

***Origins of the Mac Connochie Campbells  
on Record in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries***  
*An analysis of the sources and some conjectural conclusions.*

Chapter 1

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

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

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

- [A] The known Campbells named Duncan whose dates and relevance seem most appropriate. (For brevity this is based upon a wider consideration of various potential men named Duncan who appear on record but not included here, those considered here being within a carefully defined period);
- [B] The early sources which offer a traditional point of origin for the Clan Connochie Campbells;
- [C] Some historical background and the lands involved;
- [D] The earliest records of the families of the Clan Connochie will be outlined and their inter-relationships considered.
- [E] Finally some conclusions may then be drawn and the strengths of various conjectures weighed.

### **The Progenitor**

Captain Douglas Wimberly in his pioneering work on the Inverawe family in *Memorials of the Campbells of Kilmartin of 1894*,<sup>1</sup> made the valid point that the progenitor of the family, if not himself named Duncan, ‘must be presumed to have had a son or grandson named Duncan sufficiently distinguished to give the patronymic MacDonnachie to his descendants’. This salient fact in itself directs initial search towards a known figure named Duncan who had no better-known descendants than the Clan Connochie. Wimberly’s book, while sketchy and incomplete where dealing with the Inverawe family, quoted the original sources which he had found. He was primarily interested in the Inverawe cadet (branch) family of Kilmartin.

There has seldom been any doubt that the Clan Connochie were of Campbell origin, although their ancestry has variously been investigated as descending from the MacArthur Campbells of Lochow (a cadet of Strachur), the Glenorchy family and, most frequently and traditionally, from the Lochow-Argyll family. Some have attempted to assign the original branching from the Chiefly family to a younger son named Dougall, with a subsequent Duncan providing the patronymic. Certainly Dougall or Dugald, with Archibald,

were the most frequently alternating Christian names for the eldest sons of the Inverawe family until the mid 18th century. However examination of the Dougalls (or Dugalds) who were known younger sons of the main Campbell houses and whose dates are appropriate, has offered no obvious clues so far. The known Duncan Campbells whose dates seem appropriate are therefore worth examining. Wimberly's contention is clearly that the Duncan from whom the Clan Connachie took their patronymic must have been a figure of some significance in the community. That he has totally vanished from the record is possible, but unlikely.

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

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

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

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

A further Duncan is mentioned by Alastair Campbell of Airs in the first volume of *A History of Clan Campbell*.<sup>6</sup> This Duncan was granted the lands of Moleigh [now containing Oban rubbish dump] and Dunach in about 1318. These lands are near Loch Feochan and between the lands that would, two centuries later, be held by the MacConnachie Campbells of Lerags and Stronchormaig. While the geographical coincidence is striking, there is no further record of this Duncan or any of his descendants, and these lands were later a part of the Lordship of Lorne held from circa.1338 by John of Lorne, grandson of the last of the Lords of Argyll, descendants of Somerled's senior son Dougall, Ri nan Eilean. Certainly in 1471 Alan, brother of the MacDougall Prior of Ardchattan, was in possession of Upper Lerags. His kinsmen the Dunollie MacDougalls later chose Kilbride, between Dunach and Lerags, as the burial place of their chiefs. Campbell of Airs goes on to say that, 'The favoured candidate for the source of their [the MacConnachie's] patronymic is one Duncan Crosda who is some two generations later.'

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

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

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

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

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

### **Traditional Sources**

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

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

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

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

One very possible reason for the ignorance of the 17th and 18th century Inverawe family about the descent and origins of their family was that in the twenty years between 1583 and 1603 there had been a minority. A son and heir Archibald was born at about the time of his father Dougall's death<sup>14</sup> and the boy's uncle, Iain/John 'dubh' MacConnochie Campbell, became Tutor of Inverawe. 'Tutor' in those days meant guardian of the lands for the heir and responsibility for the kindred and following during his minority. John does not appear to have been friendly towards Archibald or his mother who, according to both tradition and record, escaped to her brother's castle of Carnassarie. If there is truth behind the tradition, as seems likely, Archibald was obliged to kill his uncle in self-defence when he came of age. This inter-regnum could have destroyed the normal links of tradition in the family, leaving Colville to 'reckon' a suitably illustrious ancestry for Archibald's son, Lt. Col. Dugald of Inverawe, the then well known representative of the family who was one of Argyll's staunchest allies in the Highlands during the bloody Civil War, and called "Argyll's Champion" by Montrose.<sup>15</sup> Duncan the progenitor being a 'son of Sir Neil' would have sounded more prestigious than a son of the later and less well remembered Gillespie Mor. Further, had there ever been a traditional genealogist of the Clan Connochie they might well have died as a result of the conflicts of the time. However there is no surviving evidence that the family was ever served by a sennachie, although a family fool ['Laird's Jock'], fisherman and ferryman are all represented in the traditions of the Inverawe family.

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

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

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

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

After the MacConnochie Campbells sold Inverawe in 1765 it was owned by their kin, the Campbells of Fonab and Monzie whose eventual heiress married Campbell of Dunstaffnage at the end of the 19th century, so that what may have been known as an 'Inverawe M.S.' may not in fact have been as old as the time of the MacConnochie Campbells of Inverawe. One would suspect that both the Dunstaffnage M.S. and the Inverawe M.S. were versions of the earlier genealogies derived from Colville by Duncanson or Keirnan. Had the 'Inverawe M.S.' giving information on the origins of the Inverawe family existed in Keirnan's day

it would be surprising if Duncan of Inverawe had owned it in ignorance since there is evidence of his having examined and searched the documents which he found in the Inverawe charter chest.<sup>21</sup> There is therefore little chance that this 'Inverawe M.S.' was more than a derivation of Colville's notes and one suspects that the same would have been true of the Dunstaffnage M.S.

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

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

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

before the 26<sup>th</sup> of July 1364 by which date John Campbell had died. Duncan was therefore at least 23 years old or older when he was a witness.

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

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

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> M.S. Duncan Skeodnasach is called the McCallum’s ‘foster and colt’, the latter word deriving from “comh-dhal ta” or “comhalta,” a foster brother. This tale is also reprinted in Lord Archibald Campbell’s Records of Argyll <sup>29</sup> from a ‘Dunstaffnage M.S.’ that must later have been lost in the fire there in 1940. Apart from the building set alight at Ardsceodnish being a barn rather than a house, there is no substantial difference in the content, indicating a common source. The custom of fostering also appears in four later traditional tales of the Inverawe family from the late 16th century to the early 18th century.

As to the fostering by the MacCallums and their attempt upon Colin, Dr. Lorne Campbell PhD has suggested that that name was likely used to cover up the feud between two branches of the Campbells, Lochawe and Ardsceodnish. The Glassary – Kilmartin writs, of which Duncan witnessed the concluding document, may possibly have been the attempt to settle this dispute.

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

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

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

Another traditional source is found on page 57-8 of the published first volume of *The Dewar Manuscript*. These are ‘Scottish West Highland Folk Tales’ collected originally in Gaelic by John Dewar for George

Douglas Campbell, 8<sup>th</sup> Duke of Argyll during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. A version is given of the tale of Sir Colin [Iongantach] of Lochawe escaping from a burning barn and cooling the heat of his coat of mail in the pool of a burn, since called 'Linne na Luirich,' or pool of the mailshirt. As in Records of Argyll, the incendiary attempt on Sir Colin's life is blamed upon the foster family of his brother Duncan na Crosda or Duncan the cross, later known as Sceodnasach for his up-bringing in Ardsceodnish or Kilmartin. The final comment to the tale states: 'The MacConochies of Inverawe and Glenfeochan are the descendants of Cross Duncan...'

The most recent mention of the origins of the Clan Connochie Campbells, and specifically the Inverawe branch, appeared in the first edition of Notes on the Campbells of Inverawe by the late Ian M. Campbell, W.S., of Fraoch Eilean, published in 1951. On pages 9-11 he mentions an M.S. then in the hands of Colin Campbell of Kilmartin, as being the source for a quotation in which Duncan, son of Sir Neil, is given as the progenitor of the family. This M.S. has not re-appeared after the recent rescue and cataloguing of the Kilmartin papers, however the passage quoted sounds reminiscent of Colville, with the exception of the name being Duncan rather than Dugald. One therefore suspects that what Kilmartin had was either the Duncanson or Keirnan version. Ian M. Campbell also points out that Colville's Cameron marriage for Sir Neil was not entirely impossible although Lochiel was not then in the Cameron family, quoting the existence of a Cameron at the court in Bruce's day (in fact a Fleming in Fife) and suggesting that 'Lochiel' could have been added later as varnish. He later quotes from Burke the grant of Inverawe 'to the family' in 1330. The writer for Burke was no doubt inspired by the charter of that period to Sir Arthur Campbell, ancestor of Strachur, which included Inverawe. However there can be little doubt that Inverawe first came into the hands of the Lochow family following the grant of the Lordship of Lorne to Colin, Earl of Argyll in 1470. There are no further references to the origins of the Clan Connochie in the Notes, which predominantly outlines the descent of the family since 1700. Some of these issues are clarified in the second edition of 1999 (NLS).

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

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

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

On Sir Arthur's death many of these lands passed to his sons, the eldest of whom was Yvar or Eogan (Ewan). Sir Arthur is said to have died in 1330 and in that year Duke Neil notes a charter of Inverawe to a Duncan Cambel, presumably a son or nephew of Sir Arthur's. While the source for this reference has not yet come to light, Inverawe was among lands later granted by Yvar, son of Sir Arthur, to Sir John Menteith, Earl of Lennox, possibly in 1334 although in the published version in Highland Papers a later date in the 1380's is given.<sup>33</sup> An '8' would appear to have been mistranscribed for a '3' since there is no doubt that the MacDougall John lord of Lorn was again in possession by circa.1338, and Dunollie and Dunstaffnage are also mentioned in Yvar's charter to Lennox.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Meanwhile Colin Earl of Argyll expected his reward of the strip of land by Inverawe from Sir Walter for supporting his cause, but received nothing. The agreement at Innistrynich had been signed by both parties and the document was in Argyll's hands. So he took Sir Walter to court. In frustration Sir Walter burned the castle of Gloum in the Ochills in 1465, a place which Argyll's Stewart countess had received from her father John Lord of Lorn as her dowry. Rebuilt, the place was later re-named Castle Campbell. Finally in 1466 at Perth, Argyll received £433 from Sir Walter in settlement of damages. But the claim in Lorn was still outstanding. Meanwhile in 1466 Argyll had ousted Donald Balloch from Arran where he had been 'lifting' the royal rents. So the earl was due for a royal reward. At a parliament in Edinburgh in November 1469 Sir Walter finally settled with Argyll and a land exchange was agreed. Argyll would grant him ten different communities on good farmland in eastern Scotland in return for the strategic but agriculturally poor lordship of Lorn.

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

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

officers and a new commander. Yet change is the nature of life although sometimes resisted. For those of the Campbell kindred who were now granted lands in Lorn, the reputation that they made there was one of robust fortitude.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

that Dougall is said to have stayed for a time. Fraoch Eilean is the obvious site for this tale of horror and for more than one reason.

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

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

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

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

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

The strategic nature of these lands in 1470 is made clear by a glance at a map of Lorne and Mid Argyll. The main routes west to the sea from the Campbell lands on Loch Awe lay by the Pass of Brander, the 'String of Lorne' and southwest to Loch Craignish or south by Ardskeodnish to Loch Crinan. For Colin, Earl of Argyll, to control the Lordship of Lorne these ways must be strongly held, and particularly the northern two by the Pass of Brander and the String of Lorne. The first runs from the north end of Loch Awe past Inverawe to the sea at Loch Etive and the second directly from Innis Chonnell, then still the principal stronghold of the Earls, by Loch Avich and the hill ground of Stronchormaig to the sea at Loch Feochan near Knipoch and opposite Lerags. Sir Cailein Mor had been killed by the MacDougalls on the String of

Lorne in 1296 and there is still a pile of stones in Loch Feochan where the bodies of the early kings are said to have been embarked for burial in Iona after being brought over the String. So that although no modern routes follow the way over the hill by Bragleen today, there is no doubt of the great importance of the String of Lorne in 1470 and before.

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

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

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

When Inverawe was sold away from the Clan Connochie Campbells in 1765 by the daughter of Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe, it passed into the hands of her kinsman, Campbell of Fonab and Monzie. Apparently most of the records and furniture went with the place. At the end of the 19th century the Monzie heiress married Campbell of Dunstaffnage and subsequently the remaining Inverawe papers seem to have been destroyed by her or in the fire at Dunstaffnage in the 1940s. Owing to the date when these Inverawe writs arrived at Dunstaffnage they do not appear in the Dunstaffnage Inventory. However transcriptions from the doquets of the earliest Inverawe charters which survived and came to Dunstaffnage were sent by Campbell of Dunstaffnage to Campbell of Kilmartin, a cadet of Inverawe, in 1899. These were later made available to Herbert Campbell the genealogist who used them in his notes on the Inverawe family now at the Lyon Office. More detailed copies of these transcriptions were recently discovered among the Kilmartin papers in a stable in Skye by Alasdair Campbell of Kilmartin and are among copies of the Auchindarroch-Inverawe papers in possession of that family. They are supplemented by notes on the subject of the transcriptions by an earlier Campbell of Kilmartin in a letter to Campbell of Arduaine. These transcriptions are among the earliest records of the Clan Connochie Campbells and are closely supported by registered writs in the early 16th century. The charter of 1485 and sasine of 1486 were also seen at Dunstaffnage and a note of contents taken by Frederick B. Richards of the New York State Historical Society in 1910 while researching for his paper 'The Black Watch at Ticonderoga and Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe,' first published in 1912.

Some of the Inverawe papers which had apparently been dispersed at the time of the sale of the lands in 1765, were found among the McNeil of Oakfield papers and returned to Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell of Blackhouse and Finlayston, Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe's nephew and representative of the family, who died in 1825. The MacNeils were his cousins, being descended from a daughter of Inverawe.

These papers were later deposited in the National Library of Scotland and are predominantly of the 17th century. They include a pact of friendship with the McLains of Glencoe and the order from Argyll to Lt. Col. Dugald Campbell to burn Forther, a tower House of the Ogilvie's. However these papers, while most intriguing, offer no information on the origins of the Clan Connochie Campbells.

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

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

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

## **EARLY CLAN CONNOCHIE CAMPBELLS ON RECORD**

### **A MacConnochie of 1395**

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

Considering that Dugald MacCondochie of Croqhinnican [Scots pronunciation would be 'Cruinichan'] was a witness in 1395 and that Sir Colin Iongantach, who could have been his uncle, died in 1412, he could well have been a son of Duncan Skeodnasach and the ancestor of the Clan Connochie Campbells. If Cruachan and Croqhinnican are the same, and as Cruachan was the rallying place of the Campbell strength, it would

have been important that the site be controlled by one closely related, or of known loyalty to, the Chief. Further, certainly by the mid fourteen hundreds, the Inverawe family had begun using the name Dugald/Dougall consistently as an alternate to Archibald for the eldest son, while the main line of the Lochow-Argyll family no longer used the name Dougall. Although there seems little chance of proving conclusively that this Dugald MacConnoquhe of Croqhinnican was in fact an ancestor of the Clan Connochie, there is much in favour of the conjecture.

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

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

## **A MacConnochie of 1470**

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

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

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

## **The MacConnochie of Lerags**

The earliest evidence for the MacConnochie Campbell family of Lerags begins with the granting by Colin, Earl of Argyll, to 'Alano Somwerlati Johannis,' cousin of the granter, and the heirs male of his body, 'the eight penny lands of the two Leverax [Lerags] and four(?) penny land of Devanson (?) in the Lordship and Shire of Lorne...', signed at Inverawe on the 20<sup>th</sup> of June 1471.<sup>57</sup> In 1478 this same Alan then sued the Earl before the Civil Court for Warrantice of Lerags and Wachtrouch [Lerags ouchtrach] in the Lordship of Lorne against Duncan Campbell and Dougall Campbell who claimed lease of the lands. Alan is here called

‘Alone Sorlsen McCoull’ and was likely of the MacDougall kindred, possibly son of Somerled MacDougall, younger brother of John Ciar of Dunollie.

That Duncan and Dougall Campbell were almost certainly related and were very likely the Duncan who was founder of the Lerags family and the Dougall who appears in 1485 as ‘of Inverawe.’ Whether they were father and son, uncle and nephew or brothers is not clear, although the last might seem likely since had they been father and son one would have expected the relationship to be mentioned. The action of the court went against Alan even although he was a cousin of the Earl’s, his grandmother being the earl’s likely aunt, certainly a Campbell lady.

On the 29th of November 1509 Archibald, 2nd Earl of Argyll, granted a charter to Duncan, son of the late Duncan Campbell of Lerags, and to Matilda Thomson (sic) his spouse, and his heirs male of Achaworran Mor [4 merkland] and Clachlea [2 merkland] on Lismore. Duncan the younger is called ‘Duncani galt,’ perhaps indicating ‘Gullda,’ a lowlander, so that perhaps he was brought up in the lowlands and married there.<sup>58</sup> This younger Duncan was first of the Lerags cadet line of Clachlea and must have been the younger brother of Archibald of Lerags.

Among some early Ardincaple (Seil) writs<sup>59</sup> are instruments of January 1510-11 mentioning a missive of the 23rd of November 1510 directed by Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy to five baillies, the fourth being Archibald Campbell of Lerags for infeftment of Glenorchy’s son in Ardincaple, among others. This Archibald was clearly the son and heir of Duncan of Lerags and the elder brother of Duncan of Clachlea.

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

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

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

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

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

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

## The MacConnochie of Inverawe

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On the 8th of March 1539-40 a Notarial Instrument was dated at Castle Campbell narrating a contract between Archibald, 4th Earl of Argyll, and Archibald Campbell of Inverawe. The Earl remits all rancour he has against Archibald especially with reference to the Disposition made to him by Allan Campbell, son of the deceased Archibald Campbell of Lerags, of the lands of Ballimeynach and Achiyouhir with the office of the Martyship of Lismore and Appin. These were alleged to have been wrongly withheld from Archibald by Alexander McIan VcAlister and the Earl agrees to warrand them to Archibald of Inverawe. Mention is also made of the fuelands of Achlian and Duchollie part of which Inverawe is to lease to the Earl to be united to his Forest of Benbuivie.<sup>75</sup> The lands of Achlian and Duchollie are elsewhere mentioned in connection with the island castle of Fraoch Eilean and were evidently the grazing lands pertaining to the castle so that this

entry, while it does not specifically mention Fraoch Eilean, would indicate that the castle had already been in Inverawe hands before this date.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

One strong element reinforcing the existence of the kinship of the three families emanates from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century Ane Accompt of the Genealogie of the Campbells where they were clearly seen those days as

being the Clan Connochie Campbells, mentioned together as kindred. The only confusion was about their origins.

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

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

## Conclusions

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

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

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

The traditional and legendary sources have been reviewed. From those which it has been possible to consider from the textual point of view it is clear that all apparently stem from Colville who revised the traditional MacEwen genealogies of the Campbells in the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century. That the Gaelic Genealogies of the Lochawe-Argyll family offer no clues as to the origins of the Clan Connochie Campbells indicates either

that they emerged from a distant branch of the family whose relationship had been lost, or that they branched from the Chiefly family at a more recent date than the 'reckoned', descent from Sir Neil. The considerable trust placed in the three branches of the clan Connachie Campbells by the first Earl when he granted them strategic lands in his newly acquired Lordship of Lorne would indicate a closer relationship to him than would have been expected had they emerged from an obscure branch of the family whose only connection was nearly two hundred years old. The lack of mention in the Gaelic Genealogies may simply indicate that, at the time of the last of the Sennachies, their relationship to the chiefly line was too recent and well known to mention. In the Gaelic oral tradition recorded by Dewar both Inverawe and Stronchormaig alike descend from Duncan, brother to Sir Colin Iongantach and son of Sir Gillespie of Lochawe.

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

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

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

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

Finally there is the lack of any strong evidence to support any alternative conjecture such as a descent from the Duncan on Loch Feochan early in the 14<sup>th</sup> century or a more direct descent from a brother or son of Sir Neil. In this latter case the existence of such possible progenitors have been seen as either not being directly related to Sir Neil, as Sellar mentions, or 'questionable' as stated in the Scots Peerage.

# NOTES.

## Chapter 1

1. Douglas Wimberley, *Memorials of the Campbells of Kilmartin*, privately printed, Inverness, 1894.
2. Sir James Balfour-Paul (ed.), *Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, article Argyll p.321.
3. Lamont Inventory; Robertson's Index.
4. Sir James Balfour-Paul (ed.), *Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, article Argyll p.330.
5. W. D. H. Sellar, 'The Earliest Campbells: Norman, Briton or Gael?', *Scottish Studies*, vol. 17 (1973), pp.109-124.
6. Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol. 1, p. 75.
7. Sir James Balfour-Paul (ed.), *Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, article Argyll p. 327.
8. Scottish History Society, *Highland Papers*, vol. 2, *Glassary Writs*, pp. 140-141. Duncan here appears in the Latin as "Duncan filio Gillesbuig Cambel." This identifies him as the son of Sir Archibald 'mor' of Lochawe and brother of Sir Colin 'iongantach' of Lochawe. The attendant footnote states "Apparently younger brother of Colin Iongatach and ancestor of Stroncharmaig" (sic.). The charter to which Duncan was witness was by John Campbell, Lord of Ardsceodnish, to Gilbert, Lord of Glassary, for his life, of the lands of Cross Gillesbuig and others, not dated. While the editor of *Highland Papers* dated this charter as being signed in 1355, this has been questioned. The charter appears to be the last in the series from a textual analysis, representing the final settlement between the two parties, and therefore it can be assigned a date after 1361 and before 26 July 1364 by which date John Campbell had died. Since Colin 'iongantach' was born in 1336, and Duncan appears to have been his next younger brother, a date of about 1338 has been suggested for Duncan's birth. Duncan would therefore have been in his twenties when he was a witness at Kilmartin. I am grateful to Andrew B. MacEwen for pointing this out.
9. The historical material from the Advocates Library is now incorporated into the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh. The three are: MSS (32:6:13), (32:6:14) and (34:5:22). Now MS 1672.
10. W. D. H. Sellar, 'The Earliest Campbells: Norman, Briton or Gael?', *Scottish Studies*, vol. 17 (1973), 109-124.
11. Scottish History Society, *Miscellany.*, vol. 4, (1926) pp. 190-91.
12. Scottish National Archives, Register House, Edinburgh (hereafter SNA) GD 202/18.
13. SNA, RH/15.
14. Diarmid Campbell, 'Oral Tradition and Parallel Record,' *Notes & Queries*, Society for West Highland and Island Historical Research, March 1989, Series 2, No. 3. p.7.
15. Mark Napier, *Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose*, vol. 2, p. 624.
16. National Library of Scotland MSS, MS (34:5:2).
17. Scottish History Society, *Highland Papers*, vol. 2, p. 70-111 'The Genealogie of the Campbells' p. 89. The relevant text is as follows: "...Mr. Colvine reckons to have come the Clann donachie Campbells, viz. Lerags, Inneraw, and Stronchormig; but certain it is that Stronchormage was not so early as we shall hear afterwards." And 'afterwards' on page 91; "Gillespig More or Sir Archibald son to Sir Coline Oig [so called because he was alive in the time of his grandfather Sir Cailein Mor] married Isobella daughter to Sir John Lamont, called Sir John More, on whom he begat ane thrice praise worthy son called Iongantach of whom in his own place,... He had another son Duncan Skeodnasach from whom came McConochy of Stronchormaige."
18. Sir James Balfour-Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, p. 324.
19. The sources quoted are Buchanan of Auchmar's *Scottish Surnames* in *Miscellanea Scotica* vol. 4; a Dunstaffnage M.S., and an Inverawe M.S. The MSS were presumably destroyed in the Dunstaffnage fire in the 1940s.
20. Sir James Balfour-Paul, *The Scots Peerage*.vol. 1, article Argyll, p.324.
21. Sir Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine, *Clan Campbell Abstracts*, Argyll Hornings, 2<sup>nd</sup> of January 1734; Inverawe's claim for Heritable Jurisdiction, List of Writs 10<sup>th</sup> November 1747.
22. RMS vol. 1, Appendix 2, p. 695.
23. Alexander Campbell, 'The Manuscript History of Craginish' (ed. Herbert Campbell), *Scottish History Society*, *Miscellanea Scotica*, vol. 4, Edinburgh (1926) pp.187-299 (pp. 190-91 Appendix D1).
24. Scottish Record Society Scrymgeour Inventory (1912).
25. For the revision of this date see note 8 above.
26. Colin MacDonald, *A History of Argyll*, (1951) p. 190 note 532, quoting Scottish History Society *Miscellanea Scotica*, vol. 4, p. 232.
27. Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol. 1, p. 110.
28. Scottish History Society, *Highland Papers*, vol. 2, p. 91.
29. Lord Archibald Campbell, *Records of Argyll*, (1885), pp. 15-16.
30. Robert Douglas, *The Peerage of Scotland*, Edinburgh 1764 p. 85-88.
31. W. D. H. Sellar, 'Pedigree Making and Pedigree Faking' in *Inverness Field Club The Middle Ages in the Highlands* (1981) pp. 103-113.
32. Ranald Nicholson, *The Edinburgh History of Scotland*, vol. 2, *Scotland the Later Middle Ages*, p. 112; *Highland Papers*, vol. 4, p. 195-6; Royal Commission on Ancient and Historic Monuments, *Argyll Inventory*, Lorne, p. 217.
33. Niall, 10<sup>th</sup> Duke of Argyll, *The Argyll Transcripts* (hereafter A/T).
34. Scottish History Society, *Highland Papers*, vol. 2, p. 142, note 1, & p. 147: W.D.H. Sellar 'MacDougall Pedigrees,' in *Notes & Queries*, Society for West Highland and Island Historical Research, No. 29, p. 3-18.
35. Ranald Nicholson, *Edinburgh History of Scotland*, vol. 2, *Scotland, the Later Middle Ages*, p. 112. 36. Scottish History Society, *Highland Papers*, vol. 2, p. 142.