

# *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 Argyll.’ 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 ring 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' [whereabouts 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>4</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>5</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>6</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>7</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>8</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>9</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>10</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>11</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>i</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>ii</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>iii</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>iv</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 Auchentryer and Archibald Campbell of Inverawe took out an Instrument upon Lachlan Mor VicDonochie.<sup>v</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>vi</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 in fact 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>vii</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>viii</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 MacDonachie 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 MacDonachie Campbell, father's brother to the Laird of Inneraw; Archibald McEwne MacDonachie Campbell, servitor 'to MacDonachie Campbell' of Innerawe, and Duncan McOLOUR MacDonachie Campbell. These last two would seem to have been of the MacConnochie 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>ix</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>x</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. Ranaid *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>xi</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 Island 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>xii</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* MacMoyle, 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 MacGillespie 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>xiii</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 1615, Argyll arrived 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>xiv</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>xv</sup> This proves that John was in the area at the time, however, if it was 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.

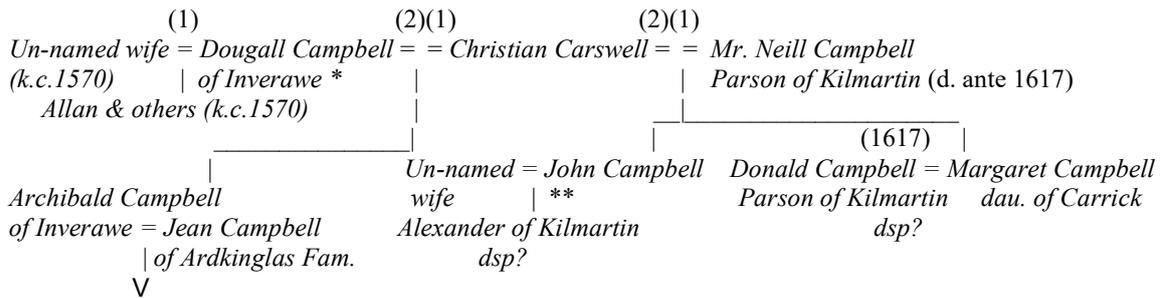
The change for Clan Donald was permanent, but their extraordinary attempt to defeat the kingdom had resulted in a number of men vowing revenge, among them in time the son of Coll *Ciotach* MacDonald. Thirty years later Alastair MacColla would ravage Argyll twice in as many years, besmirching the name 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 besides. 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>xvi</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

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



*Campbells of Inverawe* \* d. circa 1582-3 \*\*John Campbell may have been Bishop of the Isles?  
 order to force him to register the 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>xvii</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 Phantlands, of the two merklands of Achnacruif, a witness being Duncan Campbell in Forsdochan.<sup>xviii</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>xix</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>xx</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;

being 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>xxi</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 in-appropriate, since that basically means 'citized' 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>xxii</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>xxiii</sup>

The lands of Sonnachan lie on the south-eastern 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>xxiv</sup>

Duncan Campbell of Sonnachan was himself a witness when the holder of the debts of Lerags, Duncan of Auchangoull, was involved with the MacConnochies 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>xxv</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>xxvi</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*).

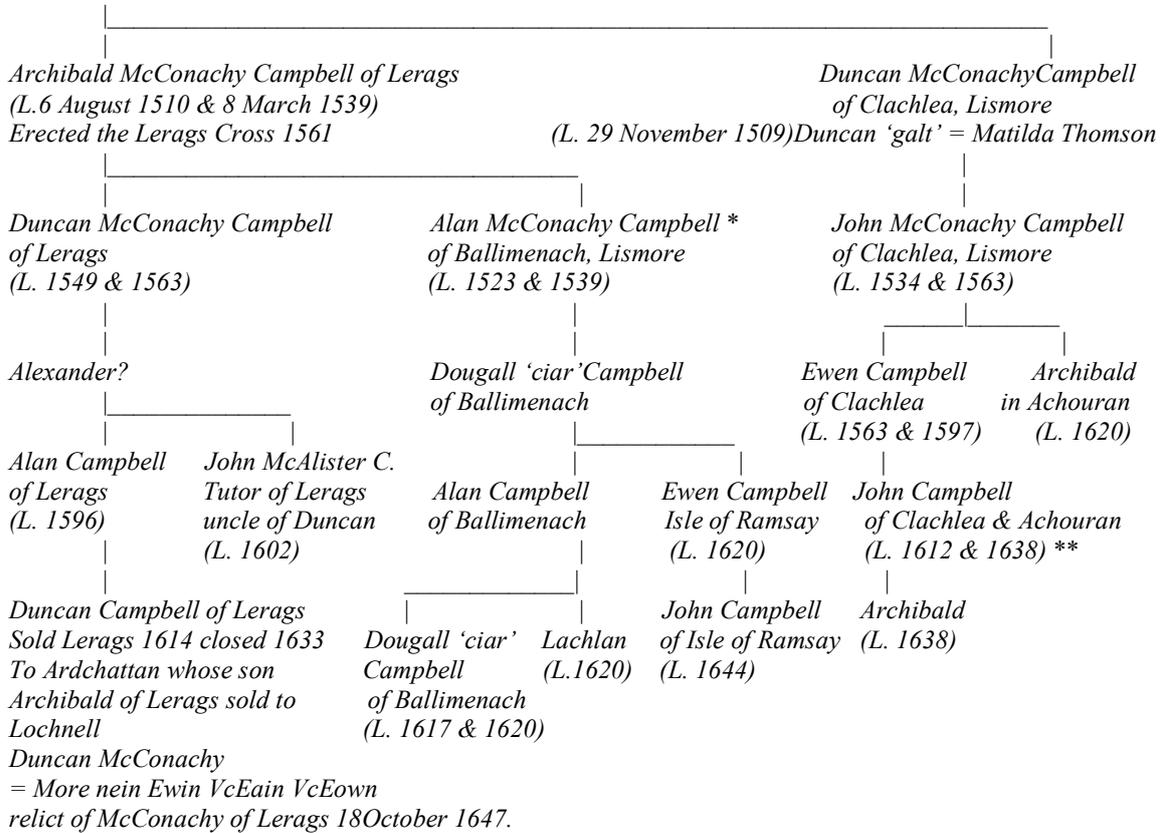
While poaching was not normally a big issue before shooting and stalking became profitable in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, if it became habitual or a commercial enterprise, measures could be taken. The shift from stalking to kill deer with an arrow, or driving them communally into a natural defile 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>xxvii</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, Kilmelford 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>xxviii</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

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

*Duncan McConachy Campbell of Lerags – [ Tacksman of Lerags 1478?]  
(d.by 29 November 1509)*



*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)*

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. Ssine 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 MacConnachie] 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>xxxix</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 Glencreran.

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>xxx</sup>

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

Archibald of Inverawe was either at Kilmichael Glassary on the 11<sup>th</sup> of April 1621, or at Dunollimore 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 Kilniver. 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>xxxiii</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>xxxiv</sup>

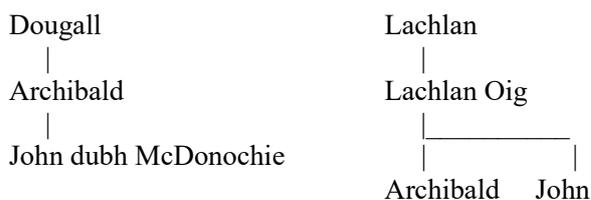
A further Sasine was given to Alexander Campbell of Ardchattan himself on a feu charter granted by Duncan MacConnochy Campbell of Lerags. Allan MacDougall of Soroba acted as Baillie. This was for Sasine of the 16 merkland of old extent of the two Lerags, upper and Lower. Signed on the 19<sup>th</sup> of March 1622 at Kilbride in Lorne before Sir John MacDougall of Dunolly, knight, and Allan MacDougall of Soroba.<sup>xxxv</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>xxxv</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>xxxvi</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>xxxvii</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 MacConnochie of Wellwood.<sup>xxxviii</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 McGillespie VcCoull alias McDonochie, Archibald and John McCondochie, sons of Lachlan oig McCondochie, John and Donald McNocaird and Malcolm McKillop, their accomplices and associates.<sup>xxxix</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>xi</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>xli</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>xlii</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>xliii</sup> Then again, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of October 1629, John was witness to a Renunciation by Archibald Campbell of Dunstaffnage.<sup>xliv</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>xlv</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 Duncan a man named McGilimichel of Portcharren, under reversion, for half a merk of the lands of Clagerriskey 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>xlvi</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>xlvii</sup>

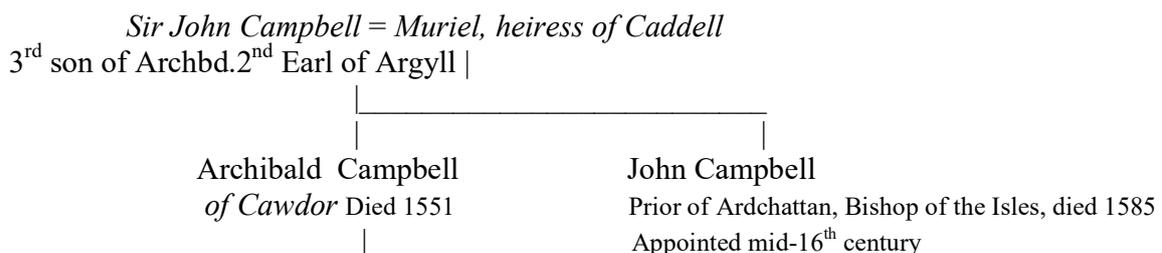
The festivities continued on Christmas Eve, for then the actual Sasine was given for Eithne or Eina Campbell, future wife of Alexander Campbell, eldest son of Ewen Campbell of Fanans. This was done by her eldest brother Dougall, acting as her attorney. Dougall Campbell, apparent of Inverawe, saw that she received Sasine in half of the lands of Fanans in liferent. Again her brother Archibald was a witness.<sup>xlviii</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.

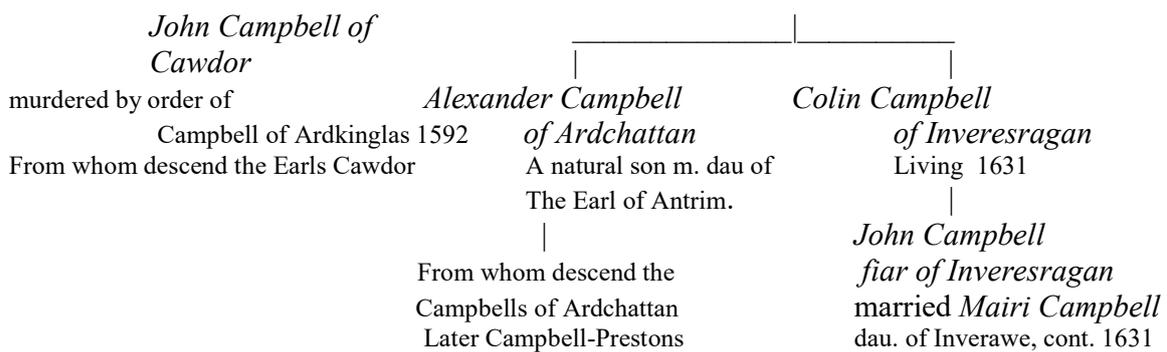
Archibald would have been pleased that January to be given Sasine on the charter of the lands at Portcharren. This raises the question as to whether the place mentioned earlier during the dispute with Ardchattan; 'Portverran' was the same. He was likely there on the ground on the 12<sup>th</sup> of January 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>xlix</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>1</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 Campbell of Cawdor, sometimes known as Caddell in those days.

Conjectural Tree of the Campbells of Inveresragan – Loch Etive





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>li</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>lii</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>liii</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>liv</sup> On 31 July 1616, he took action against Duncan Campbell, alias Garrow, of Auchnagoul and his tenants in Lerags for removal.<sup>lv</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>lvi</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>lvii</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>lviii</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>lix</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>lx</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>lxi</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>lxii</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>lxiii</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>lxiv</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>lxv</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>lxvi</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>lxvii</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>lxviii</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>lxix</sup> and, by 1631, Lerags was in the hands of Archibald Campbell, a younger son of the Prior of Ardchattan.<sup>lxx</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>lxxi</sup>

Duncan MacConnochie Campbell, last of the MacConnochie 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>lxxii</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>lxxiii</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>lxxiv</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>lxxv</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>lxxvi</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>lxxvii</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>lxxviii</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 burges 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>lxxix</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>lxxx</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>lxxxix</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>lxxxii</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>lxxxiii</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 Ardhattan 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>lxxxiv</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>lxxxv</sup> This followed on the Contract of Resignation to John at Ardhattan on the previous 4<sup>th</sup> of November 1638, by John Campbell of Clachlea and Archibald Campbell his eldest lawful son.<sup>lxxxvi</sup>

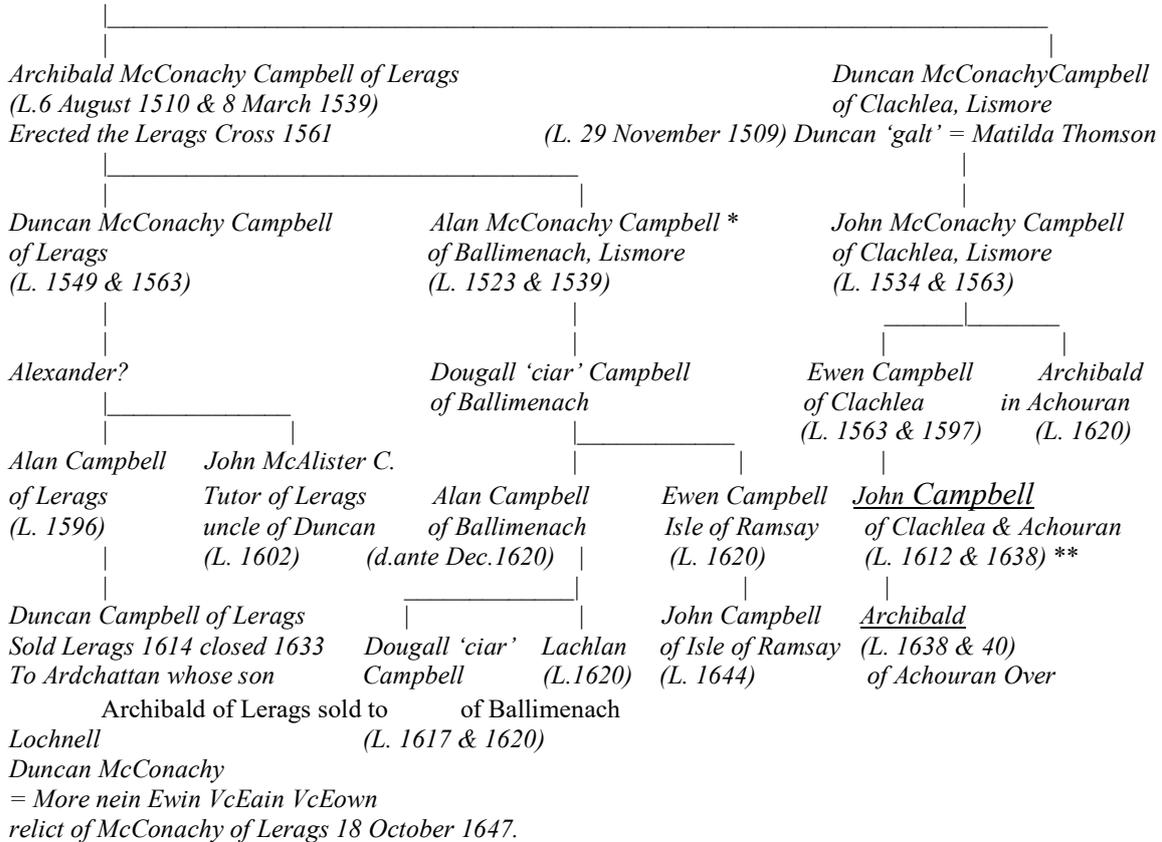
On the 17<sup>th</sup> of March the next year, 1640, Inverawe's son John Disponed one fourth of the lands of Over Achaworran on Lismore to Archibald, son of John Campbell of 'Clachleache' or Cloichlea. A witness to the Sasine on the 18<sup>th</sup> of March was John's brother Lachlan Campbell, a younger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

Conjectural Tree of Campbells of Lerags – Clachlea – Ballimenach & Achouran

*Duncan McConachy Campbell of Lerags – [ Tacksman of Lerags 1478?]*  
*(d.by 29 November 1509)*



*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)

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 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>lxxxix</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>xc</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 night 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>xcii</sup>

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of November 1640

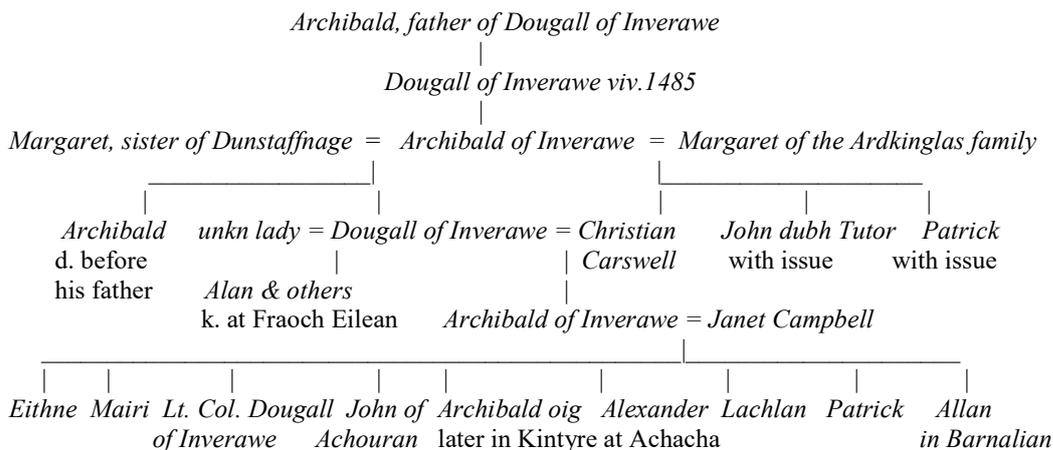
Sasine of this date of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy, knight baronet, nearest lawful heir to his deceased brother Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, knight baronet (by his attorney John Campbell, son of Archibald Campbell of ‘Lagvinchach’ [Lagvinsheoch]) on a Crown Precept from Chancery for infesting 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>xciii</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 following diagram shows early Inverawe relationships to Dunstaffnage and Ardkinglas:



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 is in Banderloch, south of the present Barcaldine House.<sup>xciii</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>xciv</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>xcv</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>xcvi</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>xcvii</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>xcviii</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>xcix</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>c</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>112</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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## END NOTES:

### *Chapter 8*

<sup>1</sup> Argyll Transcripts, Duke Niall

<sup>2</sup> Acts & Decrees 1500-1660- Vol. 232 p. 439

<sup>3</sup> Registers of the Privy Council 1606

<sup>4</sup> Reg. Privy Council, vol 5, p. 373

<sup>5</sup> SRO/NAS GD.112/39/17/12

<sup>6</sup> SRO/NAS GD.112/24/1(22)

<sup>7</sup> Breadalbane Inventory

<sup>8</sup> Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell* VI, 112, Registered on 22 Jan. 1610 &

<sup>9</sup> *Clan Donald*, vol. 3, p.216, source on record unknown

<sup>10</sup> Acts & Decrees 1500-1660 Vol. 232 p. 439; & *Clan C.* Vol. VIII p. 170

<sup>11</sup> Acts & Decrees 1500-1660 Vol. 244 p. 41; & *Clan C.* Vol. VIII p. 177-78

<sup>12</sup> Acts & Decrees 1500-1660 Vol. 240 p. 375; & *Clan C.* Vol. VIII p. 174

<sup>13</sup> Acts & Decrees 1500-1660 Vol. 249 p. 255; & *Clan C.* Vol. VIII p. 180

<sup>14</sup> Acts & Decrees 1500-166- Vol. 249 p. 288; & *Clan C.* Vol. VIII p. 180

<sup>15</sup> Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan C.* Vol. VIII p. 180?

- <sup>16</sup> Breadalbane Inventory
- <sup>17</sup> Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan C.* Vol. VIII p. 192
- <sup>18</sup> Registers of the Privy Council for 1613
- <sup>19</sup> Books of Council & Session, Reg. of Deeds Vol. 218; & *Clan C.* Vol. VI p. 142
- <sup>20</sup> Reg. Privy Council Vol. X. p. 179
- <sup>21</sup> Acts & Decrees 1500-1660 Vol. 279 p. 455
- <sup>22</sup> Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, pp.158-172
- <sup>23</sup> Approbatio egia abbreviata; *Highland Papers* Appendix p. 545 'Outbreak by Sir James MacDonald'; & *The Thanes of Cawdor*, pp.234-236
- <sup>24</sup> Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials* vol. 3, p. 364
- <sup>25</sup> Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol. pp.158-172, in excerpt
- <sup>26</sup> 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
- <sup>27</sup> Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, pp.158-172, in excerpt
- <sup>28</sup> Barcaldine-Paton, *The Clan Campbell Abstracts, Session & Deeds 1554-1660*, Paton Ed., vol.6, p.207, from vol. 403 of the Session Reg.
- <sup>29</sup> Reg. 4 Nov. 1618, Reg. of Deeds vol. 277 1555-1660
- <sup>30</sup> Argyll Transcripts by Duke Niall
- <sup>31</sup> Register of Deeds vol. 289
- <sup>32</sup> *The Thanes of Cawdor* pp.245-246
- <sup>33</sup> Books of Council & Session, Reg. of Deeds Vol. 411; & *Clan C.* vol. VI p. 210
- <sup>34</sup> *Clan C.* vol. VIII, pp. 217-218
- <sup>35</sup> *Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-1661* vol. IV fol. 35
- <sup>36</sup> 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
- <sup>37</sup> *Argyll Sasines Abstracts*, pp. 112 & 279
- <sup>38</sup> SRO/NAS GD.112/17/1/3(2)
- <sup>39</sup> Acts & Decrets 1500-1660 Vol. 344 p. 61; & *Clan C.* vol. 8, pp. 228-229 & *Clan C.* vol. 8, pp. 230-231
- <sup>40</sup> *Argyll Sasines* vol.1, 1<sup>st</sup> Series, Registered 31 Dec. 1620
- <sup>41</sup> *Argyll Sasine Abstracts*, pp.117, 118
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>43</sup> SRO/NAS:GD.112/2/9/9
- <sup>44</sup> *Argyll Sasines* vol. I fol. 162 Reg. 18 May 1621,
- <sup>45</sup> *Argyll Sasines* vol.I fol. 209 Reg. 30 April 1622
- <sup>46</sup> 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
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>48</sup> Reg. of Deeds Vol. 439, Reg. 28 March 1631, & Barcaldine-Paton, *The Clan Campbell Register of Deeds 1554-1660*, vol.6, p.226-227,
- <sup>49</sup> One of the Wellwood MacConnochies 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*.
- <sup>50</sup> SRO/NAS: GD112/17/1/3(11)
- <sup>51</sup> Reg. of Deeds vol. 404, Reg. 1 Jan. 1628
- <sup>52</sup> SRO/NAS GD112/51/3
- <sup>53</sup> Dunstaffnage Inventory. 83
- <sup>54</sup> *Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-1661* vol. 26 fol. 246
- <sup>55</sup> *Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-1661* vol. 27 fol. 63
- <sup>56</sup> Reg. of Deeds 1555-1660 vol. 475
- <sup>57</sup> Vide infra, 12 Jan 1631 – *Gen. Reg. Sasines* vol. 30 fol. 66
- <sup>58</sup> *Gen. Reg. of Sasines* vol. 30 fol 69
- <sup>59</sup> *Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-1661*, vol. 30 fol. 71, Reg. 3 Feb. 1631
- <sup>60</sup> *Gen. Reg. of Sasines* Vol. 30 fol. 66, Reg. 3 Feb. 1631
- <sup>61</sup> *Gen. Reg. of Deeds 1555-1660* Vol. 478 Reg. on 1<sup>st</sup> Aug 1634
- <sup>62</sup> *Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-1661.* Vol. 31 fol. 107, Reg. 15 June 1631
- <sup>63</sup> Notes by Airds and Dr. Lorn Campbell PhD

- <sup>64</sup> Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol. 2, pp. 178-181
- <sup>65</sup> Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol. 6 p.177
- <sup>66</sup> Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.3 p.207
- <sup>67</sup> Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.3, pp. 213 & 216
- <sup>68</sup> Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.3, p.219
- <sup>69</sup> Duke Niall's Argyll Transcripts
- <sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>72</sup> Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.3 p.229
- <sup>73</sup> Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.3 p.224
- <sup>74</sup> Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol. 3 p.176
- <sup>75</sup> George Watson, *Bell's Dictionary and Digest of the Law of Scotland*, Edinburgh 1882, p.515
- <sup>76</sup> Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.6 p.183
- <sup>77</sup> Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.6 p.180
- <sup>78</sup> Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.3 p.240
- <sup>79</sup> Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.3 p.243
- <sup>80</sup> Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.3 p.247
- <sup>81</sup> Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell*, vol.6 p.295
- <sup>82</sup> Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol.2 pp.178-181
- <sup>83</sup> *Argyll Sasines* vol. II fol. 196
- <sup>84</sup> 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 Achauran charters under GD112/66/1 'Writs of the Lands of Inverawe.' The above is GD112/66/1/1/7.
- <sup>85</sup> Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-61. Vol. 37 fol. 25 Reg. 19 June 1633. This is GD112/66/1/2[(40)?]
- <sup>86</sup> Gen. Reg. of Sasines Vol. 38 fol. 64, 27, Reg. 19 June 1633
- <sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>88</sup> Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-61. Vol. 38 fol. 232
- <sup>89</sup> Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-61. vol. 38 fol. 249, Reg. 28 Dec. 1633
- <sup>90</sup> Reg. of Deeds 1555-1660 Vol. 475
- <sup>91</sup> Barcaldine-Paton, *Clan Campbell* vol. 6, Session & Deeds, p.251
- <sup>92</sup> Acts & Decrees 1500-1660 Vol. 478 p.8; & Clan C. Vol. VIII p. 285
- <sup>93</sup> Dunstaffnage Inventory
- <sup>94</sup> Dunstaffnage Papers 99
- <sup>95</sup> From a Charter dated 29<sup>th</sup> of Dec. 1639 in Airds Charter Chest - Transcribed by Dr. Lorne Campbell PhD, Tayness
- <sup>96</sup> Gen. Reg. of Sasines Vol. 48 fol. 511
- <sup>97</sup> Achaworran/Achouran Writs in Airds Charter Chest transcribed by Dr. Lorne Campbell PhD
- <sup>98</sup> Gen. Reg. Sasines Vol. 48 fol. 510, Reg. 16 April 1640
- <sup>99</sup> Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-61 Vol. 48 fol. 510, Reg. 16 Apr. 1640
- <sup>100</sup> Argyll Transcripts, Inveraray, quoted by Alastair Campbell of Airds in *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol. 2, p. 203.
- <sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>102</sup> Inverawe Papers, National Library of Scotland MS 1672
- <sup>103</sup> Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-61 Vol. 49 fol.377, Reg. on 4 Jan 1641
- <sup>104</sup> Gen. Reg. of Hornings for October 1641
- <sup>105</sup> SRO/NAS GD112/2/70/1 & Reg. on 20 Dec. 1649 in Argyll Sasines Vol. 2 fol. 121
- <sup>106</sup> Duntroon Papers VI/6, 7, A.S. Abstracts (232); & Argyll Sasines Vol. II 79
- <sup>107</sup> *Argyll Sasines Abstracts*, pp. 112 & 279
- <sup>108</sup> Dr. Lorne Campbell PhD's Notes on Airds Writs
- <sup>109</sup> Argyll Transcripts & HMC Report VI p.629 a (201) & Clan Campbell Vol. VII p. 249
- <sup>110</sup> Bishop Wishart's *Memoirs* quoted by Stewart of Garth GG. P.90 for Appendix p. 386.
- <sup>111</sup> Browne's *History of the Highlands*
- <sup>112</sup> 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 varoius 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.

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