

## *Lt. Col. Dougall MacConnochie Campbell of Inverawe* (b. circa 1610 - d. 1665)

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### Chapter 9

Inverawe, with the core of the lands east of the mouth of the river Awe on Loch Etive in Argyll, came into the hands of the Clan Connochie Campbells following the granting of Lorne to Colin 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Argyll in 1470 and before 1485. The family may well have descended from Duncan *Sceodnasach* (on record in 1355), brother of Sir Colin *Iongantach* of Lochawe who died in 1412. The other, and probably earlier, seat of the family was the island castle of Fraoch Eilean on Lochawe. At the beginning of the 16th century, these Clan Connochie Campbells as they were known, included three brothers or cousins who would be the ancestors of Inverawe, Lerags and Stronchormaig (later Glenfeochan). The early and traditional connection with Ardsceodnish (now Kilmartin) is reinforced by the pre-Reformation patron saint of the family being St. Martin of Tours.<sup>1</sup>

On record, Dougall sometimes appears as 'Dugald' but here the spelling 'Dougall' will be used as nearer to the original pronunciation.

Lt. Col. Dougall of Inverawe was the sixth of this family on record being granted responsibility for the communities and lands of Inverawe. His father was Archibald, son of an earlier Dougall of Inverawe (d. circa. 1582-3) and his second wife Christian Carswell, daughter of John Carswell, builder of the palace-style Carnassarie Castle and Bishop (Superintendent) of the Isles of Argyll. Lt. Col. Dougall's mother was a Janet or Seonaidh Campbell of (as yet) unidentified family, perhaps a daughter of Campbell of Ardkinglas.<sup>2</sup> Lt. Col. Dougall himself married twice, first to Agnes, daughter of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy<sup>3</sup> and secondly, when widowed, to another Agnes, daughter of a MacNeil, probably of the Gigha-Taynish family.<sup>4</sup> 'The Genealogy of the Family of Glenurchy' gives Agnes Campbell's eight sisters as being 'Lady Ardkinglass, Lady Maclean of Lochbuie, the Lady of Lochnell, Lady Glenlyon, Lady M'Condichie of Inerowa [Agnes herself], Lady Monzievaird, Lady Coldach, Lady Saskalie. So by his marriage Dougall was immediately made kin of a number of the leading families of Argyll and Perthshire.

The date of the colonel's birth is not known. Since his father Archibald was born circa.1583 when a grant of ward and marriage in his name was given to Ardkinglas,<sup>5</sup> and since Dougall himself died in 1665<sup>6</sup> when his grave slab appears at Ardchattan, he could have been born in circa. 1605-10. He was still 'apparent of Inverawe' rather than 'fiar of Inverawe' in 1630.<sup>7</sup> He would therefore likely have been of a similar generation to his Chief the 8th Earl and later Marquis of Argyll who was born at Inveraray in 1607. In the service of Argyll he came to be called by Montrose 'Argyle's Champion.'<sup>8</sup>

By his first marriage Dougall had two sons, Archibald of Inverawe and Duncan of Crunachy,<sup>9</sup> and by his second marriage other sons including Alexander, first of the Inverawe cadets of Kilmartin, and Dougall, baillie of Nether Lorne for Breadalbane and later first of Shirvan.<sup>10</sup> Archibald would later be Governor of Duart for Argyll<sup>11</sup> and die without legitimate heirs in 1705, leaving Inverawe to his nephew Archibald,<sup>12</sup> son of Duncan of Crunachy who had been

baillie of Tiree for the Countess of Argyll.<sup>13</sup> Dougall's daughters were Eina or Eithne who married a son of Campbell of Fanans, and Mairi who married a son of Campbell of Inveresragan.

The Inverawe lands were scattered from the Moor of Rannoch and Dalness in Glenetive on the north to the Mill of Avich and Cruachan on Lochawe in the south. Inverawe itself was the westernmost of the lands and the western peak of Cruachan was on Inverawe property. The lands of Achlian and Duchollie on the east side of the head of Lochawe extended to the Water of Stacain above Cladich where they marched with the lands of the earls of Argyll.<sup>14</sup> These eastern lands were presumably originally the supporting lands for Fraoch Eilean castle which had passed into Campbell hands in the mid 14th century through Christina of Craignish, widow of MacNachtan.<sup>15</sup>

The earl of Argyll during Dougall's childhood was Archibald *Gruamach*, born in 1575 and who had succeeded his father as a boy of about 9 in September 1584. He survived plots against him when his guardian Cawdor was shot in MacConnochie Campbell of Stronchormag's house in 1592.<sup>16</sup> As a 19 year old the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll was shamed by defeat at Glenlivet on the 3rd of October 1594 when the shot arranged to kill him by his cousin Lochnell killed Lochnell himself instead. He was 28 when he accompanied James VI to London on the death of Elizabeth of England in 1603. He was unwillingly active against the MacGregors initially and when he remarried in 1610 he went to live in England to attend at court. From 1611 to 1613 he was back in Argyll, this time harrying the MacGregors fiercely. Having proved himself such an expert against the MacGregors he was sent north again against the MacDonalds in 1615. Back in the Lowlands for the King's visit in 1617, he left Scotland for good that year, escaping his creditors by going to serve in the Catholic army of Spain in the Netherlands. He was eventually pardoned for that service by the king and died in London in 1638.<sup>17</sup> There is no evidence whether any of the Inverawe kindred were called out for service under the earl against their neighbours the MacGregors, however Dougall's father had served under Cawdor and then Argyll on an expedition to Islay to calm some rumbunctious and piratical activity by Coll *Ciotach* and Sir James MacDonald.

In 1625 the earl's son Archibald Lord Lorne (later Marquis of Argyll) conducted an expedition against Clan Ian of Ardnamurchan which, the Scots peerage states, was 'entirely successful.' Lord Lorne was then 18. One suspects that Archibald of Inverawe and his heir Dougall may have been called out for such a foray. All that is known of Dougall before 1640 is a series of largely unconnected incidents. They are set out here as they do give a sense of his life in a series of flashes s if from a strobe.

On the 26th of February 1629 a son and heir was born to Lord Lorne at Dalkeith and baptized Archibald. The child's mother was then 19, the daughter of William Douglas, second Earl of Morton. His father was 22. Father and son would each eventually die on the 'Maiden', the Scottish guillotine, in 1661 and 1685, for their support of the Protestant cause.<sup>18</sup>

Dougall first appears on record as 'apparent of Inverawe' with his brother John (Iain), as witnesses on a document dated on the 20th of January 1629.<sup>19</sup> He was still 'apparent' rather than 'fiar of Inverawe' as a witness on the 23rd of December 1630 as a part of the marriage contract between his sister Eina and Alexander Campbell, son of Ewen Campbell of Fanans, up the river

Awe and across from Inverawe. Dougall's brother Archibald was also a witness. 'Apparent' suggest that Dugald was still a minor.<sup>20</sup>

On the 12th of January 1631 Sasine was given on the half-merkland of Clageriskey in Appin, on wadset, given by Donald McInnes *oig*, servitor to Alexander Campbell of Lochnell, as baillie, to Donald Campbell, son of John Campbell in Barnacarry, as attorney for Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, on a charter by Duncan McIlmichael of Portcharren, signed at Ardchonnell on the 3rd of December 1630 before Mr. Donald Campbell, Commissary of Lorne, Dugald McIllemichael, brother german to the said Duncan, and Dougall Campbell, apparent of Inverawe.<sup>21</sup>

On the 12th of May 1631 Dougall's sister Mary or Marion was given Sasine of the liferent of Blaircrein etc., on her contract of marriage with John Campbell, fiar of Inveresragan, across Loch Etive from Inverawe. One of the witnesses was the later notorious Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan. Dougall was cautioner on the marriage contract on the same date.<sup>22</sup>

Dougall's own first marriage is recorded in a charter dated at Inveraray on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1633<sup>23</sup> and was followed by a Sasine dated the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1633 when, as eldest lawful son and apparent of Archibald of Inverawe he and Agnes, lawful daughter of Robert Campbell of Glenfalloch, later Sir Robert of Glenorchy, and future spouse to the said Dougall are given Sasine of certain Inverawe lands including Duchollie. His mother Janet Campbell is mentioned as having liferent reserved to her. Although given as 'Agnes' in the Sasine,<sup>24</sup> Dougall's wife is called 'Anna' as fourth daughter of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy in the *Black Book of Taymouth*. (also see immediately below)<sup>25</sup>

On the 3rd and 4th of May 1633 Sasine was given of the 3 merkland of Achacharne in Lorne and that part of the five pound land of Achlian called Dowchailzie [Duchollie] extending to the half merk land in the lordship of Lochaw, given by Dougall Campbell, lawful son of Patrick Campbell, tacksman in Dowcholzic, as baillie, to 'a young man,' Dougall Campbell, apparent of Inverawe (eldest lawful son and apparent heir of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe), and to Patrick Roy McCharles [Patrick *Ruadh* McTearlach] Campbell, servitor of Robert Campbell of Glenfalloch as attorney for Agnes Campbell, lawful daughter of Robert and future wife of Dougall Campbell, apparent of Inverawe, on a charter to them by Archibald, signed at Inveraray on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1633 before Donald McOlvorie, apparent of Kilmalieu.

The charter and sasine also included the following properties to the said Dougall alone:- The 4 merkland of Inverawe, with the fishing of standing [stell] nets and ground fish of the River Awe, the 4 merkland of Drumnachoise, 2 merkland of Dallness, with the custody of the forest and woods of Glen Etive and the fishing of the River Etive from the mouth to the source on the Moor of Rannoch, the 6/8 land of Bruary, with the sergeandry of the lands of Benderloch between Ardmuckneis [Ardmuicnish] and Innermow; also the 20 shilling land of Tervinzie [Tirvine], the five pound land of Achlian and its islands, namely Inchdrynich [Inistrynich] and Illanloskan (but except the part granted as above in conjunct fee), and the Bailiary of all the lands of Over Lochawe, except such as now belong or used to belong to the Clanarthur, the bailliary of which was disposed by said Inverawe's predecessors to the predecessors of John McArthur of Tirevadich. The liferent of all the properties except Achacharne and Achlian is reserved to the said Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, and that of Drumnachoise in Glen Etive to his wife, Janet Campbell.

The witnesses were: Archibald Campbell, lawful son of said Archibald of Inverawe and so brother of Dougall, John McDonnacchie VcWilliam *alias* McGregor tacksman in Achlain, Duncan ban McDoniel VcCowle VcBean there, Duncan McEan oig VcEan VcLachlan tacksman in Inverawe, and Alexander Campbell, apparent of Fanans<sup>26</sup> the husband of Dougall's sister Eithne/Eina

On the 11<sup>th</sup> of May 1635 Dougall and his father Archibald were witnesses to the Marriage Contract of their MacConnochie kinsman Dougall Campbell of Stronchormaig and Margaret, daughter of Archibald Campbell of Dunstaffnage. This information is quoted from the Dunstaffnage Inventory by Wimberly in his *Memorials of the Campbells of Kilmartin*, and also appears in the Dunstaffnage Papers 99. Her mother was daughter of Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan and known to some as 'the black bitch of Dunstaffnage'.

In 1638 Archibald *Gruamach*, 7th Earl of Argyll, died in London and was succeeded by his eldest son Archibald, then in Scotland. When King Charles prepared to invade Scotland in 1638, Archibald 8<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll raised 900 men to oppose the MacDonalds of the Isles and the Earl of Antrim who had proposed to invade and take Kintyre by conquest. Likely Inverawe men would have been involved. The MacDonalds yearned for what they saw as their lost the lands of what is now lower Kintyre. These had been taken from them by the King due to their disloyalty to the crown of Scots. Argyll had been granted the lands of Kintyre in 1607, due to the earlier owners being 'rude and barbarous people' who 'did not only ruin themselves by their own private feuds and animosities but were likewise so inhumane that no stranger could travel among them without the most imminent dangers of their lives' according to the Argyll transcripts. They had been forfeited by Angus MacDonald of Islay.

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of March at Castle Stalcair in Appin there was the signing of a charter by John Campbell, second lawful son to Archibald of Inverawe, therefore younger brother of Dougall. John had been set up with a small farm on the fertile island of Lismore. The next day, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of March 1640, Sasine was given to John of one fourth, being one merkland, of the lands of Over Auchavorrean, and now spelt as it is sounded, 'Achouran,' in Lismore.

Then, Sasine was given by another John Campbell, indweller in Islay, as Baillie, to Archibald Campbell, eldest lawful son of John McEwin VcEan V'Donachie galt *alias* Campbellof Clachbeache, [Clachlea] on Lismore, based upon the charter by John Campbell, second lawful son of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, signed at Ellanstalcair [Castle Stalker] on the 17<sup>th</sup> of March 1640 before Duncan Campbell, lawful son of the deceased John Campbell of Auchinard.

The witnesses to the Sasine were: John Campbell, brother german to Mr. Ewen Campbell of Achinagoull; Lachlan Campbell, lawful son of Inverawe who was yet another brother of Dougall's and John's; John McEan dowie VcGilchrist, merchant, indweller in Lorne; and Allan Cameron in Inveraray.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of March 1640 Dugald's next younger brother John was infeft in the lands of Over Achouran in Lismore from Archibald Earl of Argyll.<sup>29</sup>

As is described above, John had disponed one fourth of the lands to Archibald Campbell, son of his kinsman Campbell of Cloichlea, and to Lachlan his own brother. John thereby founded the family of the Inverawe cadet family of the Campbells of Achouran which would continue for a number of generations.<sup>30</sup>

Archibald Earl of Argyll fully supported the Kirk in their opposition to the King who wanted to enforce certain religious practices over their preference. Argyll therefore found himself in opposition to the royalist cause. Dougall would seem to have been involved in armed service under Argyll before 1640. He would now have been a man in his late twenties or early thirties and was clearly an experienced junior officer in the earl's forces, no doubt commanding levies of those who could be raised from the active men of the communities for which Dougall's father was responsible.

In June 1640 Argyll marched against the Earl of Atholl and the Ogilvies who had taken up arms for the King. Dougall was now described as 'fiar of Inverawe' rather than 'apparent' as he had been in 1633, and therefore 'of age' or over 21. He was in command of some of Argyll's forces and was given the order to move his company to the Braes of Angus. He was further given instructions about his dealings with Lord Ogilvie and about burning and 'throwing down the yettis,' [gates] of the Ogilvie's castle of Forthar.<sup>31</sup> The story of the Burning of the Bonnie Hoose O'Airlie which took place on the same raid is well known; the Campbells also ravaged Alyth, Lintrathen, Cortachy and Glen Isla, not leaving 'in all the lands a cock to crow day'. Argyll himself was reported as having taken part in the actual work of demolition, perspiring as he wielded a sledgehammer in his own hands. Dougall's instructions from the earl for the destruction of the castle of Forthar at the head of Glen Isla have survived:

Dowgall,

I mynd, God willing, to lift from this the morrow, and therefor ye shall meitt me the morrow at nicht at Stronamot in Strathardill: and caus bring alonges with you the hail nolt and sheipe that ye have fundine perteineing to my lord Ogilbie. As for the horss and mearis that ye have got tine perteineing to him, ye shall not fail to direct thame home to the Stranemoor. I desyre not that they be in our way at all, and to send thame the nearest way home. And albeit that ye shoulde be the langer in followeing me, yeit ye shall not fail to stay and demolishe my lord Ogilbies hous of Forthar. Sie how ye can cast off the irone yeattis and windows; and tak down the roof: and if ye find it will be langsome, ye shall fyre it weill, that so it may be destroyed. But you neid not to latt know that ye have directions from me to fyir it; onlie, ye may say that ye have warrand to demoleishe it, and that to mak the work short, ye will fyir it. Iff ye mak any stay for doeing of this, send fordwart the goodis. So referring this to your cair, I rest, your freynd Argyll<sup>32</sup>

The Argyll-Ogilvie was a part of the wider Civil War over the issues of the Covenant and royal prerogative. That national conflict was eventually settled when the Treaty of Ripon was signed in September 1640.

Dougall, with yet another of his brothers, Patrick, was a witness on the 10th of November 1640 to a Sasine of his father-in-law Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy in the lands of Stranmellachane, Edinouich, Craif, Cardroquhatt and others.<sup>33</sup> Patrick would be killed at Inverlochy and his widow, Moire Cameron of the Callart family, left a lament in which she indicated that they had lived at Dall [Dail on the OS maps] north of Cadderlie on Loch Etive and that their son John was an infant in 1645.<sup>34</sup>

Montrose, 'unable to brook the pre-eminence of Argyll in the Senate, transmitted an accusation against him to Court' saying Argyll intended to depose the King. Argyll intercepted the messenger on his return, and Montrose was imprisoned. The King came to Scotland in August of 1641 and a plot was hatched to kill Argyll and Hamilton. Once the King was cleared of any knowledge of the plot the two were reconciled.<sup>35</sup>

Yet another younger brother of Dougall's, Alexander, with his kinsman Patrick Campbell of Auchacha in Benderloch, had John *mor* MacDonald put to the horn for 'spoilation' on the 10<sup>th</sup> of November 1641.<sup>36</sup> The 'spoilation' may have merely been a raid from Glencoe for the sake of plunder, or designed as a part of the wider conflict of the time. The joint complaint suggests that Alexander was being fostered at Auchacha, later known as Acha. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of November 1641 the Earl of Argyll was advanced to the dignity of Marquess.<sup>37</sup>

There survives an undated record of a Scroll of goods taken from the tenants of Archibald of Inverawe by the MacDonalds<sup>38</sup> This still has to be found and examined to confirm whether it was in the time of Dougall's father or following the events of 1685 in the time of Dougall's son Archibald. (Not in *Depredations*).

In 1642 an army was levied in Scotland for the relief of the Protestants in Ireland. Argyll, then aged 36, was appointed colonel of one of the regiments for that service. He may likely have enlisted Dougall as one of his lieutenants. Dougall's parents would have been still living on the rentals from the Inverawe lands and Dougall himself, now married and with a wife and children to support, would have had to find a source of income and he may well have had tack of one of the Inverawe farms, as was customary at the time. His later career suggests that he was an experienced soldier, so that his serving under Argyll in the following expeditions seems highly likely.

When the Scots army under General Leslie marched into England in January 1644, Argyll, then 38, accompanied him as chief of the committee of Parliament and returned home with the news of the defeat of the English army by Leslie at Newburn.

When the Marquess of Huntly rose in arms for the king in the north, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of April 1644, the Convention of Estates appointed Argyll commander-in-chief to suppress that insurrection. He immediately proceeded north and dispersed the Royalists, obliging Huntly to flee to Strathnaver in the far north. Montrose having defeated the Covenanters at Tippermuir, Argyll and the Earl of Lothian were sent against him. They reached Aberdeen on the 18<sup>th</sup> of September, just after the city had been plundered by the Royalists. They then pursued Montrose into Badenoch where his forces dispersed. Argyll left Badenoch in mid November 1644.<sup>39</sup> Dougall had most likely served on this campaign.

That Dougall began to be called 'MacConnachie of Inverawe' may not mean that his father was yet dead but that he was too old to serve or incapacitated and was not as widely known. Archibald would likely have turned 60 in or before 1643. Dougall had clearly made a name for himself with Argyll and in the Protestant Army and, like his late uncle Iain *dubh*, may therefore have been sometimes called 'of Inverawe' even before he had succeeded.

During 1644 Dougall, under the name of McConachie of Inverawe - was responsible for a garrison in 'the house of Kilmoronake' [now spelt Kilmaronock on the OS maps] on the lands of the Duke of Lennox. Today, the ruins of the castle survive in the farmyard of the place of that name beside the Endrick Water between Drymen and Loch Lomond. Dougall was then a junior officer. This information is found among the Inverawe papers in 'Information for McConnochie in answer to my Lord Cochrane'<sup>40</sup> where it is clear that the paper was to do with Lennox's complaint that the garrison had interfered with his tenants and so he had not received the rents due to him. The document is undated but includes the date of the commission of Argyll being in 1644 so that it was after that date. Relevant parts are quoted here from the Inverawe papers in the National Library of Scotland, (spelling up-dated):

1. McConochie having received orders with Colonel Menzies from my Lord Argyll who had commission from the Estates in anno 1644 to garrison the house of Kilmaronake did accordingly present eighteen soldiers one ensign and a corporal who stayed there about the space of a year and a half until the next order from the Parliament for their removal upon receipt whereof they were removed - During which time of their abode in the said house McConochie is able to instruct that all that the soldiers received for their maintenance does not amount to an hundred pounds sterling of which nothing was appropriated to McConachie's own use.
2. The maintenance of the soldiers was received according to order out of the rents of the duke of Lennox his lands to which my Lord Cochrane alleged a right whereof a sight was denied to McConochie's procurators contrary to the form and order of process in all actions. Neither did McConochie intromit with any of those rentals but only for payment of the soldiers in meal malt or money which altogether will not amount to an hundred pounds sterling as said is. If the duke of Lennox tenants has not paid the rents (as my Lord Cochrane alleges) for the space of three years amounting to the sum of 2,400 merks -The said McConochie cannot be liable for the 'malversatioune' of the tenants.
3. McConochie was but an inferior [junior] officer and did nothing in reference to the garrisoning of the said house but by order of my Lord Argyll which he is ready to produce who had orders to garrison the said house for the estates.
4. That McConochie cannot be convened for any alleged wrong done during the late troubles and time of the unhappy war the foresaid deed not only being done by warrant but also being a military act of garrisoning a house against the opposite party. In respect by act of this present parliament all things for which any persons (who acted in the said war or in relation thereto) may be questioned are discharged to be sustained - Except private murders and fire-raising without order - But so it is that this was a deed which related to the said war and done by order - And therefore conform to the said act of this present parliament ought not to be sustained. Notwithstanding that all the foresaid differences were proponed before the commissioners for bills yet they repelled then and they sustained my Lord Cochrane's Bill and they admitted the same to probation.

In the autumn of 1644, the Marquess of Antrim sent over a royalist force of Irish Catholics into Ardnamurchan under the command of Alastair MacColla from Colonsay, the son of Coll *Ciotach* MacDonald. These then joined Montrose in Atholl who had not expected to have to find winter supplies and shelter for an army. It was suggested that an invasion of Argyll could both harass

their enemies and provide herds of cattle and booty to keep them through the winter. The Glenorchy and Lawers lands about Loch Tay were harried to the tune of 1,200,000 merks damage, and the Royalists were at Killin on the 11th of December. Held up by the cannon at Castle Dochart, the MacNabs, whose place it had been before Campbell of Glenorchy had acquired it, pretended to be friends of the garrison and captured the place by surprise. Montrose and MacColla marched west through Glendochart and from Dalmally they turned south over the hills to Glenaray and Inveraray on the eve of Christmas 1644. The Earl of Argyll and his household and guests escaped to a boat on Loch Fyne, but MacColla and his forces burnt the burgh of Inveraray and ravaged the glens for twenty miles around there. They then made their way south through Argyll in two or three bands, one perhaps in Cowal and one by Loch Fyne and another by Lochaweside, ravaging and earning MacColla the name of 'raper of houses'. By the middle of January they were on their way north again.<sup>41</sup>

Patrick Gordon of Ruthven<sup>42</sup> mentions Dougall of Inverawe at a vulnerable moment where he was attempting to protect his own people and their cattle and houses from pillage and yet re-assure Argyll that he was defending the country in the face of overwhelming odds:

'Montrose's army, having left Argyll 'lyke ane desert', move north into Lorne where the Stewarts and others of quality promise obedience, one of the which was McCondachie of Anrain [Inverawe]. McCondachie was a vassal of Argyll, who [Argyll] had forced all the heritors who had formerly held of the King to renounce their 'regall halding' and take their lands 'haldin of him.' [In fact the Inverawe lands had always been held of Argyll, and some of their lands held of Glenorchy, and only one property of Achnacruive, by then alienated, was held directly of the crown in the previous century.]

Gordon continued: 'McCondachie dealt (with MacColla) through Donald Farquharson, whom he knew, and submitted, or made a show of submission, as he thought that the invasion was but a violent tempest which should have ane end, and that Argyll would againe be master of all. So as to keep favour with Argyll [while protecting his own people and their houses and cattle], he attacked a foraging party led by Farquharson himself. But they repelled the attack. McCondachie himselfe is soire wounded, and not able to stand, is caryed of with a shameful retreat, although he was twyse their number.' He retreated to Dunstaffnage Castle. Dunstaffnage's lands had been laid waste. Dougall's wound appears to have been in his thigh.

MacColla, concerned about getting trapped in the sea-girt peninsulas of Argyll, turned north again and would have been stuck at the mouth of Loch Etive had not his kinsman Campbell of Ardchattan provided him with boats to cross the narrows at the Falls of Lora. The great herds of lowing cattle were swum across at slack tide, but some of the herders were too keen and misjudged the tide, which swept some beast down to where they were rescued by the loyal garrison at Dunstaffnage.

In early 1645 Argyll raised all the men he could in Argyll and, with the support of Lowland troops was camped at Inverlochry when attacked by MacColla in the dawn. Montrose's lieutenant had led his men on a night march through the snowy hills, looping back from the north. The Lowland troops gave way in the face of the charge of the Irish under MacColla and although the Argyll men fought fiercely, the turning of their allies left them exposed and they were heavily defeated. The Marquess of Argyll was 38 years old at the time and was already

foremost statesman of Scotland. His value to the cause was so vital that he was advised by his staff to leave for his galley at the onset of the attack. This he did, and his actions were understandably taken as cowardice by the average soldier, a charge he would negate by his bravery on the scaffold 16 years later. But ravaging of Argyll and the impact of the defeat at Inverlochy punctured the image of Campbell and Covenanting invincibility

Dougall's second son by his first wife, Duncan, would marry a daughter of Patrick Campbell of Edinample, one of the Glenorchy family who was a Covenanter. Clearly under duress after capture, Edinample's signature appeared on Montrose's Bond to unite the loyalty of the Highlands against the power of Argyll, dated at 'Killiwheimen' (Kilcumein, now Fort Augustus) on the 30th of January 1645. He was the only Campbell to sign.<sup>43</sup> Patrick would escape Montrose only to be killed at the Battle of Worcester.

In February 1645 Inverawe was reported taken prisoner at Inverlochy.<sup>44</sup> This was clearly Dougall since his father would by then have been at least 62 years old, past the accepted age for soldiering. Dougall's young brother Patrick was killed in the battle and his wife, the legendary 'fair maid of Callart,' a Cameron, composed a lament in his honour.<sup>45</sup> His kinsman MacConnochie Campbell of Stronchormaig was also killed, his wife also composing a Gaelic lament. The casualties at Inverlochy are said to have amounted to 1,500, but this included a number of Lowland troops, so the total of Argyll men killed would have been less. The slaughter was still considerable for those days.

Dougall must have been released by early July, for on the 5th of July 1645 the Marquess of Argyll sent a written order to Dougall Campbell of Inverawe to defend 'the Braes'.<sup>46</sup> Which 'braes' are not clear, however later Dougall was sent to patrol the 'Braes of Lochaber.' (*vide infra.*).

Argyll was present at the battle of Kilsyth on the 15th of August 1645 when the Covenanters were defeated. Montrose was in turn defeated at Philliphaugh on the 13th of September. MacColla had just left him on the 3<sup>rd</sup>, ostensibly to loot Glasgow and return, but in fact to lead his men back towards Argyll, likely to prevent the recovery there.<sup>47</sup> However he had also resented Argyll's crown instructed influence in Kintyre for some reason, seemingly having a belief that his kin had more right to the land.

Orders issued by Argyll on the 5<sup>th</sup> of July 1645 from Kilchurn to some of the commanders of his forces in Argyll show that the county was again largely under his control. They were to oppose attempted raids into Argyll and attempt to supply their troops from captured enemy goods and gear. But he added 'Bot that I desire not that at this tyme thir be any actis of hostilitie done againis nichbouris quho have joined with the enemie unless you sie it for the good of the service.' He sensibly wanted to cool the local situation to give everyone a chance to recover and get in any surviving harvest.<sup>48</sup> But the people were to suffer further yet.

In the second week of September 1645 MacColla and his followers crossed into Cowal with the aid of Sir James Lamont whose brother provided boats. He led his followers to ravage Campbell places in Cowal, burning and looting widely against Strachur and Ardkinglas. Sir James had been tutor of Archibald Campbell, provost of Kilmun but forced him to surrender his tower on a promise of quarter but then killed some of his men. Sir James was married to a sister of Ardkinglas but when his wife's fourteen-year-old brother was sent to him, he handed him to

MacColla with the suggestion that he be hanged or kept prisoner. All these actions no doubt seemed fiendish to local people, and combined with his turning his coat after Inverlochy where he had fought against MacColla, were to raise a vindictive storm against Sir James Lamont among the people of Argyll.<sup>49</sup> Sir James later attempted to suggest in a report that his actions had only been taken in reaction to those of Argyll's forces.

Sir James then marched with MacColla through Argyll for five weeks on this second harrying. He enlisted the MacLachlans, MacNeills and MacDougalls for the Royalist cause. But behind them those of the Campbell alliance harried Cowal in turn. Memories of Sir James Lamont's turning his coat and treatment of his kin and neighbours doubtless acted as a strong influence upon those who later conducted the massacre of Lamont prisoners.

Notable among traditional incidents of the (probably second) invasion were the courageous challenge to MacColla by Zachary MacCallum of Poltalloch between Glassary Glen and Lochawe, and MacColla's burning of women and children in a barn in Glen Euchar near Scammadale where he was again challenged to single combat by Campbell of Bragleen, a family now represented by the Robertsons there.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> of October 1645 Glenorchy reported that Glendochart, Glenlochy and Glenfalloch had been robbed by 600 men of the Clanranald and MacIain MacDonalds and Camerons. MacColla sent Macleans to harry Islay, a curious move, unless in search of food. In December Sir Lachlan MacLean of Duart met MacColla at Kilmore in Lorne where they stayed for three nights. Stevenson, in his biography of MacColla suggests that it was here that the leadership signed what the minister of Iona, who was present with MacLean, described as 'a most cruel horrid and bloody band' [alliance] ...for 'for rooting out the name of Campbell.' What was proposed would today be called 'ethnic cleansing.' No copy survives, but Sir James Lamont later admitted signing a band 'bearing in plain Terms of combination among us for the ruin of the name of Campbell.' If this was Kilmore in Lorne, it was close by the place of the MacConnochie Campbells of Stronchormaig. They may have taken refuge in the hills or even in the old fort of Dunaidan.

Stevenson has suggested that this genocide was MacColla's original intention on his first (winter) raid of 1644-45, while for Montrose it was simply a matter of supplying his army through a winter. Stevenson had earlier pointed out that the early experiences of MacColla under Lord Lorn's pressure on his father concerning the overlordship of the MacColla lands on Colonsay may well have been the motivating force behind MacColla's sense of revenge. What motivated Sir James Lamont, who had fought beside the Argyll men against MacColla at Inverlochy, to be a turncoat and be so ruthless with his nephew and former allies is a question harder to answer.

By the end of 1645 any friends of the Marquess of Argyll in the county of Argyll were restricted to scattered garrisons and short of supplies. Barcaldine was out of grain, Dunstaffnage was asked to send some there. He did get meal to Sir Donald of Ardnamurchan who was in dire straits in Castle Stalker.<sup>50</sup>

In February 1646 the Estates, seeking to help the stricken people of Argyll, authorised Argyll to raise a new Regiment. This was done in spite of the devastation of Argyll and Campbell of

Ardkinglas was placed in command. He had been in the Lowlands while his lands were ravaged. Dougall of Inverawe was commissioned as one of the officers. But while the numbers were strong, the army had to be taken to the Lowlands to train since there were no supplies in Argyll. On its way south, the new regiment recaptured the castle on the island in Loch Dochart and laid siege to Patrick Campbell's captured Edinample Castle on Lochearn. The Menzies from Weem and the Stewarts from Ardvorlich joined them and by the time they reached Callendar they were some 1,200 strong. However between there and Stirling they were suddenly ambushed on the march and routed by 700 Athollmen under Graham of Inchbrakie. The Battle took place on the lands owned by Lord Napier near Thornhill and many were drowned in the Water of Goudy. According to the letter written by Montrose to Huntly, among the prisoners was 'Makondochy of the Reau, Argyle's great champion,' otherwise Dougall Campbell of Inverawe.<sup>51</sup> The survivors fled to Stirling whence they were sent to Renfrewshire and then quartered in the Lennox.<sup>52</sup> Montrose's comment suggests unrepented yet successful actions by Dougall.

In January and February 1646 Sir James Lamont returned to Cowal with his 600 men, harrying Strachur on the way. MacColla took his forces back through Cowal and quartered them roughly in Bute for the winter, there being nothing left in Argyll to support them. MacColla himself went to Lochaber in February, presumably to recruit, and then spent most of 1646 in Lorne, Knapdale and Kintyre, attempting to reduce the remaining garrisons. In April he sent 1,000 men under Clanranald via Kintyre to burn Inveraray.<sup>53</sup>

In late April and early May Argyll's regiment from Ireland under Skipness attacked Islay but was repulsed by Clanranald and his men.<sup>54</sup>

Traditional tales give glimpses of MacColla's experiences during this time, besieging strongholds in mainland Argyll: After besieging Kilberry for a fortnight, when the garrison sent out ale for him he realized they were well supplied and left. At Duntroon he failed again in his siege. He failed again at Craignish where he sent a beggar into spy out the supplies but his disguise was seen through and he was sent away loaded with food, upon which MacColla gave up again, being hungry from having denuded the countryside.

In May 1646 a large force under Campbell of Ardkinglas and Dougall of Inverawe invaded Cowal from Ayrshire. Dougall must now have been in his late thirties, a seasoned and experienced officer. How he had escaped from Montrose, or whether he had been an exchanged prisoner is unclear. Their objective was to attack and destroy the Lamonts, former neighbours whom they now with good reason held responsible for the devastation of Argyll. The spirit of revenge was fired by the piling up of a whole list of incidents which effectively enraged the Argyll men: The Lamonts had 'traitorously' changed sides and turned on the other mainland families after Inverlochy; Sir James had provided boats to bring MacColla and his Irishmen back into Argyll. He and his followers had participated with MacColla in the burning of the women and children shut up in the barn at Lagganmore; Sir James Lamont had handed over his own Campbell of Ardkinglas nephew aged 14 to MacColla and suggested that he imprison or hang the boy; he had also given the garrison quarter at Kilmun and then killed most of them; he had ordered the destruction of the lands of his bother-in-law Ardkinglas and also Strachur; he had signed a bond 'for the ruin of the name of Campbell.' Lamont had in fact created an image of himself as the devil incarnate in the Calvinist minds of his former allies. What has to be borne in mind is the great preference on the part of the Kirk during the Covenanting period for the Old Testament rather than the New. Their God was a force for fear, anger and revenge, and in that

style they believed in what they called 'righteousness' to immitate their image of God. No mercy could be shown until Lamont and his followers had been rooted as painfully as possible from the earth. Brought up on Biblical exhortations, such as calls to "Slay the Amalakites," inflamed the Covenanting Argyll men into a disaster of supposedly 'righteous' rage.

The revenge was even more revolting, with the killing of prisoners and women and children and even burial alive. Alastair Campbell of Airds tells the horrific tale on pages 241-2 of volume two of *A History of Clan Campbell*:

It was around this time that his Campbell neighbours had a score to settle with Sir James Lamont and on May 17th, 1646, he was attacked by a force of Campbells under Ardkinglas and Inverawe. Toward was the first target and there Ardkinglas induced the garrison to capitulate upon terms, that is to say of having their lives spared. This document, it was afterwards averred in the Charge brought against the Marquess, was signed by Ardkinglas, Inverawe, Strachur, the fiar of Dunstaffnage, Ellangreig, Lochnell's uncle and John MacLachlan, fiar of Craigenterive. This done, the Campbells plundered the house and took all the contents and cattle to the value of £50,000. They killed all those who tried to interfere, including several women, their bodies being left as prey for ravenous beasts to devour.

Under the direction of Ardkinglas, Inverawe, Strachur, Ellangreig, Lochnell's uncle, and the fiar of Dunstaffnage, 200 of the surrendered Lamonts were then bound in spite of the terms of their surrender. After some days of misery at Toward, the main body of the Campbells took Sir James with them to Ascog, already invested by Campbell of Ormsary, where, as at Toward, the garrison were prevailed upon to surrender on terms. Lamont of Silvercraigs was among their number who just over a year before had been in the Campbell ranks at Inverlochy. They were then plundered and robbed and several were killed including children of less than a month.

They then took the survivors to Toward but before leaving Ascog, burnt it and destroyed all the orchards and plantings there. Various Lamonts were sent to Inveraray from Toward, to the tender mercies of George Campbell of Kinnochtree, the sheriff-depute. The remainder were then embarked in boats and taken to Dunoon. Before they left, the Campbells burnt Toward as well. The total of cattle driven off as prey was some 3,000.

Once at Dunoon the Lamonts were systematically dealt with; the change of sides after Inverlochy, Lagganmore, Lamont's treatment of his brother-in-law, the killing of the Kilmun garrison, the destruction of Strachur and Ardkinglas was no doubt much in the minds of those concerned and may go far to explain if not to excuse what followed; the Campbells had a score to settle and they settled it in full. 36 of the captives, 'most of them being special gentlemen of the name of Lawmond' were taken and hanged from a single tree.

A further 30 were dirked or pistoled; they included the 80 year-old John Lamont of Auchinshelloch suffering from the Flux and John Jamison, the Provost of Rothesay who, although he had been shot three times through the body still showed signs of life when he was repeatedly stabbed and had his throat cut with a long dirk. Others were cut down half

hanged and buried alive in pits already prepared, in spite of their struggles against the earth thrown in on them. The total of those killed was around a hundred. The tree on which the hanging had taken place died and when it was cut down, its roots were found to be 'bleeding' with a sticky red substance - an extraordinary tale which was, however, confirmed by a contemporary account of 1661 signed by the Minister of Dunoon, the Provost of Rothesay and by one of the burgesses.

Those Lamonts that had escaped the massacre fared little better. Sir James was taken to Inveraray where the Marquess, Inverawe and others pressurised him to resign his life and fortune. He refused on the grounds of the Royal Commission he held and because 'he, being a King's Baron, could not be judged by them, none of them being such . . .' This counter being true of such people as Inverawe and George Campbell must have been particularly galling. The latter replied that Sir James 'was a false knave and that he would judge him whether he would or not . . .' Sir James was then sent as a prisoner to Dunstaffnage.

While he was there, in 1647, the Marquess sent a deputation consisting of Dunstaffnage, Lochnell and Inverawe with the proposal that Sir James should renounce all rights in his property and estates and his superiority over his vassals. If he agreed, he would then leave the area for ever, the Marquess giving him a considerable sum of money. If he refused, 'so long as the Marquess had a house in the world, the said Sir James should be prisoner therein and should torment him with pain and misery till the marrow should rot within his bones. . . .' The Marquess also boasted that he held Sir James's estates and would keep them come what might. Sir James reasoning that what a prisoner did under duress was null in law agreed and was taken to Inveraray where he duly signed a paper agreeing to most of the above. But instead of being released, he was sent back to the misery of Dunstaffnage.

The instigator of the reason for these ferocities, Sir James Lamont, was spared for a fuller trial and imprisoned in Dunstaffnage. Dougall of Inverawe, with Campbell of Ardkinglas, was in command during these atrocities.<sup>55</sup>

At some point in 1646, possibly immediately following events in Cowal, the Marquess of Argyll, Campbell of Ardkinglas, Dougall Campbell of Inverawe, Campbell of Dunstaffnage with Archibald Campbell of 'Baringar' and Archibald, uncle of Campbell of Barbreck-Craignish, all officers of the Marquess' regiment, attacked the MacDougalls, 500 of whom had risen in arms for the King. They attacked Kerrera where they killed 14 of the MacDougalls and took a further six prisoner to Inveraray where they were subsequently hanged. Dunollie himself was imprisoned in Innis Chonnel for a year and a half.<sup>56</sup> This attack on the MacDougalls was seemingly prior to the 1647 attack on Gylen castle following MacColla's escape to Ireland.

In mid June 1646 Lt. Col. Robert Kerr arrived in Kintyre bringing a letter from the King to MacColla and orders to disband in the King's name. By this time MacColla had been joined by the Earl of Antrim who, after more negotiations left again for Ireland but without many of his troops who, through guise of a mutiny, stayed with MacColla, presumably in hope of plunder. Through the winter of 1646-47 MacColla made little news and may have concentrated his forces in Kintyre - the mecca for MacDonald hopes.

In January 1647 the covenanting army withdrew from England, abandoning the King to the English parliamentarians. A new army of veteran troops under professional officers was formed and trained and sent north against the Catholic Huntly. By the end of March 1647 their mission was accomplished. Meanwhile MacColla made tentative approaches to the Covenanting government but on the 4th of March an Act of Parliament confirmed that no terms would be granted to him. So during March 1647 he burnt all the lands and houses in Knapdale, Kilmartin and Glassary in a 'scorched-earth' effort to make it difficult for the now threatened arrival of General David Leslie to advance into Kintyre.

From February to May 1646, Dougall had moved from Argyll towards Ayr, being taken prisoner on the way. Then in May '46 he and Ardkinglas were involved in the action against the Lamonts. Possibly after that he had been with Leslie in the north. In mid April 1647 Leslie arrived at Dunblane from the north with a part of the army, having left Middleton to complete the work in the northeast. General David Leslie, (not to be confused with General Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven, also a Covenanting leader), would be created Lord Newark in 1661 and was grandson of the 5th Earl of Rothes. He had served under Gustavus Adolphus and joined the army of the Covenanters in 1643. He fought at Marston Moor and defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh in 1645 and would in turn be defeated by Cromwell at Dunbar. He would be taken prisoner at Worcester and spend nine years in the Tower of London.

Argyll had learned from the experience of Inverlochy. There he had insisted on commanding the forces in his own territory, taking over from the professional General Baillie, only to experience defeat and ignominy. He agreed to accompany Leslie into Argyll as colonel of a regiment and as one of a Committee of the Covenanters whom Leslie was supposed to consult, in a similar way to later party commissars. Dougall of Inverawe was with Argyll under Leslie when they marched for Kintyre. Whether Dougall had been with him when chasing Huntly in the northeast or had joined him on his way into Argyll is not known, but had Dougall remained in Argyll during 1646-47 he would perhaps have been holed up in his island castle of Fraoch Eilean on Lochawe. While his family may have taken refuge there (as happened after 1685) the likelihood would seem to be that he and his men had been with the army in the Lowlands and northeast.

On Leslie's march into Argyll in May 1647, Stevenson suggests that he had two 'highland' regiments commanded by Argyll and Ardkinglas. Although nominally containing 1,000 men in each, in fact they may have been much weaker. Leslie complained that three of his Lowland regiments each contained only half their nominal strength. Fear of the arrival of reinforcements for MacColla from Ireland, and an outbreak of the plague in Dunblane sent Leslie off swiftly without waiting for his regiments to be brought up to strength.

On the 17th of May 1647 the army marched out of Dunblane 'and made very long marches over the mountains in stormy weather, without houses or tents... We had not so stormie a May these many years.'<sup>57</sup> Their most direct route could have been by Lochearnhead and over by Loch Dochart to Glen Lochy and Clachan Dysart [later Dalmally] and so south by Inveraray, through which Leslie is known to have passed, to Knapdale and Kintyre. But it is also possible that with the journey being most urgent, the army crossed the hills from Loch Katrine and over Glen Falloch and so into the hills again to upper Glen Fyne.

Leslie's force appears to have been a picked one of only two to three thousand men. He led them towards Kintyre, which was then only the area south of Caol Slate, the district about West Loch Tarbert plus the Skipness lands and to the south to beyond Clachan. Certainly by the time they entered the old Kintyre he had with him Dougall of Inverawe who had 300 men under his command.

MacColla had recently been to Ireland and back (a sail of only 15 to 30 miles, depending upon the wind and which port he gained) and was evidently planning the withdrawal of his forces to Ireland since reinforcements could not come immediately due to the political situation there. He wrote a commission to his 76 year old father Coll 'coitach' to hold the castle of Dunivaig on Islay, keeping a toe-hold anent his return - more of a gesture at that point than anything else.

Leslie reached Inveraray on the 21st of May, after four days march from Dunblane, making about 25 to 30 miles in a day. By the 24th he was in Kintyre. Either that day or the day after, at sunset he came upon the enemy. He attacked and scattered 1,300 men of MacColla's forces on the level grasslands of Rhunahaorine near MacDonald of Largie's castle. This Leslie accomplished with his cavalry with which he had pressed ahead of his infantry forces so as to secure the narrower passes between sea and hill. He reported 60 to 80 of the enemy killed. Three of their leaders were captured and only nine of Leslie's men wounded. Night was falling and many escaped. Those who could not take boats for Gigha or Islay retreated to Dunaverty, a stronghold on the southern shore of Kintyre just east of the Mull. Some, confused by a song, do not realize that the 'Mull of Kintyre' is only the great hill and cliff face of western extremity of the peninsula.

On the 25th of May 1647, while chasing MacColla and his men out of Kintyre, Lieut. Gen. David Leslie, hearing that MacColla and his father Coll *Ciotach* had fled to Gigha, at once sent Dougall Campbell of Inverawe with 300 men to pursue them. MacColla had taken or destroyed all the boats and the delay allowed him and his father to escape to Islay. This order was probably given shortly following the battle or skirmish at Rhunahaorine, either that night or the following morning. Tradition holds that Dougall had to go all the way north to Castle Sween to find boats.<sup>58</sup>

Meanwhile, once it was clear that MacColla had escaped and no resistance was offered in Kintyre, Leslie must have been concerned about securing his land link to the mainland because Colonel Robert Montgomery was sent north into Lorne to attack the strongholds of the MacColla sympathizers - either rebels or genuine Royalists there. Turner<sup>60</sup> states that when David Leslie led his invasion of Islay from Gigha, only fifty horse accompanied them 'the rest of the troop being in Lorne under the command of Colonel Robert Montgomery who blocked up the house of Dunallich [Dunollie] belonging to MacKowill [MacDougall] in Lorne whose clan was, as I said before, very near extirpated at Dunaverty.'

Before there were any boats brought south so that he could leave for Islay, Leslie had marched south to the site of modern Campbeltown. On the 26th of May 1647 Leslie advanced to Lochhead (later Cambeltown) where he found the house and fort abandoned by the rebels. By the 31st of May he was beginning the siege of Dunaverty. Here it was that he wrote his letter mentioning Dougall of Inverawe's failure to find boats to pursue MacColla to Gigha, which suggests that Inverawe had sent him a report from Rhunahaorine and gone north to look elsewhere for boats.

At Dunaverty , Archibald *mor* MacDonald of Sanda commanded three or four hundred men crowded into the small and poorly supplied stronghold. An eye-witness account of the time describes what is still called a castle as ‘A house on top of a hill environ’d with a stone wall.’ An 18<sup>th</sup> century account tells of the former existence of a drawbridge, ‘after which two or three walls, one within the other, fortified the ascent.’ The rock on which it stood was defended on three sides by the sea. In 1494 the walls had been high enough that MacDonald of Dunnivailg had hung the royal governor from them. The castle would seem to have been demolished after Argyll’s rising in 1685.

MaDonald of Sanda refused Leslie’s summons to surrender and Leslie immediately launched an attack. About forty of MacDonald’s troops were killed when an outer ditch was captured with the loss of five or six of the attackers, Mathew Campbell, Captain of Skipness and the Major and second in command of Argyll’s regiment among them. This attack captured the water supply of the stronghold.

Sanda offered to surrender on the mercy of the kingdom: Leslie refused to let him surrender on his mercy, due to his previous refusal. The prisoners taken are said to have included a number of younger MacDougalls of the Dunollie family and their kindred.

The killing of the prisoners did not take place immediately but two days later. In the conventions of war of the day it was legitimate. Once an offer of quarter had been refused by a garrison it could expect no quarter. A surrender at mercy was unconditional surrender coupled with a plea for mercy which might well be rejected. Whether Sanda and his men understood the European conventions of the day is another matter. The only Covenanting sources suggest that among about 300 who surrendered, 200 or so of MacColla’s men were killed following the surrender while 80 to 100 were spared and sent off to the French service under John MacDougall, younger of Dunollie.

According the Adjutant General with the army, Sir James Turner, the killing of the prisoners was pushed vehemently and repeatedly upon Leslie by Rev. John Neve whom the general viewed as representing the Committee and therefore the government. Argyll was in Turner’s view not at all involved. Sanda’s infant grandson was hidden by his nurse while MacDougall of Kilmun was rescued by Argyll after he cried out in five languages ‘Is there anyone here at all who will save a good scholar?’ Angus MacEacheran of Kilellan died but saved his family and lands by giving his small deed kist to an officer who handed them to Argyll. Twelve years later Argyll restored the lands to his family.

The killing of prisoners is said to have been entrusted to those whose women and children MacColla and Lamont had burnt alive in the barn at Lagganmore near Scamadale. Among the reported ninety of those who died were forty-nine MacDougall Lairds or Tacksmen and their followers from Lorne. The forty-nine added to the MacDougalls killed or hung the year before at the time of an earlier invasion of Kerrara amounted to 69 of the extended Dunollie kindred killed, contrasted with the 80 to 100 spared and sent off to the French service under young Dunollie. Representatives of the leading MacDougall families of Dunollie, Raray, Craiganich and Gallanach appear to have survived. The forty-nine ‘Lairds and Tacksmen’ have yet to be identified. The greater number of them must have been Tacksmen since the surviving records show a limited number of MacDougalls responsible for lands in those years. Again, a fully researched history of the MacDougall kindred would be most helpful.

Leslie then moved back to Lochhead [now Campbeltown] where the leaders captured at Rhunahaorine were hanged on Whinny Hill; Hector MacAllister of Loup who was MacColla's father in law, two of his sons, and MacKay or Davidson of Ardnacroish with some of his men were those hung.

The search for boats took Dugald of Inverawe until the 19<sup>th</sup> of June to ship his 220 foot and 80 horse to Gigha. Leslie and the rest of the army joined him there on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June.<sup>59</sup> Having some cavalry, we should picture Dougall as being mounted on most of his campaigns. He could therefore have earlier been with Leslie at the scattering of MacColla's men at Rhunahaorine. But now he was soon back on the mainland.

Leslie - once Inverawe had found him boats – followed Dougall to Gigha on the 23<sup>rd</sup>. There Dougall must have been ordered north to serve with Montgomery, while Leslie and Argyll sailed with their troops for Islay on the 24<sup>th</sup> of June. There he took the Castle of Dunivaig, feebly commanded by MacColla's aged father Coll 'coitach' from Colonsay.

Meanwhile Dougall of Inverawe and his men made their way north into Lorn. Possibly, rather than making their way through the devastated lands of Caol Slate, Knapdale, Glassary and Ardsceodnish, Dougall took his men and horses north by sea. At least there they could fish for supplies.

Once in Lorn, Dougall linked up with Colonel Montgomery, likely based at Dunstaffnage. They then besieged Dunollie and the little MacDougall castle of Gylen on Kerrera. Both were held by a royalist garrisons. Although Gylen was surrounded by cliffs on three sides and only reachable by a narrow neck of land hardly wide enough for a cart, they attacked and burnt the handsome little tower. These sieges must have taken place between the late June and some point in July 1647 when Leslie sent fresh orders for Dougall of Inverawe.(vide infra.)

The besiegers, who had completed successful campaigns in Kintyre and Islay, 'threatned those that were therein with hanging to death if they did not burne the same', and, doubtless mindful of the fate of their kinsmen who had suffered in the massacre of Dunaverty, the garrison complied with this order. The 'Brooch of Lorn', a celebrated MacDougall heirloom which had been sent to Gylen for safekeeping, was removed by Campbell of Inverawe, one of the attacking force.'<sup>61</sup> This according to tradition. But although the brooch may have been removed by Dougall, he would seem to have awarded it to Campbell of Bragleen, a hero in the fight against MacColla. The following extract from the Statistical Account is inaccurate in suggesting that the brooch was held in the Inverawe family.

'Robert Bruce's brooch happened at this period to be deposited in Gylen Castle, and became the spoil of Campbell of Inverawe, then serving in the detachment sent to Lorn under Colonel Montgomery, the captor of Gylen Castle. By the descendants of Inverawe the brooch was carefully preserved down to 1826, when it was purchase from the representative of that family by the late General Duncan Campbell of Lochnell who, with generosity which much distinguished him, restored the long lost brooch to the present proprietor of Dunollie.'<sup>62</sup> That tale rings true if the name Bragleen is substituted for Inverawe.

Dougall of Inverawe was likely in command of the unit which captured the MacDougalls carrying their valuables from the burning castle, which the MacDougalls undoubtedly would not have left in the castle to burn. But the brooch itself appears in fact to have come into the hands of Campbell of Bragleen and remained in that family until purchased by Lochnell who was trustee for the heiress daughters of the last Campbell of Bragleen. The Campbells of Bragleen were cadets of Lochnell. The last of the male line of the family was Major Archibald Campbell of Bragleen who died on the 25<sup>th</sup> of October 1818 aged 47. Mary Campbell, the second daughter, married Roderick Robertson, merchant in London, and was ancestor of the present Robertsons of Bragleen.<sup>63</sup>

Dougall must have known Iain *Beag*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Campbell of Bragleen who was a younger man than himself, being seised in Bragleen on the 28<sup>th</sup> of May 1655 and died on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1693. He married his cousin Catherine, daughter of John Campbell of Lochnell. They left three sons and a daughter Christian who married Archibald Campbell of Fanans, neighbour and kinsman of Inverawe. Since Iain *Beag*'s father must have died in 1655, it would likely have been young Iain who had challenged Alastair MacColla and escaped encirclement by flinging his sword in the air, breaking through the line surrounding him while all looked up to beware of where it would fall.<sup>64</sup>

Meanwhile, after reducing Islay, Leslie then turned north by sea, to tidy up any remaining Royalists or Clan Donald visionaries yearning for Kintyre. They kept to the sea as much as possible since the mainland was so ravaged that the people must have been starving and in no condition to support an army. Peace finally returned to mainland Argyll that May and June of 1647.

In 1647 a collection was ordered throughout all the churches in Scotland for the relief of the people of Argyllshire, plundered by 'the Irish.'

Leslie's final action in Argyll appears to have been the acceptance of the surrender of Duart and the Maclean strongholds on Mull, and also Castle Tioram in Moidart.

In July 1647 General David Leslie evidently promoted Dougall. In his orders that month for Dougall to take command of Inverlochy, he is now addressed as 'Lieut. Col. Dugald Campbell of Inverawe.' The order instructs Dougall to take over the garrison of Inverlochy with 220 soldiers. He maintained the garrison there until the 1<sup>st</sup> of November 1648. This information is contained in a supplication to Parliament by Lt. Col. Dugald Campbell of Inverawe for reimbursement of £3,986-13s. 4d. Scots.<sup>65</sup>

The following document, being among the Inverawe papers, suggests that during this time Dougall may have been with Ardkinglas' regiment, rather than with Argyll's. However since he stated later (see below in 1648-9) that he was in charge of the garrison of Inverlochy during this time, why he should have this (following) document among his papers is another question. [spelling up-dated]:

At Edinburgh the 4th day of Sept 1647

The Laird of Ardkinglas his Regiment of Foot being the number of six hundred and fourteen common soldiers 'by and attour' these already in garrison are with the whole officers of the staff and the officers of the companys after specified to be quartered within the shires of Perth, Stirling, Kinross and Clackmannan. The monthly pay of the said

regiment, extending to the sum of seven thousand seven hundred forty three pounds thirteen shillings four pence, [shall be] payable to the officers and soldiers thereof now to be quartered within the four shires.

The shire of Stirling is to quarter one hundred and three score [160] common soldiers with the whole officers of two companies - a Captain excepted - Their pay being one thousand six hundred three score and twelve pounds [£1,672]. The maintenance of Stirlingshire extends to one thousand four hundred fourscore eighteen pounds [£1,496] monthly which being compared with the pay due to the forenamed officers and soldiers there will be due to those quartered one hundred threescore fourteen pounds [£174] which the collector is to pay thereto [this seems two pounds short (!)]

The maintenance of Clackmannan shire extends to five hundred twenty two pounds [£522]; upon which threescore [60] common soldiers are to be quartered with the full of officers of a company, one Captain and drummer excepted, whose pay is six hundred twenty four pounds [£624]. So that there is due to the number quartered there an hundred and two pounds [£102] which the Collector of the shire is to pay them.

The maintenance of Kinross shire is threescore twelve pounds [£72] upon which ten common soldiers and a corporal is to quarter -Whose pay monthly is fourscore seven pounds [£87]. To it there will be resting to these quartered there more than the shires maintenance fifteen pounds [£15] which the Collector is to pay to them.

The maintenance of Perthshire extends to fourteen thousand seven hundred thirty three pounds 6s. 8d. [£14,733-6s-8d.] upon which three hundred eighty four common soldiers are to be quartered whose monthly pay is two thousand eight hundred and fourscore pounds [£2,880] -Together with the complete officers of five companies lacking one corporal- And the whole officers of the staff with two captains and a drummer- moreover and above whose monthly pay added to the soldiers is five thousand three hundred threescore pounds 13s. 4d. [£5,360-13s.4d] Which being compared with the maintenance payable monthly by the shire there will rest six hundred twenty-seven pounds 6s.(8)d. [£627.6s.8d] due by the general commissary to these quartered therein. And payable by the Collector of the shire to them. Sic Subscrivit. Bogie. [General Commisary Sir John Wemys of Bogie]

Below this on the same sheet of paper, 'sic subs,' David Leslie added the following, also dated on the 4th of September 1647. By this time the general was clearly back in Edinburgh from the west coast and he wrote (spelling up-dated):

Comrade

You shall quarter by advice of the committee of the shires within the sheriffdoms of Perth, Sterling, Clackmannan and Kinross, Remain there constantly until further orders - The Collectors of the shires are to count for your quartering - And the quarterings being deducted to pay you the remainder Conform to the above written testification which are the full means allowed to your regiment monthly by act of parliament according to which

you shall count [account] and receive the remainder - Given at Edinburgh 4th of Sept. 1647 Sic subs.

David Leslie

Upon receipt of these orders or if your Regiment be to remove clear your quarter count ['compt' = account?] with the collectors and receive pay or give pay for what is due you or due by you since you have been quartered there, for the Laird of Ardkinglas Regiment.

Perhaps the following may comprise a part of Inverawe's clearing of accounts before moving east: Among the surviving Inverawe papers is the following, dated at Dunstaffnage on the 16th of September 1647.<sup>66</sup> Whether it was in Dougall's own hand or not is not yet discerned. (spelling up-dated: )

At Dunstaffnage the 16 Sept. 1647 -

The Stent Roll of the monthly maintenance for fifty men in the garrison of Inverlochy - The whole lands of Lochaber is to pay monthly two hundred merks The lands of Glenelg are to pay monthly one hundred twenty merks

The lands of Moydart Arisaig Morar [spelt Morvon] pays monthly the sum of a hundred merks

The lands of Morvern [spelt Morwarne] Ardgour & Inverlochy pays monthly one hundred merks

The lands of Glengarry and Knoydart pays monthly four score merks  
Summa six hundred merks monthly' (Inverawe Papers MS in the NLS)

[Interestingly this means that each soldier needed 12 merks local upkeep per month].

Undated but in the same hand is the following among the Inverawe papers: 'McConochies awin pay for the garesoune' (spelling up-dated, showing pounds, shillings and pence):

'The pay of 30 soldiers is lib.	270-00-00
'L of hous	066-13- 4
'One sergeants pay is	018-00-00
'Corporals half corporals pay is	018-00-00
'Two drummers pay is	124-00-00
'Captain at arms pay is	<u>015-00-00</u>
Sw	411-13- 4

'I say ffoure hundreth eleven pounds threttein shillings 4d.'

In a similar hand and style, but undated, is the following.<sup>67</sup> One is left wondering whether these were the 'braes' of Lochaber which would seem likely, being near to Inverlochy. The question of which of Dougall's brothers is left to conjecture, however it was most likely Archibald *Oig* rather than the second son John the Writer. The 'Captain' was therefore presumably Archibald *Oig*:

'Compt of the pay of those ffyftie men keiped by McConochie's brother on the braes" (up-dated spelling):

'First the pay of the 50 soldiers is lib.	450-0-0		'A
captains pay	066-13-4		'Lieutenant
	040-00-0		'Ensigns
030-00-0			'Half Sergeant
9-00-0		'A corporal	<u>12-</u>
<u>00-0</u>			
		'Swa 607-13-4	
'I say sex hunreth seaven poundis threttein sh. 4d.'			

The Civil War had been about religion. Because of the support of successive Earls of Argyll for the Reformation of 1560 and beyond, the Inverawe kindred found themselves at the heart of the reform and the fear-based tightening of behaviour control that followed. As a heritor, Dougall was involved with the setting up of church ministers in his part of the country. On the 12th of October 1647, the Synod of Argyll at Clachandysart (now Dalmally) in the Second Session 'ordained that a letter of recommendation be sent to Jon Campbell of Ardchattan and to Dougall Campbell of Inverawe in favour of Mr. Archibald MacCalman, desiring them to see him contented in his stipend or reasonable satisfaction given to him according to the general ordour appointed by the Marquesse of Argyll and *his* friends in favour of brunt (burnt) and waste paroches.<sup>68</sup>

On the last day of February 1648 Dougall of Inverawe received into his keeping the sum of 3,000 merks as pledge of peace by Patrick Aldich McGregor's kin and friends and the house of Buchanan of Leny near Callendar, between whom there had been a feud. Two years after Dugald's death the MacGregors would murder one of the Buchanans and so the Bond was being called in.<sup>69</sup> On the 29th of March 1648 the General Commissary, Sir John Wemys of Bogie wrote to Dugald with the following commission: (spelling up-dated:)

I Sir John Wemys of Bogie Knight General Commissary by these presents Gives my full power and commission to Lieutenant Colonel Dougall Campbell of Inverawe to uplift and receive out of the bounds particularly after specified within the sherifffdom of Inverness the particular sums of money following as a part of the monthly maintenance due by them conform to the act of Parliament viz. out of the lands of Lochaber within the said sherifffdom seven hundred and ten pounds Scots money - Out of McCleidis [McLeod's] his bounds of Glenelg four hundred pounds money- Out of the bounds of Moydart Arisaig and Morar as a part of the captain of Clanranald his bounds four hundred pound more foresaid - And out of the laird of McFingane his lands within the said sherifffdom three hundred sixteen pounds eighteen shillings eight pence money foresaid - And on the receipt thereof in whole or in part - To give discharge which shall be also sufficient as if the sum were granted by myself - Astricting the said Lieutenant Colonel to be accountable for what he shall receive or to allow the same in the first and of any sums due to *him* for that company kept by *him* in garrison within Inverlochy whereof he has the charge - In witness whereof I have subscribed these presents with my hand at Edinburgh the twenty-ninth day of March jmvjc and forty eight years [signed] Bogie.<sup>70</sup>

The task of collecting such funds from that part of the country can hardly have been an easy one, since not all were in sympathy with the government. In fact it was to a great extent wishful thinking on the part of Lowland men that such an operation could be successful in the Highlands were there was little cash, most wealth then being held in cattle. Among the Commissioners

appointed on the 8th of June 1648 by the Estates of Parliament, Charles I, as Commissioners of Shires, was Dougall Campbell of Inverawe. In the same year is an Act concerning the garrisons, wherein 'The Estates of Parliament ordaines and commands that McConochie of Inneraw [Dougall], and the garrison now at Innerloquhie, repair forthwith frae that place and march and Joyne with the rest of the body of their regiment to the shire of Selkirk'. At the same time command of Inverlochy Castle was to be taken over by the laird of Mackintosh.<sup>71</sup>

On the 2nd of August 1648 a letter was addressed as follows [contents not yet deciphered]:

Ffra Sir Jon. Wymes For

His much respectit friend Liuetenant Collonell Campbell sumtyme governor of Innerlochie

Dated 2 August 1648.<sup>72</sup>

In 1648 Cromwell came to Berwick and invaded Scotland, defeating the Duke of Hamilton's army. In September or October the Marquess of Argyll went to Cromwell at Mordington and 'had interest enough to divert him from measures of force'. Argyll was now 41 years old.

Lt. Col. Dugald Campbell of Inverawe was obliged to supplicate Parliament for arrears of pay for his men for the year and a half he had commanded a garrison at Inverlochy Castle [up-dated spelling and cut into paragraphs for easier reading]:

To the right Hon. the high court of Parliament

The humble supplication of Lieutenant Colonel Dougall Campbell of Inverawe who has the command of the garrison of Inverlochy. 31 Jan. 1649

Humbly sheweth that where the General Lieutenant by his order in July 1647 years appointed me to have the charge of the said garrison with the number of two (?) hundred and twenty soldiers which was kept by me therein since that time to the first of November last - And true it is that there is due to me for the said garrison preceding the said time the sum of three thousand nine hundred fourscore [eighty] six pounds thirteen shillings four pence Scots money -

Which the committee of estates by their precept of dat 14th October last ordained the General Commissary to pay - Likewise the said General Commissary accepted thereof - And by his precept appointed the collector of Perthshire to pay the same out of the revenues of that shire preceding October last - Which collector having cleared [ac]counts here with the general commissary - [it was stated that] there was nothing due by him except what is resting on Atholl. So that I am frustrated - the said general commissary refusing to make the said precept effectual an other way - And albeit the late unlawful committee by their act (which now by God's providence is repealed) did ordain the foresaid garrison to be delivered to the Laird of McIntosh - Yet out of my affection to the cause did keep the same from him - And was necessitated to borrow money for providing the same with victual for the which I am now sought [by creditors]

As your Lordships would know that since the last levy the burden of the said garrison is put on me with the number of fourscore five [85] soldiers with their officers whose pay monthly is assigned by the General Commissary on the shire of Renfrew and town of Glasgow - So that the garrison has nothing in it but from hand to the mouth - I being still forced to advance the provision to them one month before their pay can be gotten - And if your Lordships knew how necessary it will be to have the same garrison sufficiently

magazined it being very considerable - And in such a place of the kingdom that on the least report they hear many of them will be ready to trouble the peace of the kingdom and join with the troublers thereof –

And that now presently I cannot get any boll of victual to it nearer than Perthshire or Inverness -both which shires will be more than forty miles from it - That so the carriage [cartage ] and all will be dearer as twenty merks the boll - by any hazard may fallout in the transport which on the least surmise may be stopped wholly from any transport - And so the garrison lost - and we in it in hazard -

For the consideration of the which premises the honourable and great court of Parliament would be pleased not only for my bygone faithfulness in times past in keeping of the said garrison - to make my said precept effectual- and to cause satisfaction that I may pay those I am due to for victual to the said garrison - but also that your Lordships would be pleased to take such a course with that garrison and others thereabout -[as to] how provisions of victual may be had for them to be kept in magazine -and at least five or six months provisions. Otherwise, for my own exoneration at your lordships hands whereof I humbly crave your Lordship's pardon I will be necessitat [required] to quit it - Seeing I am not able of my self to provide it. And your Lordships answer I humbly crave that I make my redress to the said garrison”<sup>73</sup>

The above petition although dated the 31<sup>st</sup> of January 1649 has written on the cover [up- dated spelling]:

20 Jan 1649 The committee of bills finds the supplication competent to the committee of accounts and to ‘tray’ [try?] the collector of Perth shire upon whom the precept was drawn how the said precept was not answered by him - And concerning the garrison they found it competent to the committee of dispatches. (signed) Coupar

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of February 1649 the Committee for Dispatches ordered a letter to be written to Ewan Cameron of Lochiel ('Lochyenn') directing him to join with Dougall Campbell of Inverawe and obey the orders of the lieutenant general for falling down towards Inverness. Lochiel and Inverawe were to join Lt. Gen. David Leslie with their forces as well as two regiments of Argyll's regiment. On the 8th of March 1649 a letter was written to Leslie:

We have ordered MacConochie of Inverawe [Dougall Campbell] to repair to Lochaber and there to draw together all the forces he can to assist you in carrying on the service. ..against the rebels. [In this case ‘rebels’ meant ‘Royalists.’]<sup>74</sup>

On the 14<sup>th</sup> of April 1649 Chancellor Loudoun wrote from Edinburgh to Argyll’s commanders presumably including Dougall of Inverawe, since a copy remained among the Inverawe papers (spelling up-dated:):

Loveing Freens, We are very well satisfied with the informations we received by the Lord Marquis of Argyll of your readiness to assist and concur with the Lieutenant General and obey such orders as you receive from him for the good of the Country, we take your carriage [courage or attitude?] in so good part as we assure you we shall not be unmindful of your peaceable behaviours at this time when a fitting opportunity shall offer wherein we may express our sense thereof. And are very confident that you and all who partake with you shall reap the fruits of your obedience to public orders and preserving the peace

of the Kingdom when others shall smart and receive their due punishment for their rebellion, we shall say no more at this time -Your very affectionate friends [signed] Laudoun Cancellarius [Earl of Loudoun, Chancellor]- Edinburgh 14 Aprile 1649.<sup>75</sup>

That summer Dougall had some time at home and was able to deal with the backlog of administration that had piled up during the years of conflict. On the 7<sup>th</sup> of June 1649 Dougall was at Inveraray where he and Dunstaffnage and Archibald *oig* Campbell in [rather than of] Stronchormaig, signed a Renunciation by Donald Ewing, heir to Wm. Ewing in Barindroman of the salmon fishing and draughts thereof drawn upon the lands of Kilninver and Barnacarrie (called the fishing at the Skerridow) as principle...’ (etc.). Colin Campbell of Lochnell and Dougall’s cousin Neill Carswell, sometime of Carnassarie witnessed their signatures, plus George Campbell sheriff depute of Argyll and John Zuill [Yule] his servitor.<sup>76</sup>

The MacConnochie Campbells of Stronchormaig were kin of the MacConnochie Campbells of Inverawe, their last common ancestor having lived in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Yet over the past century and a half, they had frequently acted as witnesses and the like for each other’s affairs. Kilninver and Barnacarrie with the fishing of the rock of Skerry dubh are about the mouth of Loch Feochan.

The above Archibald *oig* (meaning younger – often grandson) Campbell in Stronchormaig may well have been a son of the then Archibald Campbell of Stronchormaig who had succeeded to the lands following the death at Inverlochy of Dougall of Stronchormaig in 1645. Archibald appears on record as of Stronchormaig in November 1649.<sup>77</sup> His mother Margaret (composer of the Gaelic Lament for her husband’s death at Inverlochy and daughter of Dunstaffnage) had remarried to Archibald, a son of Campbell of Barbreck in 1647. The fact that the Archibald who was with Dougall of Inverawe at Inveraray was both *oig* and in Stronchormaig suggests that he is Archibald of Stronchormaig’s son who has a Tack of Stronchormaig. He may have been a younger son since by November 1663 a Duncan Campbell of Stronchormaig appears on record.<sup>78</sup> By 1685 Duncan was calling himself both ‘of Stronchormaig’ and ‘of Glenfeochan’ although the properties were basically the same.<sup>79</sup>

At the end of October Dougall was at Inveraray. There on the 29<sup>th</sup> of October 1649 he and Alexander McNachtan of Dunderave were signatories on a Precept of Clare Constat by the now Marquess of Argyll to his beloved cousin Donald Campbell of Barbreck of the lands of Barbreck.<sup>80</sup> This was about Barbreck on Loch Awe, near Kilchrennan and Donald was Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan, the fierce natural son of Cawdor who yet seems to have been a friend of Inverawe. Two days later, on the 31<sup>st</sup> of October at Inveraray, a feu charter by Argyll was signed before Alexander McNachtan of Dunderave and Dougall Campbell of Inverawe and the sheriff depute.<sup>81</sup>

Finally, Dougall was able to hand over responsibility for the garrison and castle of Inverlochy to a successor and kinsman: On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of November 1649 Ewen Cameron of Locheil gave a receipt to Dougall of Inverawe for the supplies on taking over Inverlochy Castle from him: [spelling up-dated]:

I Ewen Cameron of Locheil by here presents Grant me in name of my Lord Marques of Argyll and conform to his Lordship’s order to have received from Dougall Campbell of Inverawe who had the charge of the garrison of Inverlochy the same garrison of

Inverlochty with a little girnel within it - A barrel [of] powder and a kist [chest] of ball -  
By these presents subscribed with my hand at Inverlochty the second day of November  
jmvjc and forty nine years. [signed] Ewyne Cameron of Lochzeild.<sup>82</sup>

Dougall was finally relieved of his military responsibilities for Inverlochty. He would likely have been in his late thirties or early forties. Ewen *dubh* of Locheil was then aged 20 and had lately, until he returned to his home country aged 18, been brought up in the household of Argyll. He had succeeded his grandfather Allan in 1647, his father John having died in 1635. Ewen's mother was Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy and so sister of Dougall's wife Agnes. Ewen was therefore a nephew by marriage of Dougall's. During the late 16<sup>th</sup> century Clan Cameron had been in turmoil during the minority of Allan, who was sent for safety to the Minister of Dunoon. Because he was therefore brought up a Protestant, during the following generations there were a number of Cameron marriages with Campbell daughters. Young Locheil at 18 was described by a later kinsman as 'healthful and full of spirit and grown up to the height of a man, though somewhat slender.' Ewen's loyalty to Argyll was shifted to the king in 1650 when, following Argyll's invitation to Charles II to come to Scotland, Ewen received a letter from Charles summoning him to join the royal army at Stirling. But he had difficulty raising his men, many being on Argyll's lands and otherwise committed, so he was spared the misfortunes of the battles of Inverkeithing and Worcester.<sup>83</sup>

Dougall must eventually have been reimbursed for the funds he had spent on the garrison at Inverlochty and their supplies. For he was able to add some further lands in Glen Etive. At Ardmaddy on the 30<sup>th</sup> of November 1649, John MacDougall, sometime of Raray, having 'disponed my whole lands and estate in Lorne' to the Marquess of Argyll and, 'for a certain sum of money paid to me by Dougall Campbell of Inverawe ...have disponed to the said Dougall Campbell and his heirs male the ...1d (one penny) land of Glencarne in Lorn. ..(commonly called the 2 merkland of Innerelane and Innercharnane) excepting the wadset granted to me by Patrick Campbell of Dalmarkglen of. ..the 1 merk land of Innerlane.' [These lands appear to be Inverchallan and Invercharnan in Glen Etive]. Archibald Campbell of Stronchormoig was a witness.<sup>84</sup>

Dougall had then to help in sorting out some of his brother's and nephew's land holdings. On the 6<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of December 1649 at Inveraray a contract was signed between John Campbell, fiar of Glenorchy on the one part and brothers of Dougall of Inverawe on the other, concerning the lands of Inerinnane [Inverinan on the NW side of Lochawe] Easter and Wester and Craigbamorren, Cayely, Over and Nether Fernoch and of Achicharne, Achnadee and Sonachan, all on Lochawe. Dunstaffnage with a brother of Baron MacCorquodale, Colin Campbell of Mochaster and Alexander, both John's brothers, were among the witnesses.<sup>85</sup>  
This was only the beginning of a process.

The Sasine that followed this shows that Dougall's brothers John of Achouran and Patrick Campbell had died, while his brothers Archibald, Allan and Lachlan were still alive on the 6<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of December 1649, when the Sasine was originally dated.

In May 1650 Argyll, according to the Scots Peerage and his biographer, 'having done all he could to prevent the execution of his brother-in-law Huntly, refused to assist at the trial of Montrose or to concur in the sentence of execution pronounced against him, although [he was] a personal enemy, in May 1650'.

Dougall had a natural son Patrick who was a witness to a Sasine on the 5th and 6th of June 1650 where Lachlan was attorney for his brother Dougall Campbell 'now of Inverawe' and his sons Duncan John and Alexander in the lands of Crunachy. Crunachy lies beside the Bridge of Awe between the lands of Inverawe and Branrie and on the same side of the river as Inverawe. Dugald's father Archibald is mentioned as 'deceased.' This and the following Charter would suggest that Archibald had only recently died, however Dougall had been addressed as 'of Inverawe' since before 1645, and no doubt the invasion of Argyll had delayed most legal actions.<sup>86</sup> Somehow, these lands of Crunachy, although geographically a part of Inverawe, slipped away before the end of the century and were in the sticky hands of John Earl of Breadalbane.

In June 1650, Argyll was instrumental in bringing Charles II to Scotland from exile. After Cromwell began to plan his invasion of Scotland and the subsequent defeat of the Scots at Dunbar on the 3rd of September 1650, Argyll held to the cause of the king. Argyll's eldest son, Lord Lorn, 'behaved with great bravery at the battle of Dunbar ...where his regiment suffered heavily'. He had been made colonel of Foot Guards by the King, refusing to act under a commission from parliament.

Following the death of his father, Dougall received a Charter from Archibald Marquess of Argyll on the 29<sup>th</sup> of October 1650 regrating to him as Campbell of Inverawe the following lands: the four merklands of Inverawe with fishings on the water of Awe, four merklands of Drumachois, three merklands of Achacharne with office of seargeandry or marie of the lands of Benderloch between Ardmucknish and Invermow [not yet identified], two merklands of Dalness with the keeping of the forest of Glenetive, the five pound lands of Achlian including Duchollie, Benbreck and part of Stranemoir extending to the burn running in Stranemoir Benbowie and the sheilings of Stucksgarden and Stuckagew in Glenshira, with the Isle of Freachyllan and the piece of land called Dowyllan.<sup>87</sup>

The original of the above does not survive as it was burnt at Dunstaffnage in 1942, however transcript survives from the Awe Fishing Case. On the 6th and 7th of December 1650 a fuller Sasine of the lands was given (below). Although this is long and complicated, it seems worth giving in full since it spreads out in words the map of all the lands for whose people and communities Dougall was responsible and from whose rentals he was able to afford their protection and administration of justice, plus the inevitable hospitality expected of his house. While today some with an industrial legacy in our hopefully more egalitarian age could consider this 'wrong,' it was the result of what had come to be expected in human society in his time:

An Instrument of Sasine, dated on the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> of December 1650, was

'given into the hands of Allan Campbell, lawful son of the deceased Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, as attorney for Dougall Campbell now of Inverawe, eldest lawful son and heir of the said Archibald his father, and also as attorney for Archibald Campbell eldest lawful son and heir apparent of Dougall Campbell, proceeding on a Feu Charter granted by Archibald Marquess of Argyll with consent of Archibald Lord Lorne, his eldest lawful son and apparent heir, for his interest, to the foresaid Dougall Campbell, now of Inverawe, in liferent, and the said Archibald Campbell, his son and heir, in fee, and the heirs male of his body, whom failing the said Dougall etc., irredeemably of the whole lands and other underwritten, viz:

The 4 merklands of Inverawe with the salmon fishing of standing nets and ground fish on the water of Awe - the 4 merklands of Drumachois - 3 merklands of Achacharne with the office of Sergeandry or Mairie of the whole lands of Benderloch extending between Ardmucknish on the one side and Invermow on the other, with the fees and profits accruing to the said office; the 6/8 lands of Branrie with the houses and pertinents, fishings, outsets, pasturages etc., of the lands above mentioned. Also the 2 merklands of Dalness with the Keepership of the forest and woods of Glenetive as they have been held by the Keepers thereof of before with the fishing on the Water of Etive [*'ab introitu fluminis in aquaeductum usque as summitatem ejusdem'*, indicating all the lands on the Moor of Rannoch drained by the Etive and its tributaries] with the pertinents, all lying in the lordship of Lorne and sheriffdom of Argyll:

Also all and whole the five pound lands of Achalian comprehending therein the lands of Duchollie and that part of Stranmoir extending to the water which runs in Stranmoir and which is near Benbowie, and to the border of the moors and sheilings [*'tugurium'*] of the lands of Stucksgarden and Stuckagew in Glenshirra, together with the Isle of Freachyllan and that small island adjacent called Dowyllan in Lochow, pertaining to the said lands of Achalian, with the office of stewartry or bailliary of Over Lochow ( except those lands therein over which John McArthur of Tirevadich and his predecessors are and were heritable bailies to the said Marquess and his predecessors) with the fess and profits [*'pertaining?'*] thereto, and particularly the one-third part of the fines and exits of courts held within the bounds, but reserving to the granter and his heirs the other two-thirds of the fines, exits and casualties of the said courts.

Also all and whole twenty shilling land of Tirvinzie (Tirvine) and the twenty shilling lands of Ardeachin, with the house and pertinents, salmon and other fishings, sheilings etc. in the lordship of Lorne.

The charter contains a Novodamus to Dougall's cousin Neill Carswell, formerly of Carnassarie. In the precept it is stated that Dougall Campbell of Inverawe may at any time during his lifetime burden the foresaid lands or any part thereof with the sum of 6000 merks in terms of certain obligations referred to in the Charter though not here innumrated.

The Charter is dated at Inveraray on the 29<sup>th</sup> of October 1650 and witnesses were James Campbell of Ardkinglas, Archibald Campbell, lawful son of the deceased John Campbell of Lochnell, Archibald Campbell, lawful son to the deceased Duncan Campbell Captain of Carrick, George Campbell the Marquess' Depute and John Yule, servitor to George.<sup>88</sup>

Sasine was taken by Dougall on the lands early in the following December, in the dark of the year: Sasine was taken on the ground of the lands of Achalian and the Isle of Freachyllan and on the ground of the lands of Ardeachine, Tirevinzie, Branrie and Innerawe, and at the mill thereof, and on the Water of Awe, respectively on the 6<sup>th</sup> of December between 9:00 AM and 4:00 PM and upon the lands of Achacharne, Drumachois, Innerelan, Innercharn[an], Dalness and at the Water of Etive, respectively, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of December between 8.00 AM and 3.00 PM.

These times would have been calculated by light and dark, rather than any clock.

Witnesses to the Sasine, on what one suspects could have been chill weather with much movement by boat and on foot, were Robert Campbell McBarron VcLauchlane [which Campbell was a Baron?], John Campbell McBarron VcLauchlane, Donald McNiven and Lachlan Dow Campbell McGillespie VcLauchlane, servitors to the said Dougall Campbell now of Inverawe. There was a McNiven family in Glen Etive until the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century. A ‘Servitor’ was more than a servant, often being literate, and may in some cases have been young men being fostered by Inverawe.

Dougall was now once again free to be involved with the required attendance at the regular meetings of The Synod of Argyll. They met at Inveraray on the 12<sup>th</sup> of December 1650. The decision was made ‘and ordained’ that the kirks (parishes) of Killespicerel [Muckairn] and Ardchattan be separated. Inverawe would henceforth relate to Ardchattan across Loch Etive, rather than to Muckairn across the River Awe. They also ordained that a new kirk be built ‘on the water mouth of Kinglas, or any other commodious pairt thereabout’ for the ease of the people of Glenetive, Glenkinglas and both sides of Loch Etive ‘and the east syid of Croachan, to be servit by the minister of Ardchattane ilk third Sabbath day’. Stipends were discussed and both Ardchattan and Dougall Campbell of Inverawe being present, acquiesced to the proposal.<sup>89</sup> This separation of Ardchattan and Muckairn suggests that since 1470 and until 1650, members of the Inverawe family may have been buried at Muckairn.

The plans of the Synod for a new kirk at Inverkinglas on Loch Etive seem remarkable today when there is hardly a family living between Invernoe and Kinlochetive, other places being far more fertile.

Dougall was again at Inveraray that winter. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of December 1650 Dougall of Inverawe and Archibald, Captain of Dunstaffnage and Donald Campbell of Auchinard, were witnesses at Inveraray to a Renunciation to the Marquess by Donald Ewing.<sup>90</sup>

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1651 Argyll placed the crown on the head of Charles II at Scone. However when the King proposed to march into England in June 1651, Argyll advised caution. But when the time came to move south, Argyll was obliged to withdraw from following the King into England due to his first wife being on her deathbed. With the defeat of the royalist cause at Worcester on the 3rd of September 1651, Argyll retired to Inveraray where he managed to keep himself well defended for a year.

After the defeat of the Scots Royalist forces at Worcester on the 3rd of September 1651, Lord Lorn led a group of followers back into the Highlands, ‘readily acting with the most inveterate enemies of his family for the King’s service’. His father wrote to him in the strongest terms for disturbing the peace of the country in general and Argyllshire and his own family in particular. Was this a cover for having a member of the family on both sides? It had been a custom in many situations since the Middle Ages in the Highlands.

One of Dougall’s sisters was to be married to Neil, the son of Archibald Campbell of Eilean Rie, the island in Loch Craignish. A Sasine dated the 29th of October 1651 refers to Dougall’s sister Catherine as ‘lawful daughter of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe’. Her attorney John Campbell, brother german of Patrick Campbell of Achaha, arranged that liferent provided to her by Archibald Campbell of Ellanrie and Neil Campbell his son. This was preparatory to a marriage contract between Catherine and Neil.<sup>91</sup>

As the year before, Dougall was at Inveraray in December. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of December 1651 Dougall was signatory to a Precept of Clare Constat by Argyll to John McNeill now of Taynish. The lands included Gigha. James of Ardkinglas, Colin of Lochnell and Archibald of Dunstaffnage were other signers.<sup>92</sup> This raises the question as to whether Dougall's second wife, who was a MacNeil, was of the Taynish or Gigha family. Had he already met her, or did he meet her through being put in temporary charge of the lands of Largie, opposite Gigha?

Three days later, on the 13<sup>th</sup>, Dougall was given a 19-year tack of the 53 merklands of Largie in Kintyre. MacDonald of Largie was under forfeiture for the meantime and the place was temporarily in the hands of Argyll who wanted it both kept in forfeiture without attack and well administered. The task cannot have been an easy one for Inverawe, but must no doubt account for several MacConnochie families being established in Kintyre at that time, since Dougall would need loyal support from those to whom he let tacks on the Largie lands, the local people all being loyal to Largie and in a sense a conquered people. Besides, Argyll forbade the tacks to be let to any local people.

When the Restoration of 1661 came, although it could not yet be foreseen, the lands would be returned to MacDonald of Largie, so that Inverawe had ten years in which to restore the devastated lands. However a number of MacConnochie families stayed on and continued as tacksmen of Largie and Kintyre lands. That there were MacConnochie families among the Inverawe kindred who could move to Kintyre and take up these tacks, suggests a more extended kindred within Dougall's sphere of influence than the records of Inverawe lands show. Some would likely have been descendants of Dougall's great-uncle John *dubh* Tutor of Inverawe, or of John's brothers Patrick and Duncan.

The conditions were quite severe: The eventual rent to Argyll was to be 50 merks per merkland or 2,650 merks a year. But due to the 'state of waste' this was not payable in full until 1654, with an initial payment of 10 merks per merkland. No lands were to be let to any of the name of MacDonald, MacAlister, MacKay or MacEuan or any Islander without the Marquess' personal permission in writing. Dougall had also to repair 'the Laigh [ground-level hall] House of Rownaherin' and he or his brother had always to be in residence. This was almost certainly his brother Archibald *oig* who had also been his Lieutenant commanding his troops on the Braes of Lochaber during their time at Inverlochy. Further, the woods of Rhunahaorine and Leargnahension were to have the old timber and 'scrogs' cut at Dougall's own expense. Inverawe also had to act as Keeper for the isle of Cara off the south end of Gigha and to maintain any wild beasts that the Marquess might have placed there, but for that he would pay Dougall an annual pension of 600 merks for the service.<sup>93</sup> In the event, it seems clear that it was Archibald *Oig* who lived on, and managed, the Largie lands

Once again Dougall was bound by his religious commitments. The Synod of Argyll met at Inveraray again on the 27<sup>th</sup> of December 1651 and discussed changes to the old parishes spanning Lochawe at the northern end: The gist of their conclusions were that, considering that a part of the parishes of Innishail and Kilchrenan lay on both sides of Lochawe and that the places where the kirks then stood 'are not central', they ordained that, for the ease of the parishioners that [a kirk] be built on the east side of Lochawe upon the lands of

‘Coulquerelane’ [Kilchurn] for all the lands of both parishes which are on the east side of Lochawe. The lands they were considering were between ‘the water of Belloche’ and the march of Achlian. ‘Belloch’ may mean Ballach, but has not been identified.

The Inverawe lands of Achlian, which had formerly been in the parish of Innishail, were now to be annexed to the parish of Clachandysart [now Dalmally]. This proof of the supporting lands of Faoch Eilean being in Innishail supports the reported use of Innishail as a burial ground by the Fraoch Eileain – MacConnochie family before Inverawe was placed in the parish of Ardchattan. Between the 1470s and 1651, they may then have used the burial ground at Kilespicerell, then Muckairn and now called Taynuilt.

Further, there was to be a new kirk built on the ground and lands of Inverinnan Easter for all the lands of both the parishes that are on the on the west side of Lochawe except Ichrachan and Fanans which still would pertain to Kilchrenan. The Tiends formerly paid for the - now to be dismembered portions of Innishail, Clachandysart and Kilespickerill [Muckairn] - were now to be paid to the new kirk at Kilchurn.<sup>94</sup> The decision would affect Dougall’s teinds. Eventually in fact the kirk would be built much later at Clachan Dysart, now Dalmally. The church there was built in that brief era when it was understood that a design that lifted people’s spirits could aid morale and so community values, both spiritual and economic.

Dougall’s winter visits to Inveraray to deal with paperwork suggest that he was using those parts of the year when there was less work on the place, whether with crops or cattle, to handle administration

At Inverary on the 1st of February 1652 Dougall of Inverawe paid off the outstanding wadset on the Glen Etive lands of Invercallan which he had purchased from John MacDougall, formerly of Raray, but which had been wadset by MacDougall to Patrick Campbell of Dalmarkglen in liferent and to his son Alexander in fee on the 12<sup>th</sup> of January 1633. Dalmarkglen and his second son Arthur put their mark on a Discharge of the payment of 1,300 merks. Campbells of Dunstaffnage, Rachean and Duncan Campbell, fiar of Ormsary were witnesses. This again suggests that Dougall may well have been paid his arrears from his command at Inverloch.<sup>95</sup> Patrick of Dalmarkglen would be the founder of the family of the Campbells of Barcaldine. He was known as ‘Para *dubh beag*’ and was a son of Sir Duncan of Glenorchy, himself known as Duncan *dubh* or also as ‘black Sir Duncan of the seven castles.’

Four days later on the 5<sup>th</sup>, a Renunciation was signed by Dalmarkglen of the above lands to Dougall of Inverawe and his eldest son [Archibald]. Inverawe had now redeemed the wadset by Raray to Dalmarkglen and bought the land from Raray. Witnesses were Archibald of Dunstaffnage, Archibald of Rachean, Duncan Campbell in Aird and Duncan Campbell fiar of Ormsary.<sup>96</sup>

There seems to have been a quiet year for Dougall until the autumn of 1652, when the Marquess of Argyll was lying sick at Inveraray. Suddenly he was surprised by General Dean who took him prisoner to Edinburgh. There, he was entrapped into being present at the Privy Council proclaiming Cromwell as Lord Protector, the supposedly Christian dictator. In one sense this left the County of Argyll leaderless, leaving more weight on the shoulders of those like Dougall who were responsible for their people’s protection.

There is no news of Dougall again until the 4<sup>th</sup> of March 1654 when he gave a Discharge to Campbell of Glenorchy for forty pounds for the rent paid to him on the lands of Letterbeann.<sup>97</sup>

These would appear to have been the slopes of Ben Cruachan running down to Crunachy in the mouth of the Pass of Brander.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of April 1654 Dugald was a Cautioner for Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan and Barbreck on a Bond. This was mentioned on the 24<sup>th</sup> of October 1675 after Dougall's death.<sup>98</sup> The Barbreck mentioned here is near Kilchrenan, Barbreck Lochawe rather than Barbreck Loch Craignish.

In 1654 the Marquess of Argyll's son Lord Lorn joined the Earl of Glencairn's rising with almost 1,000 men and received a commission of Lieutenant-General from Charles II. Lt. Col. Dougall of Inverawe was not with him, evidently, for he dutifully attended the Synod. The Provincial Assembly of the Synod of Argyll was held at Inveraray in May of 1654. Those gathered considered the 'great necessitie for a visitatione of Kintyre'. In addition to the two ministers of the presbytry appointed, Mr. Alexander Gordon and Mr. Archibald McLean, and another minister Mr. John Cameron, those appointed were 'my Lord Marquess of Argyll, Lord of Bucastle(?), Carskey, McConochy of Inerawe' [Dougall], John Campbell Bailie of Kyleslate and James Brown, the ruling Elders. 'Kylsslate' was what is now known as northern Kintyre but was then Caol Slate, from Tarbert on Lochfyne down to just beyond Clachan and including all the lands of Skipness. This was when Kintyre was still only the land to the south of Caol Slate. Dougall was still involved in Kintyre due to Argyll having appointed him to administer MacDonald of Largie's lands during the period of his forfeiture.

Their task was to try to admit Mr. James Garner, expectant, to the work of the ministry of Saddell 'all instructions being removed out of the way'. These were presumably 'obstructions.' Also they were to 'exercise descipline as necessitie requires within the bounds of Kintyre'. The later rather notable Mr. Dougall Darroch of the Jura family was appointed to prepare the way and summon all parties interested and to serve the edict in relation to the admission of Mr. Garner. It was then ordained that in addition to the above committee, there be added, 'being best acquaint with the bounds', Lord Neil Campbell, the Laird of Ralstone [a Lowlander earlier invited into Kintyre by the earl and with lands near Campbelltown], the [MacAllister] Laird of Loup, the Captain of Skipness [Matthew Campbell] and an intriguing figure, 'Hillabith, Lachlane mc Neill bowie'.<sup>99</sup>

Lord Neil Campbell, who was the Marquess of Argyll's second son and aged about 23 or 24 at the time of this Synod, would live at Ardmaddy in Lorne. He would marry, secondly, Susan, eldest daughter of Sir Alexander Menzies of Weem who afterwards married Colonel Alexander Campbell of Fonab and Monzie. One of their daughters, Jean, would marry Dugall's great grandson, Duncan Campbell of Inverawe.<sup>100</sup>

In 1654 the servitors of Dougall of Inverawe were Dougall and Archibald Campbell who were witnesses to a precept of Sasine whereby John, fiar of Glenorchy, the future 1st Earl of Breadalbane, disposed to Alexander of Achouran the lands of Over and Nether Fernoch and others in Lorn.<sup>101</sup> Servitors were more than servants. They were likely literate and perhaps even

foster sons of Inverawe. Most likely they were young men, sons of neighbours, learning about life beyond the farm from Dougall, and acting as his assistants.

A Sasine not long afterwards added Inverinan Easter and Wester which lands had been wadset to the by now deceased Alexander, 2nd of Achouran, in 1649.<sup>102</sup>

Another Sasine on a Charter by Alexander Campbell of Achouran dated on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May and 8<sup>th</sup> of June 1654, at Inveraray and Castle Kilchum, clarified many of Dougall's relationships. Dougall's next younger brother had been John Campbell, first of Achouran on Lismore. John's heir and Dougall's nephew was Alexander. John's next younger brothers were another Alexander and Lachlan, both now dead. Dougall was Tutor testamenter of John Campbell, the only son of his own brother Patrick who had been killed at Inverlochy after his marriage to Moire Cameron of the Callart family. Dougall's younger brothers Allan was still alive in May 1654. The witnesses were Colin Campbell, son of the Laird of Inverleiver on Lochawe, Colin Campbell, brother of Glenlyon and Alexander Campbell in Glenure. Witnesses to the Sasine were, again, Dougall and Archibald Campbell, servitors to Dugald Campbell of Inverawe.<sup>103</sup>

The complex issue of dealing with the heirs of the Achouran lands wadset [a lease-purchase arrangement] to them by Glenorchy on Loch Awe continued. For some reason not now clear, it was necessary to find an intermediary who would buy the lands from the Achouran heirs and sell them back to Dougall of Inverawe who could then dispose of them for the benefit of the heirs. This was possibly because it would not be appropriate for Dougall, as Tutor or guardian of any of the beneficiaries, to purchase the lands from them directly. Yet he was the one responsible for dividing the benefits to the different heirs. Campbell of Drimsynie in Cowal was the chosen trusted intermediary. He appears to have been a descendant of Ardkinglas, although a ring with the Inverawe arms survived in his family and resulted much later in the Inverawe arms being placed mistakenly on a Drimsynie tombstone. Perhaps the wife of one of the Achouran family was his sister.

So, as a part of the arrangeent. all the Achouran wadset lands on Loch Awe, including Inverinnan, had been dispoened to Campbell of Druimsynie by Dougall's nephew Alexander of Achouran on the previous 23rd of May. The Charter was dated at Carrick [Castle in Cowal] and Castle Kilchurn. Witnesses were Neil and Robert Campbell, sons of the late Donald Campbell, minister of Kilmartin; Archibald son of Alexander Campbell, sometime in Raslie; Colin Campbell, brother of Glenlyon and Alexander Campbell of 'Glenurne' [Glenure?].

Then, on the 6th and 8th of June 1654, Dougall of Inverawe got Sasine for himself and his second wife, Agnes McNeill, on a Charter by Archibald Campbell of Druimsynie in Cowal with the consent of John Campbell, fiar of Glenorchy, his superior, of the four merklands of Inverinnan, easter and wester, Nether and Over Fernoch and other lands. These were a part of the 27 merklands of Lochawe. On the 9th of June 1654 Dugall of Inverawe received final Sasine for these lands.<sup>104</sup>

All these Sasines meant that Alexander of Achouran and his cousin John, son of the late Patrick, 5th son of Archibald of Inverawe, had alienated the wadset lands to Archibald Campbell of Drumsynie on the 23rd of May 1654, who in turn sold them to Dugald of Inverawe and his wife on the 6th and 8th of June 1654. Clearly, since Alexander had inherited Achouran he no longer needed the wadset and needed to separate the partnership with his young cousin John who must only have been about ten or twelve years old at the time, with his mother much in need of his

father Patrick's inheritance. She and Patrick had lived at Dall [Dial on the OS map] on Loch Etive.<sup>105</sup>

Alexander's father John had been in partnership in the lands with his late brother Patrick and his younger brothers Alexander and Lachlan. John, Alexander, Lachlan and Patrick were all now dead. Lachlan and Alexander left no children and so had made Alexander 2<sup>nd</sup> of Achouran their heir.<sup>106</sup>

Late in 1654 young Lord Lorn was so pressed in his Royalist campaign in the Highlands that he was obliged to retire to an island with only a few friends. He eventually submitted to Cromwell.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of May 1655 the Provincial Assembly of the Synod of Argyll met at Kilmichael Glassary. Among other business, concern was expressed about the Isle of Skye where 'credible reports of several things to be remedied in the said bounds, especially of priests, Jesuits and papists resorting there'. It was therefore thought fit that there be a visitation of the bounds of the presbytery of Skye 'for endeavouring the redress of the forsaid enormities'. Dougall of Inverawe was evidently among those considered capable of 'redressing enormities'. The members of the Assembly appointed to depart from Dunstaffnage by boat on the first Tuesday of July that summer were; Mr. John Stewart and Mr. Colin McLachlan, ministers, and Alexander Campbell, elder, out of Cowal; Mr. Dugald Campbell, minister, and Dougall Campbell of Inverawe out of Argyll; Mr. Ferquhard Fraser and Mr. Colin MacCalman, ministers, and Colin Campbell of Lochnell out of Lorn; Mr. Dugald Darroch the minister out of Kintyre and certain substitutes should any of the above fail. Each was to have ten merks out of funds for their costs.<sup>107</sup>

The likelihood is that in July 1655 Dougall departed for Skye dressed in suitably sober garb from Dunstaffnage with his colleagues of the Synod of Argyll. The Almighty must have been considered very remiss not to have grown horns on the papists so that they could easily be recognized.

Dougall was in trouble with the Synod at their next sitting on the 31<sup>st</sup> of October 1655 at Inveraray. In those days the Kirk was still strongly emphasising the Old Testament, still committed to a God of 'wrath and vengeance' and meddling in the beds of their parishoners in an always vain attempt at behaviour control. The presbytery of Lorn had generally been approved, however some 'scandalous miscarriages' had come to light, miscarriages which had come about through slackness in discipline, which they were desired to reform by a more vigorous exercise of the same. John McEuen, 'adulterer' was reported to be dwelling in Inverinane, a part of the lands of [Dougall] MacConnochie of Inverawe, with his adulteress no less. The Synod recommends to the said MacConnochie to cause them to separate and put him to do duty and to give public evidence of his (McEuen's) sorrow at Gillespicarell [the kirk of Muckairn]. Dougall, being present, undertook to deal with McEuen. Whether the gentleman of the artistic morals was one of the McEwen Bardic family is not recorded. Dougall and other heritors was also desired to see Mr. Archibald MacCalman 'contented in his stipend' as allowed for burnt and waste parishes, presumably a hint to the heritors to look to their duty in paying the minister in a timely way.<sup>108</sup>

In November 1655 Lord Lorn was compelled to find five thousand pounds security for his peaceable behaviour by General Monck, Cromwell's ruler of Scotland.

Dougall of Inverawe's daughter Anna was to be married. On the 26<sup>th</sup> of August 1656 a marriage contract was signed between Donald, brother of Colin Campbell of Lochnell, and Anna, eldest daughter of Dougall Campbell of Inverawe. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of November Sasine was given to Donald and Anna, his future spouse, on the lands of 'Ardtallin' [Ardentallan]<sup>109</sup>

On the same date Colin Campbell of Lochnell granted to his brother german Donald Campbell and his future wife Anne, daughter of Dougall Campbell of Inverawe, the lands of Ardintallan.<sup>110</sup> Donald died in 1702 aged 75 and was aged about 29 at the time of his marriage. Their descendants would later have tacks of Torinturc, Kilchamaig etc.<sup>111</sup>

Marriages of Inverawe daughters presumably took place at Inverawe as was the custom of the time, rather than at the former priory church of Ardchattan, that later surviving an attempted burning by Cromwell's troops.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of May 1657 the Provincial Assembly of the Synod of Argyll met at Kilmore, at the head of Loch Feochan in Lorne. No mention was made of whether Dougall had reformed his tenant. Again, presumably due to his administering the lands of Largie and a lack of members from Kintyre, Dougall of Inverawe was numbered among those representing the Presbytery of Kintyre. His brother Archibald *oig* must still have been living there and administering the Largie lands for Argyll. Dougall's colleagues were; Mr. Edward Keith; Lord Neill Campbell; Mr. John Cunnison, Elder (absent); Mr. David Simpson; Mr. Dugald Darroch, another Elder (absent), Martin McLachlan, Elder (absent); Mr. James Gardiner and Mr. John Reid, Elder (absent). Under the Presbytery of Argyll, the Marquess was listed with Campbells of Kirnan and Clark of Braelecan among others. John McLean of Ardgour was listed with a Hector McLean the ministers of Lorn.<sup>112</sup>

Dougall's eldest son Archibald was to be married. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of June 1657 Sasine was dated at Ullodill [not identified, unless Ugadale, a McNeill place in Kintyre] for Mary McNeill, widow of Neill Campbell of Duntroon 'now future spouse of Archibald Campbell, fiar of Inverawe, on a liferent charter by Dugald Campbell of Inverawe and the said Archibald to her, of an annuity of 700 merks out of the lands of Inverawe and others'. Actual Sasine was given on the lands on the 20<sup>th</sup>. Witnesses were Mr. Ewen Campbell, sometime of Achnagoull; Archibald *oig*, brother to Dougall of Inverawe; Duncan, son of Dougall of Inverawe. John Campbell in Inverawe gave Sasine as bailie. John may have been Dougall's Writer brother.<sup>113</sup>

The marriage contract arranged between Duntroon and McNeill of Tainish for Mary's first marriage was so advantageous to her that when Neill of Duntroon died suddenly while young, his heir John was unable to pay Mary's liferent out of the lands. So he sold Duntroon to his cousin Patrick Campbell in Inveraray and retired to nearby Tayness. Patrick's family then formed the second line of Duntroon. Archibald, younger or fiar of Inverawe, would spend much time extracting the payments due to his wife from her former kinsman Patrick. She had no children by either marriage. The liferent drain on lands, while kind to widows, was a system that could bankrupt families where the father's widow and perhaps also the grandmother were still living and drawing their liferent from the lands.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of May 1658 the Provincial Assembly of the Synod of Argyll was held at Inveraray and Dougall of Inverawe was again present and still listed with the Presbytery of Kintyre. Also listed as forming the Presbytery of Argyll were the Marquess, and Campbell of Kirnan, Clark of Brealecan, and the ministers, now joined by MacLachlan of 'Inschonnill' or Innis Chonnell and Zacharie McCallum, ancestor of Poltalloch and hero of a challenge to MacColla.<sup>114</sup>

Once again Dougall was at Inveraray in winter. In February 1659 at Inveraray Dougall Campbell of Inverawe signed a Discharge to Patrick Campbell of Duntroon for 80 pounds as annual rent, from Martinmas 1657 to Martinmas 1658, of the 2,000 merks owed to Mary McNeill, relict of Neill Campbell of Duntroon and spouse of Archibald Campbell, fiar of Inverawe. The witnesses were John Lindsay, Minister of Kilchrennan, Donald Campbell brother to Lochnell (and son in law of Dougall) and Zacharie McCallum.<sup>115</sup>

Again at Inveraray Dougall of Inverawe was attorney for Jean Campbell, third lawful daughter of James Campbell of Ardkinglas, now spouse to Ronald McAlister of Tarbert, on a liferent granted to her by her husband. The writing and signings were on the 26<sup>th</sup> of July and 3<sup>rd</sup> of August 1659.<sup>116</sup>

After the Restoration of Charles II in May 1660, Argyll wrote to the King and was encouraged by the King's attitude to his son Lord Lorn when presenting the letter. So, against the advice of his friends, he went to London. He arrived on the 8<sup>th</sup> of July 1660 and went immediately to White Hall. But Charles refused to see him and had him committed to the Tower. In December he was sent under guard to Edinburgh.

Dougall of Inverawe made a contract with John, fiar of Glenorchy on August 1660.<sup>117</sup>

The Marquess of Argyll was executed on the Maiden in Edinburgh on the 27<sup>th</sup> of May 1661. He would be succeeded by his son Archibald Lord Lorn as the 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll who, 24 years later, would meet the same fate as his father on the same guillotine.

The death of Argyll and the Restoration would have ended Dougall and Archibald *oig's* requirement to administer the forfeited lands of Largie for MacDonald of Largie who would in due course be restored to his inheritance. Angus, 9<sup>th</sup> MacDonald of Largie had been involved with MacColla in the burning of Inveraray in 1647. His son would be the last of the original male line of that family, the inheritance passing through his daughter to the Lockharts of Lee who added the name MacDonald. Their descendats still live on the lands.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1662 Dougall's heir Archibald was still 'fiar of Inverawe' which meant essentially that he both an adult and the heir.<sup>118</sup>

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of July 1662, Lord Lorne, now 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll and elder brother of Lord Neil, presented himself at parliament in Edinburgh. Even as a royalist, he was immediately arrested and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle. He was not released until the 4<sup>th</sup> of June 1663. On the 26<sup>th</sup> of August he was sentenced to be beheaded and his lands forfeited, but the day of execution was left to the King's decision. He remained in prison in Edinburgh until the 4<sup>th</sup> of June 1663 when his enemy Middleton lost power at Court. This must have been an uneasy time for Dougall and his colleagues in Argyll.

The Restoration also meant that Dougall of Inverawe, like all Covenanting officers how had opposed the king, was in danger of forfeiture himself. For the last five years of his life, the protection of the government would only be extended periodically, not permanently in his case. His atrocities against the Lamonts were not easily forgotten, doubtless on his part also.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> of October 1662 John Campbell of Dunstaffnage and Dougall Campbell of Inverawe signed a Bond to William Johnston.<sup>119</sup> So Dougall was able to administer his family affairs meanwhile. However the Protection of the Privy Council was extended to Colin of Lochnell, Dougall of Inverawe and John Campbell of Dunstaffnage on the 18<sup>th</sup> of November 1662.<sup>120</sup>

The difficulties over claiming his wife's rights in Duntroon occupied Dougall's son Archie. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of December 1662 a contract was signed between Archibald, fiar of Inverawe, and Patrick Campbell of Duntroon who, in part lieu of what he owes to Archibald's wife, wadsets to Archibald certain lands. One witness was Zachary MacCallum 'of Poltalloch' and another was John MacCallum of Ardbrecknish.<sup>121</sup> The MacCallums were neighbours of Duntroon and appear from earlier witnessings to have been friendly with Inverawe.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> of October 1663 Lord Lorn was restored to his grandfather's title of Earl of Argyll under the Great Seal and the same day had a charter of the earldom of Argyll. He was sworn a Privy Councillor and appointed a Commissioner of the Treasury.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of March 1664 a marriage contract was dated wherein John Campbell of Dunstaffnage, taking burden on him for Annabella Campbell his daughter, and Duncan Campbell of Stronchormag, with advice of Dougall Campbell of Inverawe. Dougall's position in this was presumably as senior of the MacConnochy kindred, since Duncan's father had already died.<sup>122</sup>

Among the Inverawe papers and dated the 28<sup>th</sup> of June 1665 is a copy of a confirmation to the feuars of Argyll that their holdings are secure despite the forfeiture of the Argyll lands. Signed above by Charles R and below by Lauderdale: '...having received a petition from the feuars of Argyll humbly showing us that in respect of the clause contained in our commission directed to you for the settling of the Estate of Argyll conceived in favour of the creditors of the said estates - lest the said creditors might suppose that they had some ground to trouble the said feuars in their respective requests and points - humbly craving we might declare our Royal sense and meaning as to the interest of the said creditors. And having taken the same to our Royal consideration in pursuance of our gracious answers hereto we have thought fit by these to declare that our Royal sense and meaning in the said commission as to the interest of the said creditors was that the estates be surveyed and disposed upon to the said creditors was such only as was possessed and enjoyed by the Lord Marquess of Argyll before the forfeiture. And therefore the creditors of the said estate of Argyll to have no access or interest upon pretence of the said commission or anything therein contained to trouble or question the said feuars in the peaceable brooking and enjoying of their estates...'<sup>123</sup>

No doubt the above, if late in the day, may have brought to Dougall a sense of some security in an insecure time, if he lived to see a copy. He held all his lands from Argyll, who had held them from the Crown. During the forfeiture of Argyll, Dougall had held directly from the Crown.

Young Alexander, eldest son of Agnes MacNeill, Dougall's second wife, was old enough to have a Bond signed to him, dated at Inveraray on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1665. The Bond was by Walter Colquhoun and Dougall McClerich (Clarke) of Brealecan, burgesses and indwellers in Inveraray, and signed to 'Alexander Campbell, lawful son to Dougall Campbell of Inverawe.'<sup>124</sup>

Dougall was evidently ailing and in sight of his earthly end. On the 4<sup>th</sup> of September 1665 he disposed all his moveable goods or gear to his son Alexander, eldest by his second marriage, evidently as a means of avoiding the 17<sup>th</sup> century equivalent of death duties - or was he in debt?<sup>125</sup> The lands would automatically go to his heir Archibald.

Dougall died on that 4<sup>th</sup> of September 1665.<sup>126</sup>

About the time of his death, his daughter Janet was married to Dugald Campbell, son of the late Colin, Commissary of Lorn. On the 5<sup>th</sup> of September 1665 a Marriage Contract was [presumably registered] between Dugald Campbell, son to the late Colin Campbell, Commissary of Lorne, and Dougall Campbell of Inverawe and Archibald fiar of Inverawe, and taking the burden for Jonet [Janet], daughter to the said Dougall and sister to Archibald.<sup>127</sup>

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of October 1665, either unaware of Dougall's death or asking for support from his son and heir Archibald, the Earl of Argyll commissioned Dunstaffnage and Inverawe to uplift moneys promised for his support.<sup>128</sup> Argyll had been restored to his lands but was woefully short of the cash needed to support his family and status and his responsibilities for his people. In July and August of 1665 most of the 'gentlemen heritors' of Mid-Argyll and some of Lorn and even of Mull, volunteered to pay £40 Scots out of each merkland 'in testimony of our due affection to the said familie and out fellow feeling of the burdens their of.' Dougall had slipped away in time to avoid his part of the burden.

Following his death, Dougall's children [other than Archibald but including his full brother Duncan], John, Alexander, Dougall and Isobel Campbell, brought an action of Horning against John Walker, Sheriff of Argyll, who had charged them to give up their father's moveable goods and gear. They claimed that he had already disposed it all upon Alexander before his death and on the 4<sup>th</sup> of September 1665. The Horning was suspended (case settled) on the 24<sup>th</sup> of March 1670.<sup>129</sup>

Dougall's second wife Agnes McNeil died between August 1660 and April 1667.<sup>130</sup>

Dougall's grave slab at Ardchattan is inscribed 'DUGALL CAMPBELL WAS THUS PERSONS NAM - RENOUNED FOR HONOR AND UNDOUBTED FAIM - OBIT ANNO 1665.'<sup>131</sup>

Archibald of Argyll's charter to Dugald's heir Archibald of Inverawe for his inherited lands was not dated until three years later, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of September 1668.

END NOTES:

- 1 Statistical Account for Kilmartin
- 2 Gen. Reg. of Sasines, vol. 38, fol. 27 & 64 (reg. 19 June 1633;
- 3 Herbert Campbell (Ed.), *Argyll Sasines*, vol. 37, 1<sup>st</sup> series, pp. 147-148.
- 4 Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-61, vol. 8, fol. 35 (reg. 24 June 1654)
- 5 Donaldson (Ed.) Register of the Privy Seal, vol. 8.
- 6 RCAHMS, *Argyll Inventory, Lorne*, vol. 2, Ardchattan, p. 114; Argyll Hornings 24 March 1670, reg. 6 May 1670.
- 7 Gen. Reg. Sasines 1617-61, vol. 49, fol. 377, (reg. 4 Jan. 1641).
- 8 Mark Napier, *Memoirs of the Marquess of Montrose*, vol. 2, p. 624.
- 9 Herbert Campbell (Ed.), *Argyll Sasines*, vol. 2, fol. 141.
- 10 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, fol. 170.
- 11 *Highland Papers*, vol. 1, Scot. Hist. Soc. p. xx.
- 12 Frank Bigwood, *Commissary Court of Argyll 1700-1850*, p. 110; Reg. Contract of marriage in Reg. Deed Mack. 106.
- 13 Sheriff Court Book, Inveraray, 1689-1784, (reg. 9 March 1684); & Clan Campbell, *Sheriff Court Book of Inveraray*, p. 9-10.
- 14 Argyll Transcripts (Agreement at Castle Campbell in March 1539-40)
- 15 Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol. 1, pp. 102-104
- 16 *Ibid.* vol. 2, p. 103.
- 17 Balfour-Paul (Ed.), *Scots Peerage*, Article Argyll, 7<sup>th</sup> Earl.
- 18 *Ibid.* 8<sup>th</sup> Earl and Marquess.
- 19 Dunstaffnage Inventory, 83.
- 20 Herbert Campbell, *Argyll Sasines*, vol. 30 fol. 69; Innes (Ed.), *Black Book of Taymouth*, Constable, Edinburgh 1855.
- 21 Herbert Campbell (Ed), *Argyll Sasines*, vol. 80 1<sup>st</sup> Series p. 113.
- 22 Reg. of Deeds, 478.
- 23 Herbert Campbell (Ed.), *Argyll Sasines*, vol. 37 1<sup>st</sup> series, pp. 147-148.
- 24 Gen. Reg. of Sasines, 1617-61, vol. 37, fol. 25 & 27, & GRS Abstracts, 462.
- 25 Herbert Campbell (Ed.), *Argyll Sasines*, vol. 37, 1<sup>st</sup> Series, pp. 147-148.
- 26 Innes C. (Ed.) *The Black Book of Taymouth*, Constable, Edinburgh, 1855.
- 27 Dunstaffnage Inventory, cited in Wimberly's *Memorials of the Campbells of Kilmartin*; Dunstaffnage Inventory, 99.
- 28 Herbert Campbell (Ed.), *Argyll Sasines*, vol. 49 1<sup>st</sup> Series, p. 212.
- 29 Gen. Reg. of Sasines, vol. 48, p. 511.
- 30 Herbert Campbell (Ed.), *Argyll Sasines*, vol. 49, 1<sup>st</sup> Series, p. 212.
- 31 Inverawe papers, (3) M.S. in Nat. Lib. Scot.
- 32 HMC, 6<sup>th</sup> Report, 616.
- 33 Gen. Reg. Sasines, 1617-61, Vol. 49, fol. 377.
- 34 Diarmid & Niall Campbell *Notes on the Campbells of Inverawe*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn. 1999, privately printed, Appendix III. (Nat. Lib. Scot. )
- 35 Balfour-Paul (Ed.), *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, article Argyll, pp. 352-353.
- 36 Gen. Reg. of Hornings.
- 37 Balfour-Paul (Ed.), *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, article Argyll p. 353.
- 38 HMC Report, Vol. 6, p. 629 a (201).
- 39 David Stevenson, *Alastair MacColla and the Highland Problem Problem in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century*, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1980. p. 153, (Hereafter 'Stevenson, MacColla') All information on MacColla is from Stevenson.
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- 41 David Stevenson, *MacColla*.
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- 43 Mark Napier, *Memorials of Montrose and his Times*, vol. 2, Maitland Club, 1850, pp. 172-4 from Montrose Charter Chest. The editor thought that many had signed after Inverloch as dates were left open.
- 44 Bishop Maitland's *Memoirs*, quoted in Stewart of Garth, *Highlanders*, Appendix, edition of 1885 pub. by A & W Mackenzie, Inverness, p. 386.
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- 47 Stevenson, *MacColla*, pp. 213-214.
- 48 *Ibid.* p. 213.
- 49 Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol. 2, Polygon, Edinburgh, 2000, pp. 241-243.
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- 51 Napier's *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 624.
- 52 ("F/416" – check w/ ALC)
- 53 Aff-Decreet of Forfeiture contra Clanranald 22 May 1649.
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- 74 David Stevenson (Ed.), *The Government of Scotland Under the Covenanters*; & Scot. Hist. Soc. Vol. 18, 1882 pp. 90-91 & 93.
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- 88 *Ibid.* fol. 151.

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- 90 Herbert Campbell (Ed.), *Argyll Sasines*, vol. 1<sup>st</sup> Series pp. 112-113. (17 Dec. 1650)
- 91 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, fol. 173.
- 92 Argyll Transcripts.
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- 94 Duncan C. Mactavish (Ed.), *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651*, vol. 1, Scot. Hist. Soc. 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, p. 231.
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- 113 Gen. Reg. of Sasines 1617-61, vol. 9, fol. 99.