by Tigh an Drum, the ridge of Alban, and down by Loch Dochart, where they may have spent a night, then on by Killin and Finlarig and along above the shores of Loch Tay to Breadalbane's castle of Taymouth.

There took place the final chapter in the winding up of this branch of the Campbells in terms of their tie to the land. Face to face with John, Earl of Breadalbane, at his massive house of Taymouth, formerly known as the Castle of Balloch, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of May 1699, Archibald Campbell of Auchacha resigned to John Earl of Breadalbane his 6 merkland of Auchacha and 4 merkland of Barnamuck in the Lordship of Lorne, Argyllshire (sic), based upon the Disposition he had signed at Kilchurn on the 24<sup>th</sup> of May 1699.<sup>2129</sup> Archibald, likely little more than 21 years of age, freed from the harsh toil of attempting to wrest a living from the land, was now on his own to make his way in life. After a few weeks as a landowner, he joined the great insecurity and freedom of the landless.

Patrick Campbell, now in Kilmum, Loch Awe, would seem to have exchanged the tack of Barnalian with that of Kilmun, because by the 9<sup>th</sup> of September 1699 there was a Donald Campbell in Barnalian, no relation of Patrick's. Since Donald is called 'in' Barnalian rather than 'indweller in Barnalian,' it would appear that he was in fact now the tacksman there. On that date in September he signed a Bond to Dougall Campbell, half brother to Archibald of Inverawe, for £18 Sterling. The witnesses were Duncan and John Campbell, brothers to Alexander Campbell of Clenmacrie, who was Cautioner.<sup>2130</sup>

There was some wild weather that November as usual. In a letter to Breadalbane, Archibald of Inverawe, writing on the 6<sup>th</sup> about a heritable Bond, mentioned that 'a storm has hindered the boy writer sent to Mull.'<sup>2141</sup> In another letter to Breadalbane two days later Archibald writes concerning the rent of a place called 'Ballechrunnall,' likely Baliegrundle in Lismore.<sup>2152</sup>

Archibald wrote to Breadalbane on the 8<sup>th</sup> of November 1699, again about Balochrunal on Lismore. The issues remain somewhat obscure.

*[Translation to modern spelling]:*

My Lord,

Inverawe 8<sup>th</sup> November 1699

I sent a letter yesterday to Glenorchy to be sent [on] to your Lordship about these localities but I suppose the Officer was not at home, and if not, this bearer will get my letter [to you]. I find ... is not willing to become my brother's debtor for this year's rent of Ballochrunnall, but to get it for ... 's relict, which I told [them] could not be answered at this term. Naught else.

I remain

Your Lordship's humble servant

A Campbell of Inverawe

Your Lordship may signify your pleasure about the rent of Ballochrunnall, so Barcaldine may adjust it any other way if ... get it this year.<sup>2163</sup>

*[Original spelling]*

My Lord

Inveraw 8 novr 99

I did send ane lr to Glenurchay to be send to yr Lo anent thes localities bot I supose the officer was not at hom, & if not this ... will get my letter I find ..... is not willing to becom my bris debtor for this years rent of Ballochrunall bot to get it for ... his relict, qth I toald could not be ansierd at this tearm, not els at pnt I remane

Yr Lo hmble servant

[A.] Campbell of Inveraw

yr Lo may signifie yr pleasur anennt the rent of Ballochrunall, yet Barcaulden may adjust it any or way if ... get it this year.

[*in verso*]

For the Rg honorable The Earle of Bradalban.<sup>2174</sup>

That month of November 1699, Inverawe's brother and immediate heir Duncan died. He had been a constant support to Inverawe and had been appointed to collect island rents for the Countess of Argyll. He had been known as Duncan of Cruanchy at times, having a Wadset of that place, adjacent to Inverawe, from Breadalbane. He was the father of Marjorie and her brother Archie Campbell who was now heir to Inverawe. Duncan was at one time 'wadsetter of Catnish' which was elsewhere called 'Cotannis and Lairgin in Glenurchy' or 'Cat-innis and Learg'. Archie his son, now Yr. of Inverawe, was Heir in Special of an annualrent of 216 merks over Catnis and the Larigs.<sup>21815</sup> On the 5<sup>th</sup> of December 1699 at Inverawe, old Archibald was writing to his half brother Dougall who was agent at Ardmaddie, offering to buy some of the 'deals' or boards which he had heard that Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine had arranged to obtian from a Mr. Barclay, possibly a ship's Master.<sup>2196</sup> Perhaps they were needed for his brother's coffin. 'Deal' or sawn boards were scarce.

Two days after Christmas, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of December 1699, a Dougall Campbell in Kentallen in Mull, cousin german to Inverawe, acted as attorney for Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, in receiving a Sasine on a Heritable Bond granted by Breadalbane dated the 13<sup>th</sup> of May 1699 for 900 merks Scots and with an annualrent of £36 Scots out of his wadset lands of 'Glencie' and Crunachy. The Bond had been signed at Castle Kilchurn on the 13<sup>th</sup> of May 1699 by Breadalbane before Duncan Toiseach of Monyvaird, and Colin Campbell Clerk of Lismore Diocese as Notary.<sup>2207</sup> This cousin may have been Dougall, son of Patrick Campbell, tacksman of Barnalian and later of Kilmun, Loch Awe. There is also record of a Sub Tack in 1700 by Archibald of Inverawe of the lands of Aros etc. in Mull.<sup>2218</sup>

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of July in that summer of the new century, Archibald was again writing to his cousin and agent Alexander Campbell, Merchant and Burgess of Edinburgh.

[*Translation to modern spelling*]:

Inverawe 8<sup>th</sup> July 1700

Affectionate Cousin,

I marvel that I hear nothing from you these several posts that I have written to you. And now [I write] again to know your condition of health and about what you did with Ronald Campbell, Writer in Edinburgh, about the money I advanced for Patrick [in Kilmun] your brother. I almost repent that I meddled at this time about renewing these tacks of Tiends, only let you and Ronald consult if it be not done, what to do in it, as you see matters go. Naught else. Expecting to hear from you by some of the Sheriff of Argyll's men. I rest,

Your affectionate cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe



I expect you have ere now done something with the Tutor of Cawdor whom is so long in Edinburgh. Let me know what you hear of your brother [Captain] Dougall.<sup>2229</sup>

*[Original spelling]:*

Inveraw 8 July 1700

Affectionat Coossing

I marrvell tht I heare nothing from you thir severall poasts tht I have written to you & now agane to know yr cond'on of heath & anent qt ye did wt Ronald Campbell wrytter at edr anent tht mony I advanced for Patrick yr brothr I almost repent tht I medled at this tym anent renewing thes tacks of tiends, only lett yow & Ronald consult, If it be not doon qt to do in it, as ye sie maters go not els expecting to hear from you by som of the shreff of Argylls men. I rest

Yr. Affectionat Coossing

A Campbell of Inverawe

I exspect ye have or now doon sumthing wt the tutor of Cadell qn is so long in edr let me know qt ye hear of yr brothr dugall<sup>2230</sup>

A week later on the 15<sup>th</sup> Inverawe wrote to Alexander again mentioning that 'ther is no hope of my wyfs recuery qo is now fyve months bedfast.'<sup>2241</sup> 'Your brother' was again Captain Dougall Campbell, merchant in London.

*[Translation to modern spelling]:*

Inverawe 15<sup>th</sup> July 1700

Affectionate Cousin,

The Tutor of Cawdor did come to Muckairn the last week and sent me word from Inveraray that he would t... me about that affair of your brother's but was in hastily [and I] did not see him. And although [even if] I had, I had no Commission or Factory from your brother to end with him, nor from you. If ye get full Commission from your brother, of which my brother Dougall has written to you, I'll take the lands of Ichrachan and pay your brother's annualrent according to his direction in it. And as to the bygone annualrents, I suppose it be seven years at Whitsunday last, and it shall be ordered according to your brother's direction on sufficient security, or the money itself to [be] disposed as he pleases. I am sure he will not change his intention [in] his last letter to me, to get the annualrents secured with the Principal for the said use. As also he did write to me to put three boys to School this Lammas for two years, which I have done. I ... a School at Bonawe this while I put only two boys to it, one son of Patrick my [natural] brother, and another [the] son of Archibald McFetricks [MacPadraig or MacFetteridge] that is fatherless.

I doubt not but your brother has sent you ample Commission so you would send a registered factory or else I'll register it at Inveraray, but it's best at Edinburgh. I received no account from you of that three hundred and fifty I paid to Patrick according to his letter to you which I did write you should give to Ronald Campbell, Writer at Edinburgh, on his account to you for my use. I entreat you [to] give me a sure account with the bearer of all. And neglect no time about that money of Cawdor's as long as they are willing to give it. So let the Commission be to me and my brother Dougall. Let it be full and ... the money settle with the Tutor. And you would consult a Disposition there [as to] how he take land in corroboration of our brother's Bond, for the Tutor [of] Cawdor promises to be in this country next month. And although your Commission be full that you sent it is always at your brother's disposal. Let me know of your condition and send my letter to your brother by the first [post]. There is no hope of my wife's recovery who is now five months bedfast.

Naught else, but my respects to you and your bedfellow. I rest,

Your Affectionate Cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe

You may back [address] your brother's letter where he may be found.<sup>2252</sup>

[Original spelling]:

Inveraw 15 July

Affect Coosing

1700

The tutor of Cadell did com to Mocarn the last week & sent me word from Inverary tht he wod t... me anent tht affare of yr brothrs bot was in hastyly did not sie him, & anthoch I had, I had ne Comission or factory from yr brothr to end wt him nor from you If ye get full commission from yr brothr of Qtch my brothr Dugall hes written to you, Ile take the lands of Ichkrachern & pay yr brothrs anuellrent according to his direction in it, & as to the bygon anuellrents I supose it be seven years at Whitsundy last, & it shall be ordered according to yr brothrs direction on sufficient security or the mony it self to disposed as he pleases I am sure he will not chynge his intention his last lr to me, to get the anuellrents secured wt the principall for the sd use, as also he did wryt to me to put thrie boys to scooll this lambas com tuo years Qtch I have doon I ane scooll at bonnaw thus wheill I put only tuo boys to it ane son of Patrick my brothr & ane othr son of Ard McFatricks tht is fatherless

I dupt not bot yr brothr has sent you ample commission so ye would send ane factory regrat or els Ile regrat it at Inverary, bot its best at edr. I received no acompt from you of tht threi hunder & fyftie I payd to Patrick according to his lr to yow Qtc I did wryte ye should give to Ronald Campbell wrytter at edr on his compt to you for my use. I intreat ye give me ane sure acompt wt the bearer of all & neglect no tym anent tht mony of Cadells as long as they ar willing to give it so let the Comission be to me & my brothr Dugall let it be full & anpleyt the mony satle wt the tutor, & ye wold consult ane dispos'n ther how he take land in Curroboran of yr brothrs bond for the tutor Cadell promises to be in this country the next moneth. & althuch yr Comisiun be full tht ye send it is always at yr brothrs disposal let me know of yr condi'n & send my lr to yr brothr by the first. Ther is no hope of my Wyfs recovery qo is now five months bedfast not els bot my respects to you & your bedfellow. I rest

Yr affect Cosing

A Campbell of Inverawe

Ye may back yr brothr lr qr he is to be found <sup>2263</sup>

Mary MacNeil had not died yet, and on the same day in mid July 1700, Patrick Campbell of Duntroon was signing a Bond to Inverawe for 1,000 merks, presumably for her liferent in Duntroon.<sup>2274</sup>

Archibald of Inverawe would have been relieved at the marriage of his nephew Archibald, son of his brother Duncan of Crunachy. To avoid confusion with his uncle, the younger man is here called 'Archie' as he likely was in fact. The idea that he was at times the same as the Archibald Campbell 'servitor' to Inverawe when Archibald was arranging tacks on Mull for Argyll, is reinforced by Archie's engagement to a girl from the island. On the 4<sup>th</sup> of October 1700 a Minute of Contract of Marriage was signed between Archibald Campbell, nephew of Inverawe, his late father Duncan's brother, and Janet Maclean, sister of Alexander Maclean of Torloisk.<sup>2285</sup>

Archie's mother was Elizabeth [or Isabel], second daughter of Patrick Campbell of Edinample. This was contained in a letter to Olive Campbell of Inverneill from Minna Tait of the New

Inverawe family dated 11 November 1899 and appears to be accurate. When Archie's father Duncan had died the year before, it would seem that the Wadset of Crunachy reverted to Brealbane.<sup>2296</sup> So, even before his uncle died and he inherited the responsibilities of Inverawe, Archie was never known as 'of Crunachy.'

Then on the 11<sup>th</sup> of October, Inverawe's brother John, Archie's other uncle, was procurator for him, recording his succession to his father Duncan in the Service of Heirs.<sup>2307</sup>

The harvest was late that year, particularly in Breadalbane in Perthshire. On the 25<sup>th</sup> of November, Duncan Toiseach of Monzievaird wrote to the Breadalbane to let him know that a great fall of snow had delayed the harvest. But that at Finlarig near Killin, and that at Taymouth at the other end of Loch Tay, had finally been completed 'with all stacks crowned' meaning thatched.<sup>2318</sup>

With the turn of the century, the fortunes of the Campbell leadership at a national level brightened. On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June 1701 the 10<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll was created Duke of Argyll for his support of William and Mary and the Protestant cause. That he had a considerable potential following would also have tilted any scales in his favour.

Although old Archibald of Inverawe had effectively made his nephew Archie his heir, he still may have had hopes of producing a son of his own. His wife had recently died and word was out that he was looking for a new wife. Had he been born in about 1634-5, he could now have been aged about 66-67.

Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine, who had benefited by Breadalbane's purchase of the nearby lands of Achacha, received a letter from his uncle, Alexander Campbell of Glenure, dated at Edinburgh on the 10<sup>th</sup> of July 1701:

Loveing nephew,

I have received your last letter with the bearer dated the 3<sup>rd</sup> July instant . . . . I have thought seriously on what yow have written concerning Mrs. Lillias Campbell and has acquainted some others of her friends therewith And as we have a great dale of respect for Mc:Connochie [Archibald of Inverawe] and his familie who carrie a very Creditable Character – if he and that Gentlewoman be so happie on both sides as mutually to agree in their affections I have not the least doubt bot the choice prove comfortable to both, and until they satisfie them selves in yt [that] material point yr [there] can be the less said yr [there] anent. She staves at present with her Aunt at Machanie. [the Oliphant place between Crieff and Auchterarder]. Her principles and his will agree very weill if they fancie on another. Bot to say the truth, we can say little or rather nothing anent tocher. Her brother [Lawers] who is lyke to be a very prettie Gentleman being left under some incumbrances which yow know some of his friends has made very uneasie to him. Withall, that Gentlemane's years and [being] in the Highlands should induce him to turn over if he fancie her to seek nothing with her [i.e. in tocher], She being very well bred of a Creditable familie and a weill favoured proper Gentlewoman that might make a desirable wife to aney in the natione. If he think fitt to see her when yow acquaint me yr [there] with I shall endeavour to speak with her before that tyme

And if yr [there] be aney thing of friendship or . . . . from these who are her relations yt [that] can be advance his interest yr [there] shall be none more willing to . . . . him and his . . . . than he is who is

Your affectionat Uncle to the  
Outmost of my power  
Al<sup>exr</sup> Campbell.<sup>2329</sup>

The marriage is also mentioned in one or two other letters in this group. Inverawe had recently lost his first wife Mary MacNeill, who had gained a rich liferent from Duntroon, but produced no children either for Duntroon or Inverawe. He may well have hoped that he could finally produce an heir with Lillias Campbell of the Lawers family.

Within that same year, an Instrument on a Contract of Marriage was being written up on behalf of Mrs. Lillias Campbell, spouse to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and [daughter] of Sir James Campbell of Lawers.<sup>2330</sup>

Campbell of Lawers had got into trouble and was in debt. On the 4<sup>th</sup> of April 1699 Mungo Campbell, a Factor for Breadalbane, had written to the earl that things at Lawers were in a state of confusion. Lawers' tenants were being oppressed by one named Archibald, and some had left... Mungo wished Lawers to be put in his right 'that a wrights sone or a rogue like Archibald may not be called any longer Laird of Lauers.' He hears that Archibald intends to do a flitting, meaning to vanish to escape his creditors.<sup>2341</sup>

Mungo was possibly Mungo Campbell of Kinloch, a cadet of Lawers, who died in about 1736 when his will is recorded at Dunkeld on the 29<sup>th</sup> of January.

James of Lawers was Lillias' brother, and their father was also James, so unless Archibald was a younger or natural brother, who he was is not clear. Perhaps James, while overseas, had appointed a brother called Archibald to be 'laird' in his stead.

However on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of July 1701 Campbell of Aberuchill, another of Breadalbane's Factors, wrote to the earl that there had been more trouble with Lawers 'due to Mungo's folly' and that Lawers was 'unstable.' Lillias would also prove to be quite insecure, poor lady. James Campbell of Lawers was born after his father's second marriage to a daughter of William Stewart of Grantully in 1678, and had succeeded his half-brother James (who died without children) in July 1703. He would eventually be murdered in his bed in Greenock by Duncan Campbell of Edramuckie on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of April 1723. James was likely therefore aged about 23-24 in 1700. James and Lillias' late father was a nephew of the first Earl of Loudoun and was made Lord Lyon King of Arms in 1658. He had died after 1689, which is why Lillias' brother James was responsible for her tocher.

By the autumn of 1701 an agreement had been reached between the parties. A Contract of Marriage was signed between Lillias Campbell, daughter of the late Sir James Campbell of Lawers, and Archibald Campbell of Inverawe on the 13<sup>th</sup> of October 1701.<sup>2352</sup> This was followed on the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> of November by Sasine being given to Mrs. Lillias Campbell, now spouse of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, on the Contract of marriage between them, and dated the 13<sup>th</sup> of October 1701, infetting her in an annuity of £1,000 Scots from the lands of Carbachen [not Cabrachan but mis-spelt Cruachan] and Barmaddie.<sup>2363</sup>

Patrick Campbell of Duntroon would now finally free himself from the long and heavy burden of payments to Archibald of Inverawe for Mary MacNeil. There had been one outstanding remaining Bond to be paid off, and he managed that final payment on the 15<sup>th</sup> of [November?] 1701. On that date at Largie, presumably Largie McKessag, later to be enlarged to be Kilmartin House, Archibald

of Inverawe signed the Discharge to Patrick Campbell of Duntroon for payment of the final Bond. Inverawe was likely staying at Kilmartin with his half brother Alexander of Kilmartin. Alexander and Partick Campbell of Raslie were the witnesses, one from each kindred.<sup>2374</sup>

On the 15<sup>th</sup> of December, Archibald of Inverawe and his nephew and heir Archie, would appear together on a Bond where Inverawe borrowed 1,000 merks from a Patrick Campbell, Writer in Edinburgh. Archie acted as Cautioner for his uncle.<sup>2385</sup>

John Earl of Breadalbane made a payment to Archibald of Inverawe by assigning him a Bond on the 6<sup>th</sup> of February 1702. The Bond, originally by Donald Stewart of Invernayle for £162 Scots, had been made by Donald to the earl in payment for some victual two days earlier, being dated at Taymouth on the 4<sup>th</sup> of February.<sup>2396</sup>

Then on the 24<sup>th</sup> of February the same Bond was re-assigned or 'translated' by Archibald of Inverawe, by then at Inveraray, to Colin Campbell, Chamberlain to the Duke of Argyll. This meant that Archibald would have the cash which the Bond represented.<sup>2407</sup>

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of March 1702 King William died, leaving a bad taste in Scotland but an impressive international reputation. The new sovereign was Queen Anne, whose many children never survived long beyond infancy.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of March 1702, Inverawe was again borrowing 1,000 merks, this time by a Bond to his cousin Alexander, merchant in Edinburgh.<sup>2418</sup>

That April of 1702, Archibald was still dealing with the Maclean lands and tacks on Mull. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of April he gave a Sub-Tack to Donald MacLean of Kingairloch of the one penny land of Ostramull [Oskamull?] for three years.<sup>2429</sup>

Next day on the 29<sup>th</sup>, in the final word that appears about the Campbells of Achacha, Anna Campbell, mother of Archibald Campbell sometime of Achacha, signed away her liferent to Breadalbane in exchange for 1,200 merks Scots. What survives is an Assingation by Anna Campbell, widow of John Campbell of Auchacha, narrating that by marriage contract of the 31<sup>st</sup> of December 1657, she had liferent right to half of the 6 merkland of Auchacha and quarter of the 4 merkland of Barnamuic in the parish of Bellievodan and Lordship of Lorne in Argyllshire. Then she stated that John Earl of Breadalbane had purchased those rights for 1,200 merks Scots. One hopes she was well advised and survived.<sup>2430</sup>

Inverawe's half sister Isobel, the widow of Campbell of Knap, was also to be married again. She had first been married in 1665 and now, 37 years later, she married for a second time. On the 5<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> of November 1702, a Contract of Marriage was signed between Isobel Campbell, daughter of the late Lt. Col. Dougall Campbell of Inverawe by his second wife Janet McNeill, and Archibald Clerk of Braeleacan. 'Braeleacan' was Braigh-leacain, about 1 ½ miles due north of Furnace on the Leacann Water and nearby to Pennymore on Loch Fyne where the Clerks had a burial ground. There was another Braeleacan between Dalmally (then Clachan Dysart) and Inveraray, a hill farm, but this was not where the Clerks lived.<sup>2441</sup> The contract was followed on the 20<sup>th</sup> of November by her Sasine of Braeleacan in the lands of Pennymore, and others based upon their Contract of Marriage, made with consent of her brothers, Alexander Campbell of Kilmartin and Dougall Campbell, Bailie of Nether Lorn.<sup>2452</sup>

Two days later, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November 1702 a son was born to Janet Maclean and her husband

Archie, heir to Inverawe.<sup>2463</sup> What seems almost certain is that Archie and Janet were living at Tirvine on the shores of Loch Awe at that time. They had the boy christened Duncan after his paternal grandfather. Archibald of Inverawe was no doubt re-assured that, if the child survived, there was a future for him as head of the MacConnochie kindred and that care of the communities in their responsibility would continue into the future.

Appropriately enough, less than three weeks later, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of December 1702, Colin Kennedy, Servitor to Archibald of Inverawe, was one of the witnesses to a Commission by the Kirk Session of Belliveodan to John Campbell of Ardochattan to collect certain rents due to them for the use of the school of the parish of Belliveodan. Colin would later be Innkeeper at Bunaw.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of September 1703 the first Duke of Argyll died and was succeeded by his soldier-statesman son John as second Duke. He would earn the name 'Red John of the Battles.'

Early in the spring of 1704, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of February, Archibald of Inverawe wrote to Breadalbane concerning his wife Lillias' jointure, payable from the lands of Lochawe. Although she was now parentless, Breadalbane was her Godfather.<sup>2474</sup>

Inverawe had been paying tack duties to the first Duke of Argyll, presumably for the lands in Mull which he had let in Sub-Tack to various people, including Macleans. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of February 1704 Mr. John Campbell of Mamore, the Duke's brother, signed a Commission at Edinburgh that he had right, by assignation by the late first Duke, to the Tack duties payable to him by Alexander Campbell of Lochnell, Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, Archibald Campbell Tutor of Islay, and others, for £8,000 Scots yearly, until he receives the sum of 40,000 merks. By this Commission he granted commission to Dougall Campbell, Chamberlain to the second Duke of Argyll to uplift the said yearly sum from the lands affected thereby, and he is to make payment and accounting to Ronald Campbell WS, for the same. John of Mamore had been cautioner for the first Duke to pay these funds to the Earl of Moray.<sup>2485</sup>

The following year, on the 6<sup>th</sup> of March, Archibald of Inverawe signed a Bond to his half brother Dougall, Bailie of Nether Lorn for Breadalbane. His cautioner was Alexander Campbell of Duchollie, 'Dubh Choille' or the dark wood, near Achlian on Inverawe land. The MacConnochie Campbell tacksman in Duchollie appear to have been Inverawe kin, descended perhaps from Patrick, brother of John *dubh*, Tutor of Inverawe who was killed in circa. 1603.<sup>2496</sup> Although here Alexander was called 'of' Duchollie, the place was still in Inverawe hands in 1765, so that he was in fact still a tacksman of Inverawe. However he was what was called a 'kindly tenant' which was often the case when a tack was renewed generation after generation, and due to being a long established family they were often known locally as 'of' the place. Another family on nearby land at Achlian were also called 'of Achlian' by many although they were actually Inverawe tacksman of the place. They believed their descent was from the MacConnochie Campbells of Stronchormag and so were considered to be kin by Inverawe.

A long and active life was coming to an end. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of May 1705, old Archibald MacConnochie Campbell of Inverawe died, presumably at Inverawe.<sup>2507</sup> He would have been aged about 70. His funeral at Ardochattan would likely have been well attended. As Barcaldine's uncle, Alexander of Glenure had written only a few years earlier, '... we have a great dale of respect for Mc:Connochie and his familie who carrie a very Creditable Character...' When figures like Archibald's leave the active scene, there is at times a sense of it being the end of an era. The pace of change was accelerating and, while some might have questions about the abilities of his nephew

Archie, his grandson Duncan would gain and increase respect for the family.

What remained were the legal closures that were by now a regular feature of Argyll life for those with any possessions to pass on. The responsibility for the people in any communities on granted lands went automatically to the heir male, in this case Archie, now of Inverawe, subject to a re-grant from Argyll. The ‘testament’ detailed what was owing and owed to the one who had died, plus any distribution of legacies. On the 5<sup>th</sup> of November 1705, the Testament Dative of the late Inverawe, who had died on the 21<sup>st</sup> of May that year, was registered at Inveraray. Later, his Testament was further recorded in Edinburgh by his cousin Alexander Campbell, merchant there. Alexander appears as ‘executor qua creditor to him in respect of the defunct’s Bond of the 27<sup>th</sup> of March 1702 to him for 1,000 merks, and a Bond by the said defunct as principal and Archibald Campbell, son of Duncan who was brother german to the defunct, for 600 merks, assigned on the 24<sup>th</sup> of August 1705 to the said Alexander Campbell.’ Inverawe’s estate consisted of cattle, horses and victual with household plenishings, valued in all at £1,006. 13s. 4d. There was due to him by James Campbell of Lawers by Bond of the 13<sup>th</sup> of October 1701 the sum of £2,000 and interest there-upon. Archibald’s surviving brother John was cautioner for him for the executor.<sup>251</sup>

Another version was registered much later, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of April 1713. More detail appears in this version, given up by Archie Campbell, now of Inverawe: There was due to the estate £132 of principal with annual rent and expenses by young Archibald Campbell of Auchacha by his Bond with consent of Dougall Campbell of Stronchormaig and Duncan Campbell, brother to the late Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, dated in May 1699. Also £43. 6s. 8d. was due by Dame Julian McLeod, widow of Sir Allan McLeod, now spouse to James Campbell of Glendaruel, which Archibald had desired that his brother John Campbell collect, no doubt trusting him to be diplomatic. But in fact John had died in the meantime. Also there was a further debt owed by Duncan Campbell, fiar of Asknish, for certain teind victual of the lands of Kilbryde contained in his Bond to Archibald of the 14<sup>th</sup> of August 1691.<sup>2529</sup>

So now Archibald and both his full brothers, Duncan and John had moved on and only their sister Isabel survived, along with the half brothers Alexander of Kilmartin and Dougall, now Baillie of Nether Lorne and ultimately of Shirven. Archibald’s widow Lillias – who signed herself ‘Lilias’ - seemingly left Inverawe for her Godfather Breadalbane’s castle of Finlarig, so that Archie and Janet and the infant Duncan could move from Tirvine into Inveraw itself. A question remained with potential to have great influence on their lives. Was Lillias pregnant with Archibald’s son?

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### ***Endnotes:***

1. Argyll Transcripts.
2. R. D. Durie 13, 530; R.D. Indices.
3. *Argyll Sasines* Vol.II fol.147.
4. SRO/NAS GD 202/2/3 [1&4?]; Advocates Library M.S. 31/2/3 p. 95.
5. Rec. 8 Dec 1702 in Vol. III *Sheriff Court Bks. Inveraray 1702-1706*; & Clan C. SCBI p. 47.
6. NAS/SRO GD 202/2/3 [1&4?]; Advocates Library, M.S. 31/2/3 p. 95.
7. Argyll Charters Vol. I pp. 199, 301.
8. SRO/NAS JP 36/6/5; Frank Bigwood, *Justices of the Peace [Courts] in Argyll 1686-1825* p. 126.
9. Argyll Sasine Abstracts 544.
10. Reg. 22 June 1674 Argyll Sasines Vol. I fol. 46.

11. Both above in NLS Adv. Lib. M.S. 31/2/3.
12. SRO/NAS GD 50/26/32 commented upon in a letter from Dr. Lorne Campbell PhD.
13. Scot. Hist. Soc. *Highland Papers* Vol. I p. 294 1914.
14. Argyll Sasine Abstracts 614 & Vol. I fol. 93. IN
15. SRO/NAS GD112/39/121/3.
16. Duntroon Papers quoted in Lorne Campbell PhD's Notes.
17. Sasine Reg. 16 May 1676 in Argyll Sasines Vol. I fol. 151.
18. Historical Manuscript Commission, Argyll p. 628 No.183.
19. Argyll Transcripts.
20. Argyll Transcripts quoted by Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol.2, p.20.
21. Argyll Transcripts; Scottish History Society, *Highland Papers*, vol.1, pp. 309-11.
22. Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol. 2, pp 21-22.
23. SRO/NAS GD112/39/123/1.
24. Notes by Lorne Campbell PhD from Duntroon Papers
25. Clan C. lists as HMC Report VI p. 618b (101); & Vol. VII Abs. by Duke Neil p. 249
26. Clan C. lists as HMC Report VI p. 618b (102); & Vol. VII Abs. by Duke Neil p. 249 III
27. Argyll Sasines Vol. I fol. 217.
28. Reg. 22 Nov. in Arg. Sas. Vol. I fol. 217.
29. Duntroon Papers quoted in Lorne Campbell PhD's Notes.
30. SRO/NAS GD 202/2/4.
31. Presented by Marion Campbell of Kilberry to the Argyll County Archive; Box 1 pkt. 3
32. Kilberry papers Box I pkt 3. Argyll County Archive.
33. Inveraray Abstracts.
34. Scot. Hist. Soc. *Highland Papers* Vol. I p. 317.
35. Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, p. 65
36. Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, p. 67
37. Historical Manuscript Commission, Argyll p. 629 No.201
38. SRO/NAS GD112/39/124/29.
39. SRO/NAS GD112/39/124/30.
40. SRO/NAS GD112/39/124/32.
41. Inveraray Abstracts.
42. *Highland Papers* Vol. I (XX).
43. Inveraray Abstracts.
44. Reg. 10 July 1681 in Argyll Sasines Vol. I fol. 370.
45. Inveraray Abstracts.
46. Sheriff Court Bk. Inveraray 1689-1714.
47. Reg. 13 May 1684 in Argyll Sasines Vol. II fol. 83; (Inveraray Abstracts.
48. Reg 15 Nov. 1681 in Argyll Sasines Vol. II fol. 382 & Vol. I fol. 56.
49. Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol.2, pp 30-33.
50. Reg. 8 Dec. 1681 in Argyll Sasines Vol. I fol. 386.
51. *Ibid.* p. 33.
52. Duntroon Papers quoted in Lorne Campbell PhD's Notes.
53. Reg Privy Council, Charles II 1682 p. 436
54. 'Reg Privy Council Charles II p.420.
55. Duntroon Papers quoted in Lorne Campbell PhD's Notes.
56. *Ibid.*
57. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/36
58. Reg. 20 Aug. 1683 in Argyll Sasines Vol. II fol. 56.
59. Argyll Charters - Arg. Transcripts.
60. SRO/NAS GD112/39/136/4.
61. Reg. 13 May 1684 in Argyll Sasines Vol. II fol. 83.
62. Paul Hopkins: *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1986 & 88, p.95
63. SRO/NAS GD112/39/136/7.
64. Reg. on 20 September 1684 in Argyll Sasines, vol. 2, fol. 92.
65. Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol.2, pp.38-39.
66. Paul Hopkins: *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1986 & 88, p.97.
67. Wilcock *A Scots Earl – Life & Times of Archibald 9th Earl of Argyll*, Elliot Pub. 1907 pp. 354 et seq.
68. Footnote 131; Atholl *Chronicles*, 257, 258; *Account of the Depradations*, 256.) (Paul Hopkins: *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1986 & 88, p.103).



69. *A Scots Earl...* p.357.
70. *Ibid.* & M.S. *Diary of Lady Henrietta Campbell.*
71. Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol.2, p43.
72. Wilcock *A Scots Earl...*p. 374 et seq.
73. SRO/NAS GD112/39/138/4.
74. Wilcock *A Scots Earl...*p. 398 & 402.
75. Inveraray Transcripts.
76. Wilcock, *A Scots Earl...*p. 409.
77. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/28.
78. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/1.
79. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/1.
80. Wilcock, *A Scots Earl...*pp. 424-425.
81. Duntroon Papers quoted in Lorne Campbell PhD's Notes.
82. Reg. 18 May 1694 in *Sheriff Court Bks. Inveraray* Vol. I fol. 182.
83. [Not numbered, but must be]: SRO/AS RH 15/14/45/3.
84. [Not numbered, but must be]: SRO/AS RH 15/14/45/3.
85. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/4.
86. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/5.
87. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/5.
88. NAS/SRO: RH15/14/45/18.
89. NAS/SRO: RH15/14/45/18.
90. Contr. 24 Dec. 1630, GRS Abs. (354).
91. Dunstaffnage Papers (99), (102), (122).
92. R.P.C. 3rd ser, vol. 8, 564-5 & vol. 9, 332.
93. Reg. on 18 May 1687 in *Argyll Sasines* Vol. II fol. 198.
94. Reg. 18 May 1687 in *Argyll Sasines* Vol. II fol. 197.
95. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/6.
96. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/6.
97. NAS/SRO: RH15/14/45/20.
98. NAS/SRO: RH15/14/45/20
99. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/7.
100. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/7
101. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/8.
102. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/8.
103. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/2.
104. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/2.
105. Clan C. Vol. I p. 8; Rec. 9 Aug. 1693; Clan C. *Sher. Ct. Bks of Inveraray* [SCBI] p. 8.
106. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/9.
107. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/9.
108. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/27
109. SRO/NAS: RH 15/14/45/10.
110. SRO/NAS: RH 15/14/45/10.
111. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/29.
112. RH 15/14/45/30
113. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/31.
114. Duntroon Papers quoted in Lorne Campbell PhD's Notes.
115. Rec. 18 May 1694 Vol. I *Sheriff Court Bks. Inveraray* 1689-1696; & Clan C. SCBI p. 10.
116. *Collins Encyclopaedia of Scotland*, Keays, Ed., under James.
117. Note [corrected as to Inverawe being in the Tollbooth rather than in Edinburgh] by N. Maclean-Bristol in N&Q No.3, pp.23-25; Paul Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, John Donald, Edinburgh, (1980 & 86) pp 97, 102-3; *London Gazette* No. 2401.
118. Duntroon Papers quoted in Lorne Campbell PhD's Notes.
119. RCAHMS Lorne, Ardchattan.
120. 1738 Court of Session Commission evidence.
121. SRO/NAS GD112/39/145/4.
122. NAS/SRO: GD112/39/145/4.
123. NAS/SRO: GD112/39/145/4.
124. Paul Hopkins: *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1986& 88, p.152.

133. Contained in Test. Dative of Arch. C. of I. Reg. 15 April 1713, Reg. of Tests.
125. Reg. Privy Council 9 Sept. 1689.
126. Reg. Privy Council 9 Sept. 1689.
127. Frank Bigwood; *Burgh Court of Inveraray 1686-1825*.
129. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/11.
130. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/11.
131. [Contained in a Bond by Archibald's nephew in 1714] Reg. 24 Jan. 1716 in Sheriff Court Bks. Inveraray 1689-1784 in Clan C. Vol. I p. 144.
132. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/32.
134. Reg. 12 Apr. 1693 in Vol. I p. 151 *Sheriff Court Bks. Inveraray*; & Clan C. SCBI p. 8.
135. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/34.
136. Duncan C. MacTavish *The Commons of Argyll* pp. 25-26 List of FencibleMen 26 May 1692.
137. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/39.
138. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/12.
139. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/12.
140. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/13.
141. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/13
142. SRO/NAS no number but likely RH 15/14/45/43.
143. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/40.
144. Reg. 26 Oct. 1711 in *Sheriff Court Bk. Inveraray* 1689-1784.
145. SRO/NAS GD 112/2/1/5.
146. Reg. 15 March 1728 in *Sheriff Court Bks. Inveraray* Vol. VIII; Clan C. Abs. p. 15.
147. Rec. 9 March 1694 in *Sheriff Court Bk. Inveraray* 1689-1784; Clan C. SCBI p. 9-10.
148. Duntroon Papers quoted in Lorne Campbell PhD's Notes.
149. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/15[13?].
150. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/15[13?].
151. Rec. on 9 March 1694 in *Sheriff Court Bks. Inveraray* 1689-1784; & Clan C. SCBI p. 9.
152. Duntroon Papers quoted in Lorne Campbell PhD's Notes.
153. Argyll Hornings 1694.
154. SRO/NAS GD 112/2/1/3 & mentioned in GD 112/2/1/15.
155. Transcription by the late Charles Millar, descendant of Dalness, from Argyll Sasines 1694- 95.
156. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/14.
157. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/14.
158. Inveraray Transcripts.
159. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/16.
160. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/16.
161. Duntroon Papers quoted in Lorne Campbell PhD's Notes.
162. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/22
163. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/22
164. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/35.
165. SRO/NAS No number but likely RH 15/14/45/44?
166. SRO/NAS No number on copy RH 15/14/45/38?
167. Reg. 24 May 1697 in Vol. II *Sheriff Court Bks. Inveraray* 1696-1702; & Clan C. SCBI p.21.
168. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/4.
169. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/42.
170. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/42.
171. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/18.
172. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/18.
173. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/33.
174. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/41.
175. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/41.
176. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/19.
177. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/19.
178. Reg. 25 July 1695 in Argyll Sasines Vol. II fol. 478.
179. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/20.
180. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/20.
181. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/ 21.
182. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/ 21.
183. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/23.

184. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/23.
185. Clan C. SCBI Vol. III p. 215.
186. SRO/NAS GD/112/2/1/5.
187. SRO/NAS GD/112/2/1/6 & 15.
188. Inveraray Transcripts.
189. Rec. 26 March 1701 in Vol. II Sheriff Court Bks. Inveraray 1689-1784; & Clan C. SCBI p. 39; & Dunstaffnage Inventory in Wimberly *Memorials of the Campbells of Kilmartin* Appendix.
190. The above deeds of the 10th of October 1696 were produced by Duncan Campbell of Inverawe in support of his claim for losses due to the end of heritable jurisdictions in 1747. The date for the said registration of the Sasine was the 30th of January 1697 in the Particular Register for Argyllshire, however the Sasine does not appear in the Register. Further, the above Tack of lands in Mull of that date [10th of October] shows the Earl to have been in Edinburgh, and how Sasine could be given on that same day in Argyll is curious.
191. Clan C. Vol. III SCBI p.199.
192. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/24.
193. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/24.
194. Duntroon Papers quoted in Lorne Campbell PhD's Notes.
195. Clan C.: in Disposition of 26 Nov. 1733 Reg. on 28 Nov. 1733.
196. SRO/NAS GD112/39/177/10.
197. Reg. 22 Dec. 1779 – Duntroon Papers Vol. VI p. 51.
198. Inveraray Transcripts.
199. SRO/NAS GD 112/2/1/9.
200. SRO/NAS GD 112/2/1/15.
201. Mentioned in subsequent Sasine of 27 Dec 1699 in Argyll Sasines Vol. III fol. 97 below.
202. SRO/NAS GD/112/2/1/12.
203. SRO/NAS GD/112/2/1/13.
204. SRO/NAS GD/112/2/1/14.
205. SRO/NAS GD 112/2/1/15.
206. SRO/NAS GD/112/2/1/17.
207. SRO/NAS GD/112/2/1/16.
208. Reg. Book of Council & Session on the 12th of July 1707; SRO/NAS GD/112/2/1/18.
209. Reg. Gen. Reg. Of Sasines 10 July 1699.
210. Rec. 26 Nov 1700 in Vol. II Sheriff Court Bks. Inveraray 1696-1702; & Clan C. SCBI p. 37.
211. SRO/NAS GD112/39/179/6.
212. SRO/NAS GD112/39/179/7.
213. NAS/SRO: GD112/39/179/7.
214. NAS/SRO: GD112/39/179/7.
215. Service of Heirs 11 October 1700.
216. SRO/NAS Barcaldine Papers GD170/3042.
217. Reg. 1 Jan 1700 in Argyll Sasines Vol. III fol. 97.
218. Dunstaffnage Inventory in Wimberly *Memorials of the Campbells of Kilmartin* Appendix.
219. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/25.
220. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/25.
221. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/45/26.
222. SRO/NAS No number, must be RH 15/14/45/26.
223. SRO/NAS No number, must be RH 15/14/45/26.
224. Duntroon Papers quoted in Lorne Campbell PhD's Notes.
225. Contained in Marriage Contract Reg. 8 May 1710 in Reg. of Deeds Mack. 106.
226. SRO GD 112/2/85/2/6.
227. Service of Heirs at Inveraray.
228. GD112/39/182/22.
229. Barcaldine Papers SRO/NAS: GD 597/3.
230. Dunstaffnage Inventory in Wimberly *Memorials of the Campbells of Kilmartin* Appendix.
231. SRO/NAS GD112.39/178/10.
232. Contained in Sasine of 5 & 6 Nov. 1702 below.
233. Reg. 19 Nov 1701 in *Argyll Sasines* Vol. III fol. 243.
234. Duntroon Papers quoted in Lorne Campbell PhD's Notes.
235. Contained in Testament Dative Reg. 5 Nov 1705 in Argyll Testaments.
236. Clan C. Reg. 20 March 1714 .
237. Clan C. Reg. 20 March 1714.

238. Contained in Testament Dative Reg. 5 Nov 1705 in Argyll Testaments.
239. Dunstaffnage Inventory in Wimberly *Memorials of the Campbells of Kilmartin* Appendix.
240. SRO/NAS GD.112/2/1/22.
241. Contained in Factory of 2 June 1718 in Clan C. Vol. I p. 176.
242. Reg. 25 Nov 1702 in Argyll Sasines Vol. III fol. 341.
243. List of births in Bible quoted in *Notes on the Campbells of Inverawe* 1st Ed. p. 32.
244. SRO/NAS GD112./39/192/8.
245. Rec. 26 Feb 1705 in Sheriff Court Bks. Inveraray Vol. III 1702-1706; & Clan C. SCBI p. 59.
246. Mentioned in Testament Dative Reg. 5 Nov 1705 in Argyll Testaments.
247. Contained in his Testament. Reg. 5 Nov 1705 in Argyll Tests.
248. Reg. 5 Nov 1705 in Argyll Testaments.
249. Testament Reg. 15 April 1713 in Argyll Tests.

# *Lillias the Widow – Breadalbane's God-Daughter & Her Joynture*

## *Chapter 11*

Note that in letters quoted in this paper, some of the hardest to read are translated to modern spelling. Those written by Lillias herself show the spelling as written, as the spelling expresses her character and the letters show her to be educated and fluent in style.

Although the preceding series of papers takes the family at Inverawe from the Middle Ages to the death of Archibald, erstwhile governor of Duart for Argyll, in 1705, there is reason for this extension of another five or six years into the 18<sup>th</sup> century. He left a widow.

Rare it is, among all the stiff old folded parchments or papers of these families, to find much about the ladies whose lives made all possible. And when it does occur there is a virtual inevitability that it will involve either birth, marriage or death. When two of these come together there may be a rare shaft light tilted towards a widow and her marriages. Although her letters echo pain, as much of insecurity as of loss, the letters of Lillias Campbell, 'the Lady Inverawe' written to her Godfather the Earl of Breadalbane are revealing.

Lillias' father was Sir James Campbell of Lawers on Loch Tay. He was Lord Lyon King of Arms and a nephew of the Earl of Loudoun. He married twice, having a son James by his first wife, a Macleod of Dunvegan. Lillias would seem to have been a daughter by his second wife whom he had married in August 1678. So her mother was Ann, daughter of Sir William Stewart of Grantully. Lillias' full brother was also named James Campbell, and he succeeded his half brother James on the 12<sup>th</sup> of July 1703 as Campbell of Lawers. The family descended from a younger son of Sir Colin Campbell, first of Glenorchy, the second son of Duncan, first Lord Campbell.

Given the date of her parent's marriage, it would seem likely that Lillias was about 20 years old in 1700. Although had she been married before, as seems possible, perhaps she was a child of the first marriage and therefore in her thirties. That she was still considered of childbearing age seems clear.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> of July 1700, old Archibald MacConnochie Campbell, 7<sup>th</sup> of Inverawe was writing to his cousin and agent in Edinburgh, Alexander Campbell, merchant and burgess there. His mind was full of his familial task of acting on behalf of Alexander's brother, the prosperous and highly social Captain Dougall Campbell, merchant in London, in obtaining a tack of the lands of Ichrachan from Campbell of Cawdor. This was a place southwest across the River Awe from Inverawe. His business letter rattles along until he hits a painful personal note, likely responding to good wishes sent to his lady by Alexander:

....for the Tutor [of] Cawdor promises to be in this country next month. And although your Commission be full that you sent it is always at your brother's disposal. Let me know of your condition and send my letter to your brother by the first [post]. There is no hope of my wife's recovery who is now five months bedfast. Naught else, but my respects to you and your bedfellow. I rest,

Your Affectionate Cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe

You may back [address] your brother's letter where he may be found.<sup>1</sup>

There had been no children of this long first marriage of Inverawe to Mary McNeill. When they first married she had been the young widow of Campbell of Duntroon. The payments of her 'joynture' or liferent allowance as widow had bankrupted that place, resulting in its being sold to a cousin. But the joynture had still to be paid, and was. So the couple's lives were made easier through intermittent payments by subsequent Duntroons. With her death those payments would end.

Lacking a son of his own, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of September 1684 Inverawe had given Sasine of his lands to his brother Duncan, who had an heir in his son, also called Archibald, and hereafter called 'Archie' to differentiate him from his uncle Archibald of Inverawe. Archibald had kept the responsibility for the people on the lands during his lifetime and this measure only clarified who would be his heir and his hopes for a son of his own. The Sasine was,

preceding on a Disposition by the said Archibald dated the 26<sup>th</sup> of August of the lands of Inverawe and others, with reservations that if it shall please God to bless the said Archibald with any son of this or any other marriage, then the said Duncan by acceptance of this Disposition shall be obliged to denude himself of his right to the said lands in favour of the said son and heir; and reserving the liferent of Mary MacNeill, spouse to the said Archibald. Witnesses included John Campbell, brother of the said Archibald.<sup>2</sup>

In the event, his brother Duncan died before the 17<sup>th</sup> century was out, and so it was the younger Archie who was now his heir. Clearly Archibald of Inverawe had hoped to have a son to succeed him, but his disappointment had been mellowed by the easing of life through Mary's company and her joynture. And now, in 1700, she was 'not long for this world.' No record appears to survive giving the date of Mary's death. No stone at Ardchattan has been found for around that year of 1700 to mark her grave. Yet before July the next year, her funeral must have been held. For on the 10<sup>th</sup> of July 1701, Alexander Campbell of Glenure was writing to his nephew, Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine:

Loveing nephew,

I have received your last letter with the bearer dated the 3<sup>rd</sup> July instant ... I have thought seriously on what yow have written concerning Mrs. Lillias Campbell and has acquainted some others of her friends therewith And as we have a great dale of respect for Mc:Connochie [Archibald of Inverawe] and his familie who carrie a very Creditable Character – if he and that Gentlewoman be so happie on both sides as mutually to agree in their affections I have not the least doubt bot the choice prove comfortable to both, and until they satisfie them selves in yt [that] material point yr [there] can be the less said yr [there] anent. She staves at present with her Aunt at Machanie. Her principles and his will agree very weill if they fancie on another. Bot to say the truth, we can say little or rather nothing anent tocher. Her brother [Lawers] who is lyke to be a very prettie Gentleman being left under some incumbrances which yow know some of his friends has made very uneasie to him. Withall, that Gentlemane's years and [being] in the Highlands should induce him to turn over if he fancie her to seek nothing with her [i.e. in tocher], She being very well bred of a Creditable familie and a weill favoured proper Gentlewoman that might make a desirable wife to aney in the natione. If he think fitt to see her when yow acquaint me yr [there] with I shall endeavour to speak with her before that tyme

And if yr [there] be aney thing of friendship or ... from these who are her relations yt [that] cam be advance his interest yr [there] shall be none more willing to ... him and his ... than he is who is

Your affectionat Uncle to the  
Outmost of my power  
Al<sup>exr</sup> Campbell<sup>3</sup>

This and other documents suggest that Lillias was already widowed. And yet it seems as though she were not receiving any widow's liferent from an earlier source since she writes often to say that she was very short of funds. Negotiations were evidently successful, since that same year Lillias Campbell married Archibald Campbell of Inverawe. On the 13<sup>th</sup> of October 1701 a postnuptial Contract of Marriage had been signed on behalf of Lillias Campbell, now wife of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and [daughter] of Sir James Campbell of Lawers.<sup>4</sup> Sasine was given for 'Mrs. Lillias Campbell, spouse of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe' on the 6<sup>th</sup> of 7<sup>th</sup> of November that year, infesting her in an annuity of £1,000 Scots from the lands of Carbachen [not Cabrachan but Cruachan] and Barmaddie.<sup>5</sup>

James of Lawers was evidently not in a position to pay the £2,000 tocher or dowry that had been agreed. The marriage of Lillias and Inverawe had taken place before the next surviving document was written. This was a letter from Archibald to the Earl of Breadalbane, dated on the 17<sup>th</sup> of February 1704 at the island castle of Fraoch Eilean on Lochawe, one of Inverawe's places. This appears to be a negotiation concerning the arrangement for the liferent for Liliias of Lawers whom Archibald had married. The letter appears to have been written by one of Archibald's servitors, since it is mercifully not in his scrawling hand, although he signs. As usual, Breadalbane, although a cousin of Inverawe's, was pushing for the maximum gain. Inverawe mentioned 'my friends' which in this case mean his colleagues or advisors in the negotiations. They are not accepting the earl's proposals:

My Lord,

I am very sensible of your Lordship's kindness now and always and I and my friends are very will content to secure my wife in a thousand merks of annuity out of land in Argyll that within this seven years had paid an hundred pound sterling, that [in] those bygone evil years, which your Lordship may know by experience of your own lands. Which I hope will grow daily better. As to the penalty of not paying a thousand merks we are content to pay it [at] Inveraray or Clachandysart [now Dalmally] as your Lordship mentions, under any ordinary penalty out of . . . . readiest of my lands on Lochawe what that the full rent paid eighteen hundred merks. Your Lordship knows this is the ordinary method of securing annuities, nor will my friends agree to any alternative whereby she may enter to the lands further than for the payment of a thousand merks yearly. And seeing your Lordship is for accommodating matters its hoped your Lordship will propose nothing that may raise differences between her and my friends, which this alternative turnover proposed will certainly do. I hope your Lordship upon second thoughts will give such instructions as we may agree to, or defer it until you [are] coming to this Country. I find your Lordship has given direction to your Chamberlain that i could not be paid until his return to you and until the teinds of Appin were paid, which much postpones me by reason of my urgent creditors, so that I shall earnestly entreat that your Lordship acquaint me by the first what I may expect. I remain,

Your Lordship's affect. And Humbler servant

Fraoch Eilean the 17<sup>th</sup> of  
ebry 1704

A. Campbell of Inveraw<sup>6</sup>

Lillias' brother, James Campbell of Lawers had got into trouble and in debt. On the 4<sup>th</sup> of April 1699 Mungo Campbell, a Factor for Breadalbane, had written to the earl that things at Lawers

were in a state of confusion. His [Lawers] tenants were being oppressed by someone called Archibald, and some have left... He wishes Lawers to be put in his right 'that a wrights sone or a rogue like Archibald may not be called any longer Laird of Lauers.' He hears that Archibald intends to do a flitting, the Scots word for leaving quietly and suddenly.<sup>7</sup> Mungo was seemingly Mungo Campbell of Kinloch or Caenloch, a cadet of Lawers, who died in about 1736 when his will is recorded at Dunkeld on the 29<sup>th</sup> of January. Who Archibald was is not clear, although his curious 'proxy-laird' relationship to James of Lawers, Aberuchill's comment about 'instability, and James' unusual death, could be explained had they been 'in a relationship'. That James, while overseas, had appointed a friend called Archibald to be 'laird' in his stead when normally a Factor [manager] would be appointed, suggests that the relationship was unusual. A later concern over one McIldonich going to Flanders as James' servant, mentioned in one of Lillias' letters, might also be interpreted in this way, were he young. When the comment about Archibald the 'wright's son' was made, James would only have been about 21.

However on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of July 1701 Campbell of Aberuchill, another of Breadalbane's Factors, wrote to the earl that there had been more trouble with Lawers 'due to Mungo's folly' and that Lawers was 'unstable.' James would eventually be murdered in his bed in Greenock by Duncan Campbell of Edramuckie on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of April 1723.

So perhaps it was Breadalbane who was coming up with Lillias' Tocher, since James was unable to do so. But meanwhile all negotiations were stilled by force of nature.

That spring, Archibald of Inverawe, once governor of Duart for Argyll, died on the 21<sup>st</sup> of May 1705 at Inverawe. Lillias, now likely about 25, was a widow with her tocher unpaid and her liferent or annuity due to her. But, given the state of the late Archibald's debts, the latter would not be a simple or swift matter. The date of his death is contained in his Testament that was registered on the 5<sup>th</sup> of November 1705 in Argyll Testaments at Inveraray.

Young Archie, the old man's nephew, would now be responsible for the people of the communities on Inverawe lands and, most immediately, for the funeral arrangements. For the next nine months he would be conscious of whether Lillias might be pregnant with an alternative heir. While the text of the Testament is terse and involved, it unfolds the state of his affairs and what Archie, now of Inverawe, would face. Alexander was the cousin who was the Inverawe agent in Edinburgh. Bonds were I.O.U.s – meaning that Inverawe had borrowed money. Cautioners were responsible guarantors.

Testament Dative of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe who died on the 21<sup>st</sup> of May 1705, given up by Alexander Campbell, merchant in Edinburgh, executor qua creditor to him in respect of the defunct's Bond of the 27<sup>th</sup> of March 1702 to him for 1,000 merks, and a Bond by the said defunct as principal and Archibald Campbell, [Archie] son of Duncan Campbell, his brother german, as cautioner, dated the 15<sup>th</sup> of December 1701 to Patrick Campbell, Writer in Edinburgh, for 1,000 merks, assigned on the 20<sup>th</sup> of July 1705 to the said Alexander Campbell; also a Bond by the defunct as principal and Alexander Campbell of 'Duchelze' [Duchollie] as cautioner dated the 5<sup>th</sup> of March 1705 to Dougall Campbell, brother german to the defunct, for 600 merks, assigned on the 24<sup>th</sup> of August 1705 to the said Alexander Campbell.

The defuncts estate consisted of cattle, horses and victual with household plenishings, valued in all at £1,006. 13s. 4d. There was due to him by James Campbell of Lawers by



Bond of the 13<sup>th</sup> of October 1701 the sum of £2,000 and interest there-upon.  
John Campbell, brother german to the defunct, is cautioner for the executor.<sup>8</sup>

Later, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of April 1713, Archie would register the Testament showing further debts due to and by the late Inverawe:

Testament Dative of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe who died on the 21<sup>st</sup> of May 1705, given up by Archibald Campbell, now of Inverawe, brother's son and executor.

There was due to the defunct £132 of principal with annual rent and expenses by Archibald Campbell of Auchacha by his Bond with consent of Dougall Campbell of Stronchormaig and Duncan Campbell, brother to the said deceased Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, to the said defunct dated May 1699; also £43. 6s. 8d. due by Dame Julian McLeod, widow of Sir Allan McLeod, now spouse to James Campbell of Glendaruel, which the defunct desired the deceased John Campbell, his brother, to obtain payment of; also by Duncan Campbell, fiar of Asknish, certain teind victual of the lands of Kilbryde contained in his Bond of the 14<sup>th</sup> of August 1691 to the defunct.<sup>9</sup>

Breadalbane had an accounting drawn up of the late Inverawe's debts on the 28<sup>th</sup> of May – known as Whitsun or Whitsunday, a Term of Quarterday in Scotland.

Accounting for Breadalbane related to Inverawe's debts. Annualrent is shown as @rent:

Double [copy?] Stated Account McConnochie of Inverawe to ye Earle of Broadalbane	
Princ[ipa]l Summ [as?] . . .	1600 : 00 : 00
@rent yrof from Martt[inmass] 1701 to Martt 1702	88 : 00 : 00
@rent yrof from Martt 1702 till Martt 1703	<u>88 : 00 : 00</u>
	176 : 00 : 00
Deduce ye Superplus Duty of Glenoe For ye said 2 years being	<u>72 : 00 : 00</u>
Rests of @rent	104 : 00 : 00
@rent from Martt 1703 to Martt 1704	<u>88 : 00 : 00</u>
Summa[ry of] @rent to 1704	192 : 00 : 00
Summa[ry] of Princ[ipa]l	1600 : 00 : 00
From @rent of ye Principal Summe	
From Martt 1704 till Whit[Sunday] 1705	44 : 00 : 00
Summ[ary] princ[ipa]l and @rent att Whit 1705	1836 : 00 : 00 <sup>10</sup>

The late Inverawe's widow Lillias was understandably concerned about her annualrent or annuity of her joynture. She had evidently written to her Godfather Breadalbane. His reply, from his place in Perthshire, has survived:

Addressed as The Lady Inverawe.

Madam Taymouth yr 19<sup>th</sup> July 1705

I know it was the expectation you had of seeing me soon in yr shire, that promissed you not to come here when you was in this Cuntry, but now if you will not be disappointed, I judged

it fitt to send this . . . [torn] to acquaint you yt bussiness detains me so long here . . . [torn] am altogether uncertain when to be in yr Cuntry, that yr by you may have yr thoughts when yr brother in law Dougall [Bailie of Nether Lorn, later of Shirvan] comes home to send for some of your ffrriends in this Cuntry to treat wt him, and by your advisement I shall add my desire to ym to [goe?] up, if ye yr do not agree among your selves wt out you by yr help of such ffrriends as you have in yt Cuntry. And if neither of those alternatives will doo, I know Dougall will not decline to wait upon you to this Cuntry if it be found necessar, and I shall give my best advice and assistance to both parties  
And I remain

Madam

Your affectionate Godfather  
& humble servant  
Breadalbane<sup>11</sup>

By the 23<sup>rd</sup> of July, Lillias had received the earl's letter and dated her reply from the castle of Finlarig at the west end of Loch Tay. She had evidently been invited to stay there by the earl while matters were arranged for her. On the doquet of the letter, written on receipt, Lillias is called 'Lady McConechy'. When her husband Inverawe had died in 1705 Lillias' £2,000 dowry or tocher had not been paid by her penniless brother, so while she had a liferent due from Inverawe, her late husband's nephew Archibald, now of Inverawe, was evidently advised by his uncles Dougall, Bailie of Nether Lorn, and Alexander Campbell of Kilmartin, that the issue should be negotiated with Breadalbane as the head of her kindred, since she was a Campbell of Lawers in Breadalbane. Lillias mentions Kinloch [Caenloch] and Lachlan, both presumably servitors or agents for the earl detailed to look after her interests. Kinloch was likely Mungo Campbell, 3<sup>rd</sup> of Kinloch, a family descended from a younger son of the first Campbell of Lawers and therefore a distant cousin of Lillias'. 'Lods' or 'Lod' were standard abbreviations for Lordship. She wrote:

My Lord

I would have weted on your Lods before I cam from Finlarige (Finlarig) if I had not been expecting to have sine your Lor: at finlarige and then barcaldine cam he told me your Lod: was to be soon in this shyre that indewced me not to go to Taymouth your Lod: may be shour I would not be so far out of my dutie if I head not expected to have sine you soon in this shyre.

My brother [in-law] Dowgall [Bailie of Nether Lorn for the earl and the late Inverawe's half brother] is not come hom as yet but so soon as he comes I shall aquent your Lod; that you may plesse to order Cinloch and Lochlan to come hear and if Lochlan can not be got Turirich may come with Cinloch and what direction your Lod: pleases to give them, I humbly thank your Lod: for the ceare yow have been plesed to have of me it is more than I am able to express but I trust the Lord will reward your Lod: for having a care of the widow and fathiless [fatherless] I am sorie I can never be enough dutifull to your Lod: for your fatherlie ceare yow have been pleased to have of me

I ever am Yor Lord:

Most obliged humbell servant

Ardmadie

Lilias Campbell

Ye 23 July 1705<sup>12</sup>

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of the following month of August, Lillias was writing again to the earl, this time from Inverawe where she had evidently returned. The letter is doqueted: Lady McConchy about her jointure, and addressed to: The Right honourable The Erle of Bredalbnies

My Lord

I received your Lord: kind letter and gives your Lord: a great manie thanks for your care of me, I have taken your Lord Advise to me in excepting [accepting?] of ane Annuity and a sum. . . [stained and so unreadable] for my share of the movables [furnishings], they will not give their security but as Kinloch will inform your Lord: how all matters was they are willing to give it out of the first and [rediss?] of the whole effect, if your Lord: think this good security I am satisfied, I was willing to have gone along with Kinloch, at this time but at further Consideration it was thought proper I should stay here until my business were ended for I would be obliged to come to the country again if I went out of it [as?] I am out now.

So I hope your Lord. Will please to put it to a close for so far as possible and let me have your Lord: answer for I most continue here till my affairs be ended and your Lord: may be sure it is very troublesome [worrying] to me to be at such misfortune [unfortunate] as I am at all this while, if I had not very kind friends in this country for all of them has been along ... Kind to me, specially [especially] my two brothers [in-law], so shown as your Lord: thinks it convenient

Asking pardon for this trouble I menen

Our Lord most obliged

Inverawe

humble servant

August 17 1705

Lillias Campbell<sup>13</sup>

One of Archie of Inverawe's uncles was Dougall Campbell, Bailie of Nether Lorn for the earl and later of Nether Rhudle and Shirvan. He and his brother Alexander Campbell of Kilmartin were both negotiating between Archie and the Earl of Breadalbane over Lillias' tocher and annuity or jointure. On the 6<sup>th</sup> of September Dougall was at Inverawe from where he wrote to Breadalbane. Some of his letter had to do with Lillias' interests. She was clearly highly insecure about obtaining her liferent when Archie of Inverawe was in trouble with debts, but Dougall and his brother Alexander of Kilmartin were working on solutions and had enlisted their cousin Alexander Campbell, merchant in Edinburgh in the matter. Dougall explained that Archie could not give security of liferent out of the lands of Inverawe until those lands had been secured to him by Argyll. This may also have concerned whether Lillias was or was not pregnant with old Archibald's son. The Duke of Argyll was hardly likely to confirm the responsibility for the people on the lands to Archie as 'of Inverawe' when Lillias might still produce a more direct heir.

Inverawe 6<sup>th</sup> September 1705

My Lord,

I have the favour of your Lordship's letter of the 28<sup>th</sup> of August and can guess no other ways at the meaning of Alexander's answer to Carwhin [the earl's cousin and agent] but [that] he has no mind to meddle in any other business but his own, which I believe may at this juncture keep him so throng [busy] that he can spare little time to any other. But in a little time my nephew [Archie of Inverawe] must make up that loss by employing some fit person. And were he returned from the market [tryst at Crieff] I shall endeavor to bring it to a concert. Meantime, seeing it is advised that he can make no security until he is once secured himself by his superior, I hope it will not be thought either design or breach of communication that the one lie by until the other is perfected. And it is so much in the heir's interest to have both go on that it will be his greatest study and first work. But not so easily nor suddenly to be done as may appear at first view to such as

know not his circumstances with his superior, there being some other great difficulties in the way to be removed, ere that is done or they may become insuperable to the heir thereafter. This I have discoursed Barcaldine [a local cousin and agent of the earl's] of in particular and I hope he is satisfied of the reasonableness of it. And seeing the heir is thus necessarily obliged to adjust some other things with his Grace [the superior of the lands, the Duke of Argyll], previous to the Entry [Archie being given Sasine of the lands of Inveraw and all others for whose people that family was responsible] and that the not doing of it them may be of considerable disadvantage, I hope your Lordship and the Lady's other friends will be ready to agree with herself that her affair[s] lie rather over for a little time, than [that] Archibald [Archie of Inverawe] should put himself upon a lock to the disadvantage of the family.

The management of this is already left to fit persons at Edinburgh who I expect will take pains to have it cleared [before] his Grace go for England. And to give the spur to them I have written to Alexander Campbell anew to keep them in mind of it. The lady can be of no disadvantage by this delay, being always secured by her Contract of Marriage to an Annuity during her widowhood, and thereafter to a certain locality [area of land] whereby she has the heir still in reverence until the communing is perfected. I know nobody suspects the least variation from the Lady or her friends. And did Archibald regard no more but his own interest, there can be no room to question him either. Your Lordship has the new state of the matter which is only to satisfy your Lordship but not to be discovered to the folk at Edinburgh, lest some may be so officious as to make the wrong use of it...<sup>14</sup>

The remainder of the letter answers Breadalbane's questions about the price of board to build a boat.

Lillias' next letter to Breadalbane has no date but 'Friday night'. She appears to have returned to Finlarig, unless this should be earlier in the order of her letters. But it is shown here in the order that these letters are catalogued in the Breadalbane Index.

My Lord,

I have answered your Los letter sooner but that I waited Kinloch's going up, I heard from him this night that his wife being tender he desires to be excused at this time, as I believe he has writ to your Los the same.

I understand by your Los that Inverawe is now satisfied I should hold me by my Contract which I believe will prove interest rather than to be at so much trouble as by appearance I do expect to find, I do not understand what they mean by taken off the airescape [heritable?] goods for by my Contract your Los knows I have the half of all free so that I suppose that they are under some mistake.

As to the proposal made to your Los about my selling my joynter I am of the opinion, it were better for me to do so, if they would give reasonable and ready money, but without that I believe your Los would not advise me to it.

I presume to give your Los the trouble desiring your Los would be pleased to speak to Inveraw to send me money for I am very much straitened at present, and if it prove necessary for me to go up to that country tis very hard I cannot command as much as would carry me there.

I have not writ to Inveraw at this time having writ severall times desiring money but can get nothing but fair answers which oblige me to trouble your Los with this hoping your Los will let them understand. I expect money immediately and be pleased

to excuse this trouble by       Your  
  Los most doutfull humble  
Finlarige                                       servant  
Friday night                                       Lilias Campbell<sup>15</sup>

The following letter from Archie at Inverawe to his cousin and agent Alexander Campbell in Edinburgh has no direct bearing on Lillias, yet shows that he is not signing himself as ‘of Inverawe’, due likely to the delicate situation with his superior mentioned earlier by his uncle Dougall, and that he is taking up the care for members of the kindred that is expected of him in his paternal role.

Inveraw the 16<sup>th</sup> Janyr

1706

Affectionat Coussine

I am Informed That Duncan Campbell present servitor to Mr Duncan Robertson Wryter in Edr: Your Cousine & myne Is intended to Admit Notar Public & Mess[enge]r this Current sessione And seing that Cautiners in such cases most seigne the Books of Notarie & Messengerie at Edr: Therefore I desire you doe me the ffavour As to engadge Cautioner for him both as to Notar & Messenger And I heartily obleidge me to Warrant & Releve you of all Inconveniencies you shall sustaine therthrough in tyme coming And also to grant ane Ample bond of Relieff to you of both Cautionries and tht upon Demand I suppose my Uncle Bailzie Dougald hes alsoe wryten to you heiranent ffeall not in this As you would obleidge

Sir

Your affectionat Cousine

A Campbell <sup>16</sup>

The following shows that Breadalbane owed Archie, now of Inverawe a debt of £800 Scots. This accounting was dated on the 8<sup>th</sup> of July 1706

I, Archibald Campbellof Inverawe grant me by these prrts [presents] to have Receiv'd from ane noble Earl John Earl of Breadalbane ane accompt resting be the tenants in Glenorchy subscribed by John Campbell his Lop's Chamberlain for Croke and Martinmass last yr and Febry yrs ammounting in hail to the summe of Eight Hundred Pounds Scots money to be applyed towards my payment of the equivalent summe resting [remaining] to me and contained in an Adjudication had at the Instance of Duncan Campbell my deceased ffather against the said Earl and his Estate. Therefore I be this prrts not only bind and oblige me my airs . . . and successors successfully to hold compt to the said Earl his airs . . . and successors for such summe or summs as I shall happen to intromit with or . . . of the said account of the Rests. But also to grant sufficeint acquittances and Dischages of the same to the said Earl and his for[said]s of the Equivalent owing to me by virtue of the said adjudication and yt . . . the first of January next to come. In witness qrof I have subscribed this prrts att Castle Kilchurn the eighth of July [17] and six years before these witnesses: Dougall Campbell of Rhudaill and the said John Campbell his Lop's Chamberlain wryter heir of.                       A

Campbell

Dug: Campbell witness

John Campbell witness.<sup>17</sup>

On the 13<sup>th</sup> of July 1706 a partial letter or memorandum, almost certainly from the Earl of Breadalbane was sent to his agent Campbell of Carwhin, or his lawyer Patrick Campbell of Monzie concerning

the agreement over the liferent and tocher of Lillias (widow of Inverawe). There had clearly been further negotiations with Arcie and his 'friends' or uncles.

Doquet: 'Carwhin to Draw up the Bonds'

That as soon those three days as taken up wt McConnochies and his friends affairs not the Lady setting in sable ['widow's weeds'] shapes as tho bearer can inform you and the inclosed proposal is one of three we thought most conducable to her advantage – one Inch beyond it they will not doo – and it is evident that they rather it should break off by refusing those ...[?] than it should - and which I am most unwilling it should for many reasons that I know better than [?b yours?] yrfor my oppinion is to ...[?] [enough?] of them – and if your and Carwhin be of the same may immediately draw up the [tacks?] in such a style as knows best to be sent not ane to the Lady att Stronmelloch as also Draw up a Bond of Borrowed money be McConnochie and his uncles will wind up her to signe papers and she is to goe along not you to Inverawe to [Debtor?] up the [petishone?] and to record ye 1000 mks Bond and the 500 pound Bond mentioned in the proposal and to stay until those papers come up concluding ...[?]

Carwhin is in that country and in that caise she expects her answer against Tuesday night but if he be not their send this letter wt me ... to Gdn [Gordon?] that he may exped the papers thair and estimate you wt all Dilligence bydr ways his opinion and her b...[?] upon the proposall that they are not pleased wt it, for I doo not fynd her [Melyned?] to end not you wtout both their aprobatons, if she doe not send not you upon those their terms I doe not see a found [foundation or basis] for her to goe to Law not your and to maintaine her untill she recover her own from them. Therefore it is fitt she make the best of ane ill Bargain, It has been troublesome to me and postponed me in my own business some says qt obliged me to stay the longer here but had hopes to be clear against Munday or Tuesday att [end page]<sup>18</sup>

Not long afterwards, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of July, Dougall, uncle of Archie, was writing to the earl from Ardmaddy in Nether Lorn. This further concerns the settlement of liferent for Liliias, widow of Archibald of Inverawe who died in 1705, and the difficulties of Archibald now of Inverawe, his nephew, who is obliged to find the funds for her. Again, Carwhin – here spelt 'Carghuin' – was the earl's cousin and agent.]

My Lord

Ardmadie 26 July 1706

I have the Favour of your Lordships] letter of the 23rd: It is no matter Thoe Carghuin take his own tyme to Extend the tack If it be finished at long run without any materiall additiones to the proposalls given him - If otherwayes it will marr the settlement And to present this I wish your Lo[rship] may pleas Read the extended tack befir it is sent us That your Lo[rship] may give us your thoughts of the Draught, Wee designe to dealt Candidlie And franklie And it will be unnecesar to multiply Clauss[es] beyond the ordinar stile to obleidge us - Nor will we who have no uther Concerne in the matter Bot to serve the Lady and McConachie put ourselvs vnder any ambiguous or unusuall tyes.

McConachie is Doeing his best to provyde money for the Lady And will certanlie take all the cair he can to make it vp ag[ains]tt the Returne of the Marcat if the goods he sends afeild be sold.

I had not the good fortune to see [Captain] Dugall for I fell to be unweell the day I was

to goe, Bot my brother Alexander wes with him And told him what had passed in our  
Communeing with the Lady - My Brother sayes that Dugall is verie Inclyneable to  
serve the interest of the Families And might be prevailed with to send McConachie  
some moe' If the Lady had proposed such tearmes els might Encouradge McConachie  
and his freinds to enter to them - Bot when he understood she had Rejected the offeir  
made her at the Castle He and the rest then w[i]t[h] him thought it needles to deliberat  
or hear any more of it, If the Lady and her freinds come yet to be better disposed we  
shall of new dale with Dugall and resolve in it how son we have his Retwrne....

I am My Lord Your Lordships] most humble servant  
Dug Campbell.<sup>19</sup>

Lillias wrote again to Breadalbane on the 27<sup>th</sup> of July 1706. All the communications that July  
suggests that affairs were coming to some conclusion, although Archie had not yet been confirmed  
in the lands of Inverawe by the Duke.

Doquet: Lady McConochie's Ltr anent the ...

Inverawe 27 July 1706

My Lord

I recvd your Lods and is very glad to hear of your Lod being in good health  
after your Journey

I am ashamed of the truble your Los hies head about my small affair all along  
and by all apirance now, your Los will bring it to a close. I feind your Los his been  
plesed to go thorow the proposals given by my Brother in law, with my Lord Glenourchie  
and Carquhien, I am sorie that the Contract was not ther when Carqwhien was in the  
Countrie according to your Lod desaiier. I shall return to finlarige so soon as posable I  
can traveill that the contract may be plesd to bun sent to Carquhien - the wather is so  
bade hear that no bodie can go out of a hows - desierien to be in that Countrie so soone  
as the wather will allow me to trevielle - I shall ade no more - I am

Your Lordships Most obliged dout[i]full

Inverawe July 27  
1706

humbell servont  
Lilias Campbell<sup>20</sup>

Lillias' next letter to the earl, on Tuesday night the 3<sup>rd</sup> of August 1706 was from Finlarig  
where it was clear that negotiations continued with Inverawe and his uncles. She mentioned the idea  
of selling her jointure which would relieve Inverawe of having to pay yearly, if he could come up  
with a single payment in settlement. She asked Breadalbane to get her stepson Inverawe to send her  
money, since she has written to him herself but gets nothing but 'fair answers.' Of course he has  
none.<sup>21</sup> Later, she was writing again from Finlarig in an undated letter:

My Lord,

I am very sencable of your Lo's Cair and Kindness in being pleased to concern your self  
so much in my small affairs, and now by all apperance your Los has brought McConiche  
and his friends to some probebilety of setling which incourages me to come up to that  
country befor your Los comes away, to end all particulars with them, but Kinlonch at  
present is not at hom, so that I delay sending our Los letter to him tell I be sure of his  
being in the Country, and then I shall writ to them to com here to me as your Los has  
advised me.

And according to your Los deseir I shall go up if I can get one of them be plesed to turn to come up with me, ther being now some some appearance of ther setleing with me sence Kilmertien and Belie Dougall has now concented to concern them selves, I do not doubt of being well paid and free of trouble thay being men of honour and credite and whos kindress I very much rely upon- haveing formerly been much obliged to them both and if the Memorandum your Los has been pleased to send me be agreed at our meeting, I am shour your Los is senceable it is my loss to be quite so much tho I must say it would be a truble to me to think of prejudging McConich[‘s?'] interest for the standing of his famelay is what I shall ever think myself concerned in, I shall add no mor till I see your Los and then I shall be adviced by your Los in every partequeler, hoping your Los will be plesed to forgive this truble to your Los.

Mos Doubtfull humble

Finlarige

servont

Friday night

Lilias Campbell

I presum to desaiier your Los would be plesed to spik to them proveid mony for me agenst I go to that Country.<sup>22</sup>

The next letter Lillias wrote to the earl was also from Finlarig. She was concerned for her share of the furniture at Inverawe.

My Lord,

I have receved an ans wreere from Inveraw telling me he would provide mony as soon as possible, but that it was very ill to be got in that Country this year, I desine to send to have my share of the furnetur devided fearing it will spoyle if not looked after, I deseir to know if your Los has heard from them any thing concerning the Moveables, and begs your Los advice to me what I shall do about them for by all appearance thay have no thoughts of setling me in the maner was agreed upon at our last comuneings so that it is time for me to do somthing for my self, and I will never push more for any other setlment then the contents of my Contract, for my consending to a new one was as much thire advantage I thought as my own which if thay had taken it so I fancy they would have settled it in that maner befor this time. I have not yet ben paid one farthen of my joynter and have got but an part of my setlment, so that if thay do not clear me of all at this Whit/term it may prove a debt upon them which may be of trouble to them as well as to my self for I cannot live without my own, so that I deseir our Los advice what your Los would have me writ to them, I am not in the least inclined to do anything to prejudice Invraws fameley and if any difference falls out it shall never be occasioned by me. I hope your Los will be pleased to give me your advice soon what I shall say to them and I will delay sending to that Country tell I have your Los answeere, I am

Finlarige

Your Lordships Most

Seturday

doubtfull humbell

Morning

servont

1706

Lilias Campbell.<sup>23</sup>

In her next letter Lillias writes that she was sorry that the earl was upset with her for sending her servant to Inverawe to be sure that her furniture there was being properly looked after. She was evidently mediating for her brother over one McIldonish who was pressed to go to Flanders with her brother as his servant. Whether he was the same as the Archibald mentioned earlier is not known. This concern over McIldonish could relate to her brother’s sexual orientation and therefore concern for the man’s relationship to James, although this is very much reading between the lines.



‘To return to themselves again’ could refer to McIlldonich’s parents. James leaving the country was possibly to escape his creditors.

My Lord,

I recved your Los and have had no occasion sence to return yow an answeare, I am very well pleased your Los opened the letters for by them our Los did see ther answeare to me was very littell satisfaction for I had no derect answers what thay would do nor any mony from them, so that I have no incouradgement to quite [quit?] to them, sence they have failed to me, tho I would willingly do all I could for Inverans fameley, but without sufficient casioners [cautioners] I beleve your Los will not advice me to quite any thing, haveing experenced ther neglect of me, I am very unwilling to make a jurney upon littell porpose so that I have sent to Kinloch who will go soon as your Los advartise me, I doubt not but your Los has seen Inverawe and belzie [Bailie] Dougall by this time, so that I belev that your Los knows what thay will do and I hope your Los will give me your advice what is proper for me to do,

Kinloch can say all that I can say tho I were ther relying upon your Los directtions to him, I have sent a Memorandum of the Contents of my Contrect which your Los ordered to be drawn out befor your Los went from this, I am sory your Los is displeased at my sending up my servont to look after the furneture it was for fear that thay shold spoyle and in the last communing I never deired to quite [quit or leave] the half of the furniture as B[ailie] Dowgall very well knows.

It sims your Los has heard that McIlldonish was pressed to go to Flanders with my brother but to show the contrary I have sent according to your Los desaur to have him return to themselves againe or to send a line to show it was his own choyce to be my brothers servont hoping your Los will forgive this truble from

Yours

Finlarige  
Friday morning  
1706

Los Most doubtfull  
humbell Servont  
Lillias Campbell.<sup>24</sup>

Then, seemingly like a bolt of lightening out of a blue sky, came the news of a fresh development that would simplify a number of issues. In a letter from Archie’s uncle Dougall to Breadalbane on the 8<sup>th</sup> of August 1706 he passes on the latest development:

His sister [in law] Lillias, widow of the late Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, has married Campbell of Dunstaffnage at Inverawe ‘privatelie but regularlie.’ He added that ‘She wold fain wrytt your Lordship the account of it Bot her Modestie would not allow her.’ Dougall defends his own conduct in the affair.

He then reverts to business: ‘Mr. Colin’s [Carwhin’s?] house [Ardmaddy?] is to be roofed.’ Further news is that his cousin ‘Captain Dougall’s resolution is to ask advice of his friends where to settle and we all aggree to it ffor thoe our own lott be hier – we must own it is not desyreable not [at]tempting to come from London to it.’<sup>25</sup> The mention of Captain Dougall combined with ‘London’ confirms that the captain, who was a rich merchant in London and a cousin of Inverawe, may have been approached to try to find funds to help provide for Lillias. At that time Breadalbane may have been in the south himself, since about the same date his son Lord Glenorchy wrote to him with the final line of the letter being ‘Lady Inveraw is married to C: Dunstafnadge.’<sup>26</sup>

Lillias’ new husband was Angus Campbell of Dunstaffnage , a man then in his mid forties who would live until 1742. They had an only child, Catherine, who is said to have married John Campbell of the Glenshellach family.

So on his death in 1742, Lillias' husband Angus was succeeded as Captain of Dunstaffnage by a cousin, Niall Campbell. Young Niall was born in 1700 to Marjorie, Archie of Inverawe's sister. She had married in 1695 to Donald Campbell, son of an earlier Niall Campbell of Auchanard and Fayard, younger brother of an earlier Dunstaffnage.

By the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the living space at the castle of Dunstaffnage consisted of two houses, the tower house and the west range. The former, perched on the parallel vaults of a cellar and entrance tunnel, had three useful floors above, while the west range house had two floors, the upper only recently added or repaired. On the whole, Lillias may well have found herself in a more salubrious dwelling than at Inverawe. Hopefully her cherished share of the furnishings fit well and made a secure home where her concerns about funds were over.

### *Post Script*

Sadly, Lillias' brother James died relatively young. He had never married and is said in more recent Campbell historical material to have been 'murdered in his sleep by Duncan Campbell of Edramuckle in Greenock on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of April 1723.'<sup>27</sup> I am most grateful to Professor Ronald Black for producing the following broadsheet from the National Library of Scotland archives, which offers some clarification. His interest was in the Gaelic text at the end of the document. That James had 'an excessive affection' or an 'irregular passion' for his cousin rather adds to the impression that he had been in a relationship with the Archibald mentioned earlier as being put in by James as proxy laird of Lawers. The difference or similarity between 'Duncan Campbell of Edramuckle' – or Edramuckie – and 'Patrick Campbel, Baron of Braemuckly, in the County [sic] of Broadalbin' has yet to be clarified. It may suggest Duncan used the name Patrick in an attempt to cover his tracks when escaping.

#### *Murder of James Campbell of Lawers.*

Broadsheet headed:

'A True and distinct ACCOUNT, Of the Murder of James Campbel of Lawers.'

First there are two paragraphs of moral sentiments. Then: 'James Campbel of Lawers, Esq; only Son and Heir to Sir James Campbell of Lawers, a Gentleman of bright Parts, and immaculat Honour, an early Cadet of the Ancient and Noble Family of Argyle, [Glenorchy] being occasionally at Greenock with his Cousin Patrick Campbel, Baron of Braemukly, in the County [sic] of Brodalbin, and too deeply tasting the Juice of the Grape fell into a fatal Quarrel; the Foundation of which, they being alone, cannot be known so that he drew his Sword, which he designed to run thro' the Body of his dear Friend, for whom he had an excessive Affection. Braemuckly finding himself inclosed, snatch'd at a Pistol lying on the Table belonging to Lawers - discharged the Shot in his Heart, and sent his Soul to the wide World of Spirits in a Purple Torrent, on Fridays Ev'ning, the 19th Instant. Braemukly seeing his Friend had received a deadly Wound, left his Body in Streams of Blood, run quickly down Stairs, and with a great deal of seeming Composure, called for and mounted his Horse, entreating the Hostess to make Apology for his hasty Departure, to Lawers, for Bussiness [sic] of Moment called him away.

Thus died that unfortunate Gentleman in the Flower of his Age, being only entered upon the thirtysixth Year, after he had gained the Affection of a fine Lady, a Lady eminent for Virtue, Birth and Beauty, Daughter to Colonel Campbel of Finnab, and the Marriage design'd to have been solemniz'd within a few Days, if this deplorable Accident had not happened.

Tho' this Murderer made his Escape, unsuspected of so cruel an Action, and came directly to Edinburgh, where he lodg'd for some Hours, in a Stablers at the Sign of the Glasgow Arms. He will not escape the avenging Hand of the Almighty, who in all Ages hath shown his Vengeance against Murder, and miraculously interpos'd in the Probation. May this short Lecture, thrown out to the Street, be of Use to the Bulk of the People, and fill them with a lasting Abhorrence of shedding of Blood, and all these irregular Passions that have a Tendency to it.'

There followed the Gaelic text of Psalm VII, verses 13-17, then 'finis'.<sup>28</sup>

James' and Lillias' mother is mentioned in the book *In Famed Breadalbane*, p. 243: 'She had a son, James, who was served heir to his half-brother, James, on 12 July, 1703. This James was murdered by Duncan Campbell of Edramuckie while asleep in his bed at Greenock, on 22 April, 1723.' The differing accounts of the killing would no doubt be due to one being the story of the murderer himself and the other of the family, wishing to avoid any scandal. Who the family were by then, other than Lillias, is not yet clear. What is of course of great interest here is that this suggests that James was engaged to be married to the 'Lady eminent for virtue, birth and beauty, daughter to Colonel Campbel of Finab.' She would be Jean Campbell, daughter of Finab and his wife Susan Menzies. Jean would marry Duncan Campbell of Inverawe in 1732, great-nephew of Archibald, Lillias' late husband and son of Archie of Inverawe and his wife Janet Maclean of the Torloisk family. So Jean, daughter of Finab may have been saved by that murder from a marriage of possibly limited physical expression.

### **Endnotes:**

1. RH 15/14/45/26
2. Reg. on 20 September 1684 in Argyll Sasines Vol. II fol. 92
3. Barcaldine Papers SRO GD 597/3
4. Dunstaffnage Inventory in Wimberly *Memorials of the Campbells of Kilmartin* Appendix
5. Reg. 19 Nov 1701 in Argyll Sasines Vol. III fol. 243
6. SRO/NAS: GD112/39/192/8
7. SRO/NAS GD112.39/178/10
8. Reg. 5 Nov 1705 in Argyll Testaments
9. Testament Reg. 15 April 1713 in Argyll Tests.
10. SRO/NAS GD112/2/85/2
11. NAS/SRO GD170-697
12. SRO/NAS GD112/39/197/14
13. SRO/NAS GD112/39/197/20
14. SRO/NAS: GD112/39/198/1
15. SRO/NAS GD112/39/203/16
16. SRO/NAS RH 15/14/103/5
17. SRO/NAS GD 112/2/85/2
18. SRO/NAS GD112/39/200/4
19. SRO/NAS: GD112/39/200/7
20. SRO/NAS GD112/39/200/8
21. SRO/NAS GD112/39/203/16
22. SRO/NAS GD112/39/203/17
23. SRO/NAS GD112/39/203/19
24. SRO/NAS GD112/39/203/20
25. SRO/NAS GD112/39/200/13
26. SRO/NAS GD112/39/200/19
27. G. Harvey Johnston, *The Heraldry of the Campbells*, p.72 in the 1977 edition, Ben Bhuidihe

Holdings, Inveraray

28. National Library of Scotland Ry.III.c.36, f.66.

## Acknowledgements

Those few who are intrigued by the mystique of the Inverawe family, or have come across mention of this Highland Kindred in passing, have among them a core of people whom I came to know by warmth or repute. Many of these proved to be sources of help, information and wisdom in uncovering the fragmentary kernels set out in these papers.. The greatest reward for undertaking the long task of research and writing has been the resulting kindness and friendship of so many.

I never knew my grandfather Arthur Campbell of Arduaine, but from him, by circuitous means I came to have the beginnings of a chronological collection of Inverawe information. My great uncle Neill Campbell returned from planting tea in Ceylon – now Sri Lanka – and with my grandfather J. Arthur Campbell, who created the garden at Arduaine now cared for by the National Trust for Scotland, were also helped by Henry Paton in looking into the Inverawe records. Mercifully, rather than merely collecting stories, they began what an academic friend would later call an ‘Appendix of Entries.’ This gave dates and sources and a précis of each item found in the records. So when I came into correspondence with Dr. Lorne Campbell PhD, the notable art historian with the Courtauld Institute and later the British National Gallery in London, I accepted his suggestion about continuing such a chronological listing most seriously.

His understanding of the back-roads of Campbell and Argyllshire genealogy has been remarkable, besides his being a world authority on Flemish painting – beyond which he has often strayed, particularly into the Renaissance and as a consultant to the Metropolitan and the Getty and other great institutions. His use of genealogical research into painters, patrons and sitters in art history has opened new fields of interest. Whenever I came across this family’s interaction with some intriguing if obscure Campbell in Argyll, Lorne was almost invariably able to introduce me to the history of their farm and family.

Then I inherited a legacy of research by others: Sir Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine employed the Rev. Henry Paton MA before and through the First World War to transcribe from many sources all Scottish information about Campbell families and individuals. These transcriptions were paid for by subscription and produced over a period of years in yellow clad volumes, a basic jumping off point for anyone investigating Campbell families in Argyll

Another tea planter, Herbert Campbell, who latterly lived in Cyprus in the nineteen-twenties, transcribed Campbell-related biographies from the records of the Hon. East India Company and also created a largely accurate series of ‘pedigrees’ as he called them, a title redolent of dog shows or horse breeding but otherwise known as ‘family trees,’ each listing under the name, the sources where their information could be found. These covered many farming families in Argyll and lie peacefully in the Lyon Office in Edinburgh. However, sensibly, a copy was allowed for the library of the Campbell Society of North America. I am greatly in the debt of their librarian, Dr. Ruby Campbell PhD for many reasons, and also her husband Kenn who has transcribed them onto computer disc, a vast project handsomely done, besides his kind assistance with the layout of this book and, even more gratefully for his work of indexing.

My Appendix of Entries grew fat with help from so many others. Alastair Campbell of Airds produced his massively researched three volume set *A History of Clan Campbell* over a period of six years. Although the work has a critic in himself, the very scale of the available

sources meant that decisive choices had to be made and the vast subject grasped forcefully as a task long overdue. As a work of reference it has proven extremely valuable and I am deeply grateful. His time as Archivist at Inveraray was of value to academics like Professor Allan MacInnes, University of Strathclyde, or Jane Dawson of Aberdeen University, later of New College, and she generously gave me help.

Besides the kindness of my own close family and other cousins in Argyll I have to say how much the frequent hospitality of Alastair and Mary Ann has meant over many years of visiting from overseas. Alastair never hesitated to point out my bloomers, always or usually mellowed by his ready and sometimes convulsive sense of humour.

I am also most thankful for David Sellar, late of Edinburgh University and currently Lord Lyon, both for his advice and for his numerous papers on early Argyll family origins, and for Stephen Boardman's deep analysis of the rise and national involvement of the Lochawe and Argyll family in his work *The Campbells – 1250 -1513*.

Lorne Campbell also put me in touch with bibliophile and historian Andrew B. MacEwen, whose barn near remote and minimal Stockton Springs in the State of Maine has the highest book-shelves I've seen, but mercifully he is a tall man. In a spring gale the cast-iron wood stove in the enclosed link between his barn and house glows bright red. Both Professor Barrow and Stephen Boardman have acknowledged his skill in early Scots history and he was often helpful to me as an offshoot of Inverawe.

The late younger brother of John Campbell of Canna (and Inverneil), Colin Campbell, latterly of Inverneil, in Massachusetts was another correspondent who sent me frequent contributions. An Inverawe descendant of the Shirvan family, the late David Graham-Campbell most generously sent me his transcriptions of the Ardoch papers and Duncan's uncle 'Baillie' Dougall of Shirvan's letters, among other elements of his own research while writing about Argyll life in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Among other friends and correspondents with Argyll interests, Duncan Beaton from Furnace in Argyll, an engineer with Rolls Royce in Renfrew and an accomplished local historian has often helped me find places no longer on the map or filled the gaping holes in my awareness about local families. The late Allan Begg at Lochgilphead was another local historian who clarified for me the site of old Shirvan before it was moved to the coast, and also mapped for me the traditional pool on the Kilmartin burn where Sir Caillein *Iongantach* is said in legend to have plunged in after being almost burned by the foster brothers of the likely first Duncan of the MacConnachie. And Robin Malcolm and his son Iain have both been most kind and helpful in lending works.

At first my thickening Appendix of Entries was all cut and paste. Then I was provided with a computer by the North American Campbell Society for a quarterly journal I volunteered to edit, and the major task of transcribing began. The rough insertions of new information of an early date, shoved in among existing text had made a ragged pile. Now, gradually, I had a means of manipulating and adding text anywhere, or moving it around if a date had changed through further search. The compiling flowed on through the years.

I owe a most basic debt to the late Iain M. Campbell WS for his 1951 *Notes on the Campbells of Inverawe* which, with the Ticonderoga ghost story, first provoked my interest in the family of Inverawe. Also to his son Niall with his wife Alison who allowed me to help pluck ivy from the walls of their ruined castle of Fraoch Eilean, not to mention my driving Niall into the loch by misjudging the height of a tree in dense woodland and felling it in his direction. Niall's proof-reading and wider historical awareness proved a considerable boon. I am grateful

to Robert and Rosie Campbell-Preston at Inverawe for a tour of the house long ago and the use of it to celebrate the production of Niall and my second edition of those *Notes*. Their smoked salmon has made quality quick suppers on many occasions when leaving the computer to eat was a secondary interest.

My sister Mary and brother-in-law Dougie Lindsay gave me the ancient perspective on Argyll from the sea on the numerous occasions over 35 years that they have included me – and earlier the children – on their yacht when a bunk was spare. For all those years they took paying guests on weekly or longer expeditions to deserted islands, ruined castles and remote anchorages of Argyll and the Isles until their *Corrivreckan* was about the best known ketch in western waters.

I remember fondly Miss MacVicar, teacher at Lochaline in 1939-40 who introduced me to both school and the Gaelic language. I write it that way because she taught me to speak about ‘the Gaelic’ but my friends in Stornoway, Jean (Campbell) and Donald MacLeod tell me that is archaic and considered patronising now. Times change and a good thing, but my fondness for her and her teaching dies hard. I have further great gratitude to Brigadier John MacFarlane and his wife Val at Taynuilt. John learned the Lorne Gaelic at his mother’s knee and translated for me two Gaelic poems of the Inverawe family. He also taught me the pronunciation of so many of the local place names in the Lorne dialect, of which he is one of the last of the speakers, and answered frequent questions. I still deeply regret twice forgetting to go to lunch when so kindly invited by him and his wife. The gift of concentration is a great asset in writing, but it can trap you socially.

Historian of Gaelic Literature Ronald Black has more recently given me impetus to complete the second volume of this work, corrected my writing of Gaelic and added to my library, and for that I am also more than grateful. The Kilmartin cousins, Alasdair and his daughter Mairi kindly unearthed their family papers from under the hay of a stable and indexed them, adding to the picture of Duncan’s kindred. Sarah Traughton of Ardchattan gave access to use material from their archives, as did Roderick Campbell of Barcaldine, both through the Scottish National Archive.

I have been fortunate for the quiet and cheerful help given me by the staffs of so many libraries, from the National Library in Edinburgh to the Public Record Office in London, and more recently at the small local libraries in Oban, Crieff, Kirrimuir, Blairgowrie and Old Meldrum. Also for at that most beautiful of minute libraries at Innerpeffray. The kindness of the staff in the reader’s area of the Register House in Edinburgh matches the beauty of the building. Formerly the Scottish Records Office, it is most recently known as the National Archive of Scotland. Name changes seem constant. I must particularly tell how delighted and thankful I am for the astonishing blossoming of interest in the Highlands and Argyll in particular by professional historians in recent years. The *History of Argyll* by Colin MacDonald just after the Second War took a long time to be followed by Duncan and Brown and their paper on the early period. A while later, David Sellar produced a provocative series of papers on the origins of Somerled, on the analysis of Gaelic genealogies, on the origins of the Campbells and of the branches of the earlier MacDougall kindred, the perilously overlooked Lords of Argyll and the Isles as heirs of Somerled whose star dipped down with the rise of the MacDonalds of Islay and their later Lords of the Isles. A flowering of papers and books by Jane Dawson, Steve Boardman, and others followed, plus books by David Stevenson, Eric Richards, Eric Cregeen, E.J.Cowan, R. Andrew McDonald and Allan McInnes impinging on areas of Argyll and the

background to the lives of the Inverawe family. They have accurately peopled the changing scenery of Argyll with our predecessors, their ideas and deeds.

Among all this there is the historiological underground, understandably treated with caution by some academic historians, yet also in some cases earning respect. I have been greatly benefited by many such researchers and writers. For many years Nicholas Maclean-Bristol, perched in his self-reconstructed tower on Coll, provided a stream into which many can flow with the publications of the Society for West Highland and Island Research *Notes & Queries*. Professional historians such as Barrow, Sellars, and Hopkins have contributed to it, showing their assured status in mingling with those outside the fold of academe. Yet this underground or work by those outside the towers of academe, often at the local history level or combining genealogical research in an historical perspective, can offer details that fill out the pattern of the broader landscape exposed by the academics. Each, like this, can only be taken on their merits as they are tested in time.

And there are the ghosts who deserve warmth like Duncan C. MacTavish who compiled *The Commons of Argyll*, or John Johnstone who compiled *The History of the Inveraray Masonic Lodge*, and of course the compilers and editors of *Highland Papers*. I also remember fondly the kindness of the late Sheriff Ian Stewart and Angus Martin in Campbeltown.

And finally, I'm grateful to any who have read this far. The heads of family at Inverawe were both privileged and burdened by inheritance. Some might envy the privilege but fail to grasp the burden. I sense that they variously made the best of what arrived for them, although some were more aware of their ability to pre-ignite their own destinies while others allowed themselves to fall into the trap of looking on themselves as victims. I hope I have brought understanding to the burden, such as it was.

Given the great gifts of help from so many, the errors of all kinds in these papers are entirely my own, and that is true for all the volumes of this attempted record of a Highland kindred as they made their choices through the currents and eddies of life. The fragmented surviving papers and records offer only a dappled and partial view. While the energy of those whose lives are touched on here continues outside time, my hope is that their time-encompassed lives may yet be seen as useful here, expanding our grasp of earlier life in my home County of Argyll, an expression of my deeply held affection for the land, the waters and the light.





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