

*Archibald MacConnochie Campbell of Inverawe –
Governor of Duart for Argyll*
(b.circa.1635 - d.1705)

Chapter 10

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The motto of the Inverawe family has come down to us as ‘Pro Aris et Focis’ in Latin, or ‘For Hearth & Home’ in English and ‘Air son teinntean agus dachaigh’ in Gaelic. If the character of one of the kindred seems to run along those lines, there is temptation to draw a parallel. Archibald MacConnochie Campbell of Inverawe can be seen either as seventh Laird of those scattered lands in the feudal or Lowland sense, or as seventh Head of Kindred responsible for the survival of the communities under his care, in the Highland sense. His life was focused mainly on preserving a balance between survival and tenuous prosperity. While he had not the extreme violence of his father’s years to cope with during the Civil War, the ambitions and religious convictions of his overlord the 9th Earl of Argyll placed him in various positions of leadership in the conflicts of his day. And latterly, once the Jacobite or Catholic threat loomed, he became perforce a practiced balancer on the fence with his cousin John Campbell, Earl of Breadalbane, falling occasionally to one side or the other.

His motives were less religious or political conviction than attempting to keep what he passed on to his heirs intact while royal religions shifted and consequent dangers loomed on one side and then the other. In this he was a successful steward. He could be firm with those who owed him funds, yet preferred to have them approached personally rather than immediately ‘put to the horn,’ although he could also be very slow to pay a debt where he felt that interest was too high. He was a fluent correspondent and fielded the growing paperwork of his era adeptly on the whole. His chief merit lay in care for the extended MacConnochie kindred, helping them deal with the demands of the government of the day. He gave funds yearly to a cousin whose mother needed personal care, having left sanity behind. He was a loyal servant and officer to Argyll who appointed him, with Campbell of Lochnell, to be governors of Duart Castle while the earl prized those lands away from the Macleans in lieu of carefully augmented debts. He was trusted by both the 9th and 10th earls to set the leases or ‘tacks’ of their lands in Mull over a range of years and to collect the rents. He survived the forfeiture and beheading of the 9th earl and lived to see the 10th made a Duke.

Archibald of Inverawe’s parents were married in about 1633. His mother Agnes Campbell was daughter of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy. As their eldest son, Archibald could therefore have been born in about 1634-5. He lived until 1705, suggesting that he could have been aged about 70 on his death. His father, Lt. Col. Dougall Campbell of Inverawe, often known locally as ‘Mac Connochie,’ died in 1665. So Archibald would have been about 30 when he succeeded. Little is known of his younger years. He could have been about ten when Alastair MacColla devastated Argyll. He evidently did not attend university, never being addressed as ‘Master,’ although at the time it was not uncommon to leave before matriculating. However his writing is never scattered with Latin tags. What seems a likely option for him when a young heir to the family was to be given tack of the farmlands and

community of Tirvine on Lochawe, long kept in hand by the family as their best grain lands. But, apart from his atrocious handwriting, Archibald's education gave him fluency of expression in his writing, and it was clearly a task that in no way daunted him. The local minister likely provided his education, who would himself have attended university. He also gained a rudimentary understanding of the law, both for his own use and for his acting as baillie of parts of upper Lochawe, perhaps spending a year or two as a 'servitor' or assistant to Glenorchy while a lad, or with whomever he may have been fostered. But that is conjecture.

In terms of the historical scene in which Archibald found himself on adulthood, the execution and forfeiture of the Marquess of Argyll in 1661 left those like Archibald's father Dougall, who held lands from Argyll, in temporary limbo. However this was eased by the General Act of Indemnity the following year and then by the restoration of the Earldom of Argyll to the 9th Earl in 1663. On succeeding his father in 1665, Archibald would then experience a brief period of relative calm before Argyll obtained a Decreet of Removal against the Macleans of Mull in 1673, leading to his first expedition to Mull in 1674. In earlier years the Marquess of Argyll had lent funds to the Macleans of Duart and others, or bought their debts which they had then been unable to repay. Between the Marquess and his son it seems that these debts were enlarged by creative accounting until the interest reached a point where the Macleans could no longer hope to pay. Argyll then obtained the Decreet that gave government support to his collection of the funds owed, by the act of physically occupying the Maclean lands and Duart Castle. This move, behind which lay other political and religious pressures, would influence much of Archibald's active life.

One of the earliest community acts by Archibald of Inverawe after he succeeded his father, was to join with others in signing a Bond by the Heritors and gentlemen of Argyllshire promising 10 shillings out of each merkland for the maintenance of the guard against thieves. The Bond was either signed or registered on the 31st of August 1666. This is likely the earliest vestige of any police force in the County.¹

In that year after his father died, Archibald of Inverawe's Marriage Contract was registered. He must have been married some time before the registration, the date of registration being the 7th of November 1666.² After the death of Archibald's mother, his father, Lt. Col. Dougall Campbell of Inverawe had married a Janet McNeill as his second wife. She appears to have been one of the Taynish and Gigha family of that name who were perhaps descended from the same kindred as Suibne *ruadh*, builder of Castle Sween, whose ancestor Anrothan had come from a princely family in Ireland in the mid ten hundreds. Among Suibne *ruadh*'s descendants were the families of MacSweens, MacGilchrists, MacLachlans of Strathlachlan, and the Lamonts.

Archibald himself also married a McNeill, Mary, daughter of McNeill of Taynish who was a young widow of Campbell of Duntroon. Whether he met her through the Duntroon family or through his stepmother's family is not clear. The Marriage Contract that young Duntroon had agreed with her father was unusually generous. Then, when Duntroon died young, his nephew and heir John Campbell not only faced debts but a lifetime of life-rent payments to the young widow. The burden was so great that he was soon obliged to sell the lands and castle of Duntroon to his cousin who had been a fairly prosperous merchant in Inveraray. But law required that the purchaser also continue the payments for the widow's lifetime. The

payments were both for tierce and jointure. Remarkably, although at times it was necessary for Duntroon to be prodded, on the whole they managed the payments regularly. Although there is a quality of routine to the Discharges [receipts] given Duntroon by Archibald of Inverawe, these are often mentioned here because they show where Archibald was at the time, and how he moved about quite frequently. The witnesses are also of interest, showing who was with him at the time.

Not long after he succeeded his father, Archibald of Inverawe would seem to have been extending his influence about the upper arm of Loch Etive. The Inverawe lands already included the entire western side of Glen Etive serving four communities between the head of the loch and the Moor of Rannoch. He was given Sasine of the two merkland of Inverkinglas and the three merkland of Achacharne on the eastern side of the loch. Achacharne being far up Glen Kinglas. Both were based on a Disposition by Alexander Campbell of Lochnell, dated on the 5th of May 1667, under redemption upon payment to him of the principal sum of 3000 merks. The transaction was witnessed by John Campbell, a full cousin of Archibald of Inverawe's and by Colin Campbell of Inveresragan.³ Colin Campbell of Inveresragan was of Archibald's generation. Colin's mother was Archibald's aunt, sister of his father Dougall.

There are two places called Achacha or Achacharne with which the Inverawe family were at times involved. One was in Benderloch, east of Barcaldine Castle, against the hill. The other was in Glenkinglas, half way between Glen Orchy and Loch Etive. Achacharne may well have been the earlier pronunciation for these places. Certainly the Benderloch name was later often simply given as Acha, not to be confused with the Acha north of Tyndrum. Both were in the parish called Baliveodan, later known as Ardchattan.

As was normal in confirming the inheritance following the death of his father, Archibald was given re-grants of the lands on which lived those communities for whom his family were responsible. On the last day of September 1668, Archibald 9th Earl of Argyll signed two charters to Archibald of Inverawe of the lands of Inverawe.⁴

In the time of Archibald of Inverawe's great-grandfather Archibald, there had been a fight on Loch Awe when the then Inverawe attacked some MacArthurs who had been granted lands by Argyll but these were lands which had only been leased to Argyll by Inverawe. The incident, known later as 'the drowning of Clan Arthur' took place in the 1570s. There was therefore a certain healing pleasantness that a century later, on the 10th of September 1671, Archibald of Inverawe was invited to witness the marriage contract of John, eldest son of Patrick MacArthur of Tirevadich and Katherine Campbell, daughter of John Campbell of Inveresragan. The witnesses included Archibald's cousin Alexander Campbell of Achouran on Lismore and his brother Dougall. Strangely, the signing took place at Knipoch, where perhaps John was farming a tack.⁵

Following the charters by Argyll to Inverawe in 1668, five years later, on the 1st and 4th of July 1673, Sasine was given to Archibald by his being handed turf and stone on each of the lands in confirmation of the charters. By now it must have become clear that it was unlikely that Archibald and Mary his wife would have any children. The charter was 'to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and the heirs male of his own body, whom failing to the nearest heirs male of Dougall Campbell his father, whom failing to his nearest heirs male and assigns whomsoever' that the lands were re-granted.

The record of the Sasine gives an idea of the extent of the lands, with various rights included, for whose inhabitants Archibald was then responsible. They were listed as follows:

The four merkland of Inverawe, the four merkland of Drumachoise [Glen Etive], the salmon fishing in the Water of Awe, the three merkland of Achacharne [in Benderloch] and the office of sergeandry and mairie of Benderloch, the 6/8 lands of Branrie [in the Pass of Brander], the two merkland of Dalness [Glen Etive] including the salmon fishing on the Water of Etive 'ab introitu fluminis...ad sumitem terram de Arealem' in the Lordship of Lorne, and the five pound land of 'Auchalane' [Auchlian] with the Isle of 'Reakillen' [Fraoch Eilean] and the little island of Dowillan in Lochawe and the stewartry of Over Lochawe (except Iain MacArthur's lands of Tirevadich), the 20 shilling land of Ardeachin, the 20 shilling land of Tirerean [Tirvine] in the Barony of Lochawe, and the two merklands of Inneralan [InbherFhaolain, Glen Etive] and Invercharnan [Glen Etive] in the Lordship of Lorne; containing a novodamus.

Among the witnesses were John and Alexander Campbell, brother and half-brother of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and Patrick Campbell, called here brother german of the late Dougall Campbell of Inverawe.⁶ However this is questionable since Dougall's brother Patrick had been killed at Inverloch, this may have been the Patrick who elsewhere was said to be a natural son of Dougall's. The lands in Glen Etive included all the western side of that valley and out onto the Moor of Rannoch in the watershed of the tributaries of the Water of Etive.

Then, in that year of 1673, Argyll obtained the Decreet of Removal against the Macleans of Duart in Mull, due to his being the creditor for the debts of that family of Duart. This brought focus onto a conflict that would run on for some years. With Argyll as his overlord, Archibald of Inverawe would inevitably become increasingly involved.

By 1674 it seems likely that Inverawe's younger half brother Alexander had come of age. He was the eldest son of their father's second wife. Either by direction of his late father, or through funds left for him by his mother, he was to be set up with the lands of Kilmartin. Not long before, these lands had been bought by Neil Campbell of Duntroon, but he had evidently over-reached himself and needed to sell them again. Likely owing Archibald for the lady Inverawe's liferent from Duntroon, he agreed to sell them to Inverawe. An Account survives, seemingly by Neil Campbell of Duntroon, containing the item; 'money for a gowne to my wyf wch the sd McConochie [Inverawe] pmsd me when I sould the lands of Kilmartin 200: 00.' Neil was Sheriff Depute of Argyll until the autumn of 1674 and in 1678 was made a Commissioner of Supply for Argyll. The lands of Duntroon would pass to the MacCallum Malcolms of Poltalloch a century later by sale and purchase in 1792. They would spell the name Duntrune, but remain 'of Poltalloch.'

Kilmartin being held of the Earl of Argyll, Inverawe applied to obtain a fresh charter of confirmation for the lands from the earl. On the 30th of May 1674, a feu Charter was signed by Archibald 9th Earl of Argyll to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and his heirs male and assigns, of the five pound land of Kilmartin in 'Ardskedneish' or Ardsceodnish, the old name

for the district of Kilmartin. The lands named were the three merklands of 'ceravernan' [Glencavernan?], the three merklands of 'Fernache' [Fearnoch] and 20 shilling land of Laggan, and the tenements of the clachan of Kilmartin, reserving the manse of the minister with the glebe, also the three merkland of Auchynd in Ardsceodnish, with the bailiery of the lands, likewise the 3 ½ merkland of Largy Nether, called Largy McKeyssag in the barony of Ardsceodnish which formerly belonged to Neil Campbell of Duntroon and were resigned by him; to be held of the Earl for payment of 200 merks. The McKessags were the ancestors of the Malcoms of Poltalloch.⁷ Meanwhile Argyll himself was away in Edinburgh.

A week or so later, on the 3rd of June 1674, the Earl of Argyll was meeting with the Privy Council and brought up the need for Justices of the Peace to be appointed in Argyll. In response to Argyll's suggestion, the Lords of the Privy Council appointed Alexander Campbell of Lochnell, Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, Robert Campbell of Barcaldine, John Campbell of Airds and others including Lauchlan MacLean of Torloisk in the Isle of Mull, to be Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Excise and for the Militia of the Shire of Argyle. This was not a hereditary jurisdiction but was making use of those who already had such responsibilities.⁸

Considering the five or so years it had taken Inverawe to come round to arranging for his own Sasines of Inverawe lands, he moved very swiftly on his charter of Kilmartin. That was granted on the last day of May and received Sasine on the lands on the 6th of June that same year of 1674.⁹ Further Sasine was given to Archibald on the 22nd when John Campbell 'in' Inverawe was attorney for him. Whether this Tacksman of Inverawe was his brother or cousin is not stated.¹⁰

Then, on the 7th of July, Archibald of Inverawe signed a charter of the lands in and about Kilmartin to his half-brother Alexander. This Charter, while it mentions his brother Dougall, later of Shirvan, leaves out his other full brother John for some reason.¹¹ Again Archibald move swiftly. He was undoubtedly both knowledgeable and efficient with the law and paperwork. Within days, on the 11th of July 1674 he had got a Charter of Ratification by Archibald 9th Earl of Argyll of his own charter to Alexander.¹²

Archibald 9th Earl of Argyll now pressed his claims against the Macleans with force. During the summer of 1674 the earl launched an expedition to take possession of the lands and castle of Duart, due to the debts of the Macleans owed to him. Archibald of Inverawe now became directly involved.

Towards the end of that summer of 1674, Inverawe was himself at Duart where the Duart Maclean debts were being discussed. On the 21st of September he was a witness to an accounting of the rentals of the estate of Duart in Mull by Lachlan 'M'Laine' [Maclean] of Brolas 'since the decease of Sir Allane M'Lean of Dowart', Written by Nicoll Yule, notary public. Other witnesses were John Campbell, Captain of Carrick and John Yule of Darleith.¹³

The heir, young Duart, had declined to 'enter heir' and so was free of his father's debts, but it meant that he lost his home and lands to Argyll. The earl's father the Marquess had engineered, and he had continued, the evident padding of the Duart debts owed to the earl, who had then obtained Crown support for his forcibly taking the estate in lieu of what he was owed.

Meanwhile the process of installing young Alexander MacConnochie Campbell at Kilmartin continued. In the spring of the year, all the paperwork being completed, Sasine of the Kilmartin lands was given to Alexander on the 25th of March 1675. He was now 'of Kilmartin.' The document read: 'Sasine of the lands of Kilmartin etc., to Alexander Campbell, eldest son of the deceased Dougall Campbell of Inverawe by Janet McNeill his wife, on a Feu Charter by Archibald Campbell of Inverawe to him and his heirs male, whom failing to Dougall [later of Shirvan] his brother german and heirs male, whom failing to return to Archibald of Inverawe.' This was based upon the Charter dated at Inveraray on the 7th of July 1674. The witnesses include John Campbell, brother german of the grantor, Inverawe.¹⁴

What was curious was that here Alexander's mother is called Janet McNeill, whereas in the Sasine when she was given her liferent in Inverawe lands on the 9th of June 1654 she was called 'Agnes.' However since 'Agnes' was also the name of Lt. Col. Dougall's first wife, Agnes Campbell, that may have been the confusion and Miss McNeill's name must actually have been Janet. Her son Alexander would have known, and this was his Sasine.

Once again Argyll's ambitions for Mull boiled up, and he organized a new expedition there in 1675. However the results were indecisive. But the process of the take-over of Duart castle continued. On the 30th of April Argyll was at Dunstaffnage on his way home from Duart when he wrote to Campbell of Glenorchy, telling him about his proceedings on Mull concerning the Macleans. He reported that there was no water within the gates of Duart, only a pit that the Macleans had filled in. 'They [presumably the Macleans] bragged lately that were it not for kindness to Lochnell they would pull him out by the ears... but I have given directions to use it for the time till a well be digged.'¹⁵ Lochnell would seem to have been appointed governor already.

At the same time, the communication between Inverawe and Duntroon over Mary MacNeill's liferents continued. A sum of £100 was payable for 1675 and another 100 for 1676. Archibald allowed Neil of Duntroon half of all 'cess and exits' due to him on the preceding Martinmass. The Discharge by Inverawe was witnessed that spring by Donald Campbell of Oib on Loch Sween, a kinsman of Duntroon's, by Inverawe's brother John and by Nicoll Yuill in Inveraray.¹⁶ The next domestic issue to relieve any stress of duty for Inverawe was the marriage of one of his sisters, Isobel. She was in fact a half sister, being full sister of Alexander of Kilmartin. On the 18th of April 1676 a Contract of Marriage was signed at Inveraray between Archibald of Inverawe for his sister Isobel, future wife of John Campbell of Knap and John himself. John, who was seemingly a widower, agreed to grant her a liferent of 300 merks out of the two merkland of Kilmorie, the two merkland of Fearnach, the four merkland of Ballimore and other lands in Knapdale. All these were about the point of land between Loch Sween and Loch Caolisport. Sasine followed on the 16th of May.¹⁷

The loss of Duart and the Duart lands for the young Maclean heir was naturally enraging for his supporters and followers. Some Macleans evidently vented their feelings by attacking a Campbell, presumably a tacksman of the MacDougalls of Dunollie, on the Isle of Kerrera. In June 1676 a 'Letter of Charge' was presented to the court by Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, William Campbell on Kerrera and others, also William Scott, servitor to the Earl

of Argyll, plus Archibald Earl of Argyll himself for his interest, against Maclaine of Lochbuy, Lachlan Maclean of Brolas, Major David Ramsay and others, who had landed on the Isle of Kerrera, and armed with guns, dirks, swords etc., robbed and took away from William Campbell and others, many cattle, bulls, stirks, kye etc. Maclean and his complices were charged to appear before the Lords of the Privy Council at Edinburgh thereanent.' This was given under the Signet at Edinburgh in June 1676 (but not signed).¹⁸

Archibald Appointed Governor of Duart

That September 1676, on the 30th, the Earl of Argyll signed a document appointing Archibald Campbell of Inverawe to be Governor, Captain and Keeper of the Castle of Duart in Mull for a year, and to be Chamberlain of his lands in Mull with power to uplift the rents. For this he was to receive £2,000 for the payment of the soldiers, etc., being £500 quarterly. He was also to keep all arms given up to him at the Castle and to hand them over at the expiry of his Keepership. Dougall Campbell, Bailie of Kintyre was a witness.¹⁹

There is a similar appointment of that date to Campbell of Lochnell to be Governor of Duart, to commence on the 18th of October. He was to appoint a Lieutenant, two sergeants, a porter and 30 soldiers.²⁰

However Inverawe was clearly the senior man and was already at Duart. They must have been intended to share the post, being there by turns, so that each could also take care of their own people, lands and affairs in turn. Lochnell would have been Alexander Campbell, 6th of Lochnell who had succeeded his father Colin in 1671 when the latter was killed at Inveraray. He was by now likely only in his mid twenties. His eldest son Duncan would not be born for another five years. Alexander of Lochnell is thought to be the member of the family who moved from their original stronghold on the island in Loch Nell to a place in Benderloch with important sea access, his home now part of the present house at Lochnell.

Meanwhile conflict stirred up by Argyll's take-over of the Maclean lands continued. The Morvern Camerons and Mull Macleans invaded Ardnamurchan and drove off large numbers of livestock, including 1,300 sheep. This shows, incidentally, that although smaller animals than today, there were great numbers of sheep in the Highlands before the introduction of the flocks of larger animals in the late 18th century. There were similar counter raids on cattle from the islands by various Campbells.

Argyll then petitioned for the Letters of Fire and Sword against the Macleans to be resumed. In October 1678 the Commission of Fire and Sword was granted, although an indemnity was also offered if the Macleans laid down their arms and submitted to the laws.

But, there being no response, the Commission was granted to twenty-five Lairds, including MacAllister of Loup, the Laird of MacLeod, The Laird of MacFarlane, Col. James Menzies of Culdares, Bannatyne of Kames, and twenty Campbells including Lochnell and Inverawe.²¹

The Earl of Argyll was also provided with, or allowed to raise, two Independent Highland Companies, plus an attached company of the Earl of Linlithgow's regiment, later to evolve into the Scots Guards. The Independent Companies were commanded by Inverawe's cousin Sir John Campell of Glenorchy Bt., [later earl of Breadalbane] and by Menzies of Culdares, as captains. The first Lieutenants were Sir James Campbell of Lawers and Archibald of Inverawe. The 2nd Lieutenants were Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine and John Campbell of Airds, while the Ensigns were Alexander MacArthur and another young Campbell.²²

Inverawe's commission was no sinecure. By December 1678 he was receiving ammunition on the eve of yet another invasion of Mull.

On the first of January 1677, Archibald of Argyll was in his tower at Inveraray, dipping his quill to write to John Campbell, younger of Glenorchy, who would be created Earl of Caithness that year and then, later, created Earl of Breadalbane instead. He thanked him for his New Year's gift and told him he would have more to write once he had met with Inverawe, whom he customarily referred to as 'McConachy,' and with Campbell of Ardkinglas. He mentions Duart and that if he can raise the funds, he plans to return to Edinburgh.²³

If Inverawe had been at Duart for a while, then by the 29th of January he was home again at Inverawe. On that day he wrote a Discharge to Neil Campbell of Duntroon for meal and bere [small barley] due to his wife Mary MacNeill for the year of 1676. His half brother Alexander of Kilmartin was with him and witnessed the Discharge, along with a John Campbell whom Archibald noted was 'my servant.' This was perhaps John 'in' Inverawe, tacksman of the place.²⁴

A month later, on the 27th of February 1677-78, Archibald was still at Inverawe and wrote to Argyll. Events had been stirring at Duart. Archibald's brother Duncan was representing him there. There follows a report on the contents by Duke Neill:

Archibald Campbell of Inveraw, to the Earl of Argyll
27 February 1677

Inverawe says that he has written to the sheriff that upon the 24th of that instant a party went out of the house of Duart, seized a boat with Irish victual in Locheill, six miles from Duart; and on Saturday night brought her to Duart. On Monday morning, before the boat was unloaded, Archibald, Ardgour's uncle, and the laird of Kingerloch's brother 'came under' a rock betwixt the boat and the house with about three or four score men, and hindered the pass. Sixteen of his men in the boat kept the boat and victual until Wednesday. The countrey having convened, although the specials however did not appear, they were necessitated to row to the shore, having no firewood to prepare victual, when the load of victuals were seized and carried away by the McLeans. His men went safely to the house standing to their defence. The house was loth to fire lest they should harm their own men, and did not fire; when they seeing their own men safe and not "prejudged" except in the seizure of the boat, which they afterwards claimed under a commission from Angus McHutchion *alias* McDonald, from the counsell for the Isles, notwithstanding that his (Campbell of Inverawe's) men were the first seizers of the boat.²⁵

The import of meal was often needed at the hungry start of the year if the previous harvest had been poor. On the 23rd of May 1677 Inverawe again sent a report from Inverawe to Argyll regarding events at Duart. This is also a precis of the report by Duke Neill:

Inveraw, 23rd May 1677

He had been informed by his brother [Duncan] out of Duart that within the last few days frequent meetings and messages had been held and passed betwixt the

Macleans and Lord Macdonald. Brolas was to meet the next day with Locheill in Morvern; and he was informed also by his brother that they had begun their trenches, one of the them at the “green spoat of ground,” where his lordship’s tent lay when he was at Tobermory, and another trench high towards the point above the place where the ship was lying. They had resolved fully to hinder any vessel’s entry. The McLeans expected a vessel with guns from Lord Macdonald, and if it was so, they had “greater persons advice in it”.²⁶

Alexander ‘Sandy’ Campbell of Kilmartin had spent a year or two in possession of his lands as a bachelor. By now he had evidently had enough of perching alone with some servants in his little castle of Kilmartin. He had met and courted one of the Carradale girls whose father had died and whose brother was the heir to Glen Carradale. Alexander signed a marriage contract along with Archibald of Inverawe on the one part, and with Margaret Campbell, lawful daughter of the deceased Archibald Campbell of Glencarradale on the other. Liferent was agreed for her in the lands of Largie [McKessag] and others. This was signed with the consent of her brother Duncan Campbell of³⁰ Glencarradale and Barbara Campbell her mother, and others. The contract was dated on the 21st and 28th of September 1677.²⁷ Within little more than a fortnight, Margaret was given Sasine of the appropriate Kilmartin lands on the 15th and 22nd of October.²⁸

The following year, on the 20th of February 1678, Archibald of Inverawe was likely attempting to stay warm in the dank stone spaces of Duart castle when he wrote another Discharge to Neill Campbell of Duntroon for his wife’s jointure of 1677.²⁹ He received further cheerful news in late May, after a charter of confirmation was signed under a grant in favour of him in Edinburgh on the [11th] of May 1678.³⁰

Argyll was now launching a third expedition to Mull. This one would finally be successful. On the 4th of December 1678 he wrote from Dunstaffnage to Angus Campbell of Kilberry. Angus would later be ADC to the handsome but ill-fated Duke of Monmouth. Kilberry is said to have married a sister of Inverawe as his first wife but she may have died about that time for he would marry again in 1679. [BLG]

[*Translated to modern spelling*]:

Loving Cousin.

Dunstaffnage 4 Dec. [16]78

I desire to be easy to your party and to provide for for them at Fran... .. wherefore I write you not to cross at the Connel but to quarter tomorrow night at Bundravaig where I shall send you meal and upon Friday morning I shall cause boats [to] wait on you near Rhu na Finart to cross you over to Lismore where you may quarter in warm house ‘till you and I go together to Mull.

I have of your party at Ard[maddy?] is to return [to] you fresh.

For Kilberry

Your loving Cousin
[signed] ARGYLL

[*original spelling*]:

Loving Cusen

Dunstaffnage 4 Dembr [16]78

I desyre to be easie to yor pairty and to provydd for for yem at fran qrfor I wryte yow not to Cross at the Connel bot to qrtr two morrow at niggt in Bonedraivig qr I shall send yow meall and upon fryday morning I shall cause boats wait on yow near rownafynart to cross yow

over to lessmore qr yow may qrter in warme houses till yow and I goe togr to Mull. I have of yor partie at Ard ... is to returne to yow fresh

Your Loving Cusen

Ffor Kilberrie

[signed] ARGYLL³¹

Three days later, on the 7th of December, Argyll wrote again to Kilberrie:

[*Tranlated to modern spelling*]:

Kilberrie

You must send one of your little boats with some ammunition at once to Pornacroish where it shall be received from you by Archibald Campbell of Inverawe – Fail not.

Given at Balleveolan the 7th of Dec. 1678 [signed] ARGYLL

For Kilberrie - Or any commanding his boats - At 'Salanardarro' [Salen Ard an ruadh?]

[*Original spelling*]:

Yow must send ane of yor litle boats with some ammunition at ones to portardnaross qr it shall be received from yow be Archibald Campbell of Inverawe fail not

Given at Baliveolan ye 7th Dembr 1678 [signed] ARGYLL

ffore Kilberrie

or any Comanding his boats at Salanardarro³²

Baliveolan, the clachan of the mill, occurs in a number of places. This is likely on Lismore, a name taken at one point by Campbells of Baliveolan from there to what is now Drimavuic on Loch Creran. Baliveolan is easily confused with Baliveodan, the parish name for Ardchattan. Bonedraivig has yet to be identified. 'Portnardnaross' suggests Portnacroish in Appin. 'Rownafynart' would be Rhu na Fionard, the southwesterly point of Lochnell's lands in Benderloch.

Archibald of Inverawe would seem to have spent the rest of the winter of 1678-79 [or 1679-10 old dating] at Duart fulfilling his position as Governor and Keeper of the castle and collecting Maclean rents, which can likely only have been done under force of arms. On the 18th of January 1679 he was a witness to a Bond by Donald MacLean of Kingairloch to Argyll.³³ That year the Macleans were finally subdued.

Besides rents, Inverawe was also collecting arms that were being surrendered or discovered. On the 10th of February 1679 at Duart, Inverawe gave a Receipt to some MacLeans for arms given up by them:

Receipt on paper by Archibald Campbell of Inverawe [on the endorsement as usual it is called 'M'Conochie's Receipt for the M'Laines their arms'] granting him to have received of the M'Laines their arms at several times 80 swords and 45 guns and from William Campbell 'Skipper' of my Lords 'frigget' for which he gave his receipt the number of 43 swords and 32 guns. This is besides three pistols and 5 lochabir axes and two hundred swords which the granter also has in his custody. Which number of arms in all extends to 185 swords 95 guns 3 pistolls 5 Lochabir axes and 'ane two handed sword I obleidge me to be comptable for to the Earle of Argyll when he calls for ane accompt of the same at my hands. Wit[nesses] Dugall Campbell writer hereof servitor to the sd. noble Earl, and Mr. John Campbell of Moy. [signed] A. Campbell of Inveraw.³⁴

The Cambridge historian Paul Hopkins gives the most complete and detailed depiction of events during this period, so that his evaluation of Archibald of Inverawe is particularly interesting: 'In April 1679, Argyll obtained a special commission to disarm [Macdonell] of Keppoch, and the defiant Maclean leaders, whom he had also managed to represent (falsely) as Papists, or at least as rebels... Argyll, in his over confidence, never considered that this might drive their confederacy to a desperate action, which he was unprepared to meet. Campbell of Inverawe, more far-sighted, hastily renewed his bond of friendship with MacLain.... Argyll knew by mid-May that the Maclean leaders had again reoccupied Mull, but trusted his frigate to stop them crossing to the mainland....'³⁵

Argyll was fortunate that his unwitting attempts to provoke Keppoch Macdonell and the Macleans, who had joined from Mull to the mainland, were not fully successful. Their confederation was stronger than his force. Towards the end of May they moved south by Glencoe and Glenorchy and threatened Inveraray from the slopes of Ben Buidhe. But they then infuriated the Keppoch's rabid poet Ian Lom by holding back from an assault. Some have suggested that he was actually of Campbell ancestry, and so felt that he must be more corrosively anti-Campbell so that his loyalty would not be questioned. Keppoch's traditional bodyguard were known as the 'Glaiserach' who were descended from a Campbell who had crossed the official known as 'The Crowner' in Glassary and so was obliged to escape to Lochaber.

Inverawe's cousin Sir John of Glenorchy, now Earl of Caithness and later to be Earl of Breadalbane, finally persuaded Argyll to allow him to negotiate. Macdonell and the Macleans then wrote to the Council that they had only convened out of self-defence and offered to join the royal army if only Argyll would promise to remain inactive. Hearing nothing positive in return, they began to retire from Argyll. The Earl of Argyll then chased them north into Lochaber but was mercifully held up by the flooded River Spean. In the lower Great Glen, without an enemy country to live off, his forces suffered from starvation and dwindled. Leaving a party with Lochiel, he sailed with another group to Mull.

Again Paul Hopkins evaluates the wider perspective of what was happening: 'Most of the Macleans put up no resistance to Argyll; he was confident that, if they did, he could call on Clanranald and Sir Donald Macdonald for help... He prudently pardoned the lesser Maclean tenants, but he divided Mull up between Campbell tacksmen, and granted Morvern, whose inhabitants were mostly Camerons, to Cameron of Glendessary. Outwardly, the government

supported him, approving his conduct as prudent and moderate (which Charles blindly endorsed). Yet he had ignored a national crisis for one his own selfish interests, and this was remembered.³⁶

On a more cheerful note, on the 18th of September 1679, John Campbell, Yr. of Glenorchy, now Earl of Caithness, was writing to his father Sir John of Glenorchy from their castle of Balloch [later Taymouth] at the east end of Loch Tay in Perthshire. He was concerned about his 'suited wedding clothes' and dealing with the tailor in Dunkeld for them. They were evidently going to be at their castle of Kilchurn on Loch Awe in Argyll and he had a question to 'Consider whither wee will be better accomodate in the castell [Kilchurn] or at Stronmulchan for bedds.' In a post script he continued: 'If McConachie [Inverawe] be out of Mull write for him also - the expence will be but the same and seeing the Provost is his relation its fitt you have also.' The Provost was presumably of Inveraray. These were not prospective wedding arrangements and invitations, since Caithness had married the previous year. His first wife had died in 1666, Mary, daughter of the beheaded first Earl of Holland. He would marry secondly on the 7th of April 1678, the widow of the Sinclair Earl of Caithness who was a daughter of the late beheaded Marquess of Argyll. The result of Argyll's aggressive style was a rise in cattle raiding. Although the Council sent 400 troops to guard passes from Dunbarton to Sutherland, the MacIains of Glencoe raided deeply into Argyll and Dunbarton that winter. There is a record of a Scroll of goods taken by the MacDonalds from the friends and tenants of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe amounting in all to £2,607. 6s. 8d. [no date but with others about the MacDonalds and MacLeans' plundering in 1679].³⁷

In December 1679, the King's son, James Duke of York, was sent to Edinburgh to be the King's representative in Scotland. At first he continued his predecessor Monmouth's policies of moderation. Although personally Catholic, he succeeded in control by giving firm support to the Kirk. Yet some called him shallow and 'a silly man.' However, he did attempt to convert Archibald 9th Earl of Argyll to Catholicism, only to succeed in alienating him and making the task of ruling Scotland less easy for himself. York, later to become king on the death of his brother Charles II. As King James, had his full-length portrait painted as a Roman Emperor, so perhaps he was not sure of himself. His Catholicism was anathema to most Lowland Scots. He sent Catholic missionaries to attempt to forward Catholicism in the western Highlands where the Protestant Church was less well established.

Perhaps Argyll had chosen to invade Mull in the winter as being a time of low energy. John of Caithness or his father of Glenorchy were at Duart on the 20th of December 1679.³⁸ Lord Neill Campbell the earl's brother was at Tobermory on the 22nd,³⁹ while on Christmas Eve Argyll was writing to Caithness that: 'I find the common people heir generally very desirous of peace.'⁴⁰

On the 23rd of June 1680, Argyll issues a warrant to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe as his Chamberlain in Mull to poind [distrain] the tenants there for rents due by them.⁴¹ The following year financial accounts for Inverawe's time at Duart were being settled by Mr. William Spens, Secretary to the Earl of Argyll. He repaid Inverawe in his role as Governor of

Duart for funds which he had disbursed to John Macfarlan when he was working at Duart in January 1681, for his 'dyet' the sum of £32-14 shillings and 8 pence, and for funds paid to John himself by Mr. William Spens from the 7th January 1681, inclusive of which John had received from Mr. William Spens the particular receipts. The total sum was two hundred four score seven pound 5s. 4d. This extended the two sums payed by Mr. William Spens to John Macfarlan, and to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe for a total of £319s 19 8d.⁴²

On the 20th of April 1681 there was an Act of Council relating to the rights of Argyll's representatives to hold the castles of Duart and Kinlochaline. And then on the 29th of April 1681, Argyll signed three deeds to "McConochy of Inverawe" authorizing him to keep six men in the Castle of Duart and to act as his baillie and hold courts and uplift rents.⁴³

James Duke of York had suggested to King Charles II that he should solve the Mull issue by paying off the Maclean debts. Argyll consented but the cash was not available. Argyll offered young Sir John Maclean the lands of Tiree, but then the Macleans damaged their position by invading Tiree from the one stronghold they still held, the precipitous island of Cairnbulg to the west of Mull. This harmed their cause with the King.

On Inverawe's domestic front, a move had to be made to secure the financial rights of Margaret, wife of Kilmartin. Releasing funds from lands for the 'tocher' of the Carradale daughters involved some work. Alexander of Kilmartin's wife Margaret had a sister who was married to Alexander Campbell of Dunstaffnage. On the 21st of May 1681 a Sasine was signed at Inveraray on which Archibald Campbell in Duspen [Dippen?] was to be attorney for Isobel Campbell, spouse to Alexander Campbell of Dunstaffnage, and Margaret Campbell, spouse to Alexander Campbell of Kilmartin.

The Sasine was based upon a Charter of Ajudication granted by Archibald Earl of Argyll, of the two lady's family lands in Glencarradale in Kintyre. The lands were the 3 merkland of old extent of Braklie, the 3 merkland of Achinbreac [Kintyre], the 1 merkland of Craigmore and the 3 merkland of Barmolich, called the 9 merkland of Brae of Glencarradale in the parish of Blairyet. The lands belonged to their brother Duncan Campbell of Glencarradale, as heir to his brother Archibald Campbell of Glencarradale and their father Archibald of Glencarradale. This sasine was to conform to the decret of adjudication granted against Duncan at the instance of his sisters Isobel and Margaret, before the Lords of Council and Session [on the] 16th of July 1675, in payment of a sum of 8,000 merks according to their Contracts of Marriage granted by Archibald Campbell their father and Barbara Campbell their mother. Five thousand merks were due to the elder daughter Isobel and three thousand merks to the younger daughter Margaret. The document was signed before Colonel James Menzies of Culdares, Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and John Campbell of Soceoch [Succoth].⁴⁴ Campbell of Silvercraig had earlier received Sasine on the 1st of January 1681, purchasing the Carradale lands from Duncan of Carradale, who presumably could not otherwise pay his sister's tochers.

On the 6th of May 1681 an Act was passed ordering a hosting of the Argyll Militia. The date for the muster was given as the 29th of June, with Dunstaffnage commanding the Lorne division, which included the Inverawe men.

Now, on the 17th and 18th of June, for some reason Archibald 9th Earl of Argyll required both Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinglass to give Bonds to him for the good behaviour of themselves and their dependants.⁴⁵

Then on the 15th of October the Campbell Lairds Archibald of Inverawe, Alexander of Lochnell, John of Carrick, Alexander of Dunstaffnage and Angus of Kilberry, were required to give a total bond for £6,000 pounds Scots on that date to John Campbell WS. This appears to have been surety for their returning some documents to Ardkinglas.⁴⁶ A dozen years later they, or their successors, would redeem the Bond by returning some writs to Ardkinglas and the receipt would be dated at Inveraray on the 3rd of October 1693.

Meanwhile Archibald of Inverawe was again extending his responsibilities. He had come into a right by adjudication of the 3 merkland of Braiklie, 2 merkland of Barmulloch, all in the parish of Saddell on the east side of Kintyre, presumably representing the tocher of Alexander of Kilmartin's wife. These lands he would exchange by an 'Excambion.'

To that end, Archibald Earl of Argyll signed a charter on the 18th of October 1681 granting to Inverawe the 6 merkland of Cruachan [Lochawe], the ½ merkland of Ariesceodnich, the 2 merkland of Barmaddy and 2 merkland of Corriebeg in the barony of Lochawe. He signed a further related charter on the 1st of December. These charters exchanged Inverawe's aforementioned Carradale lands in Kintyre for those mentioned on Loch Awe. The lands of Cruachan were half way down the northwest side of Loch Awe and included the old hosting ground of the Loch Awe lordship across the loch from Innis Chonnell Castle.⁴⁷

Also on that same 18th of October 1681 Archibald Campbell of Torrie, acting as attorney for Archibald of Inverawe, gave Sasine on his Resignation conforming to the contract of 'Excambion' [exchange] of the lands of Bracklie, Achinbreac, Craigmore and Barmolloch, all in the parish of Saddell in Kintyre. The witnesses were John Campbell of 'Moy' [Moir] and John his eldest lawful son.⁴⁸ The purpose of all that was evidently to add Margaret Kilmartin's inheritance nearby to her husband's lands.

No doubt the earl's predicament over the Test Act would have been a prime subject of conversation when, on the 28th of November, Inverawe had Sasine taken for him by Malcolm MacIntyre tacksman of Bracklie as his attorney, on the lands in Brae Carradale. The basis of this was the Charter by Argyll dated on the 18th of October. John Campbell, son of Walter Campbell of Skipness, was a witness to the Sasine.⁵⁰

The above Charter of the 1st of December 1681 was one of the last Argyll would sign at that time. Moving back onto the national scene, this was the year when the 'Test Act' was passed. This, as one historian has put it, was 'a measure which, while asserting the supremacy of the Protestant religion, also claimed the Divine Right of the Crown.' Anyone appointed to a civil or ecclesiastical office was obliged to take the oath. In spite of the threat of impeachment, Argyll insisted that members of the Royal Family should not be exempt. Argyll took the oath but with his own amendments. For his arguments over the issue with the Duke of York, he was then convicted and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle on the 12th of December.⁴⁹

But more dramatic news was to follow when, on the 21st of December, the handsome Earl of Argyll escaped from Edinburgh Castle, dressed as his step-daughter's page who entered with a bandaged face. He immediately changed disguise and set off for London from where he escaped to Holland. After the death of Charles II in 1685 he linked up with the Duke of Monmouth and they planned to invade Scotland and England and oust the Catholic James, who was by then King James VII and II.⁵¹

The Earl of Argyll's conviction and escape left his lands open to forfeit. This in fact took place in 1682 and his heraldic arms were formally reversed and torn to pieces at the Cross of Edinburgh. This left all those for whom he was overlord, like Inverawe, in jeopardy and subject directly to the Crown.

But life went on. On both the 6th and 23rd of February 1682, Archibald of Inverawe signed discharges to Neil of Duntroon for payment, first for his wife Mary's tierce for 1681, the widow's claim of a third of her late husband's property, and secondly for her jointure for 1681. Both were witnessed by Alexander Campbell 'my Servitor' and Dougall Campbell 'my brother.' Archibald and Dougall would seem to have been particularly close, as eldest and youngest of the five brothers.⁵²

Due to his association with the now exiled Earl of Argyll, Archibald of Inverawe was suspect. He was still operating under the earlier commands of the earl to manage his lands in Mull. On the 20th of May 1682 at Edinburgh, 'The Lord Advocate appointed to insist against Cameron of Glendessary against the first Council day of July next upon the information given in of some seditious expressions vented by him.' He was charged to give bond for his appearance. 'The Macers of Council were appointed to warn him and McConochy of Inneraw to compear before the Lord Treasurer and Exchequer upon Monday next to give ane account of their intromission with the late Earle of Argyles estate.'⁵³

Not so long afterwards it became clear what this was all about. The Tutor or guardian of young Maclean of Duart had taken advantage of the exile and forfeiture of the Earl of Argyll to complain to the court of the continued Campbell management of the Mull lands. The imprisonment of Argyll had left them with the hope of retrieving the lands and castles without paying the debts. 'The Committee' being then the virtual government, had made moves in their favour. 'The Committee having considered the petition of the Tutour of McClain, complaining of Archibald Campbell of Inneraw, tacsman of Dowart, John Cameron of Glendesher [Glendessary], tacksman of Morverne, and Donald Campbell for not delivering up of the houses of Dowart, Keanlochallan [Caenlochaline/Kinlochaline] and Cairnbulge, conforme to the Councils former order, and the saids Archibald Campble and John Cameron compearing personally and Donald Campbell, Governour of Cairnbulge, not compearing, the Committee is of opinion that the defence proponed [put forward] by the saids persons compearing founded upon the act of Council of the tuentieth of Aprile last [it] ought to be repelled [repealed] and they ordained to enter their persons in prison within the tolbuith of Edinburgh untill they find caution for delivery of the saids houses of Dowart and Keanlochallan to the persons formerly named by the Council upon his Majesties account within the space of [blank] under the penalty of [blank] and that the said Donald Cameron be charged to compear before the Council to answer for his contempt.'⁵⁴

So Archibald of Inverawe had appeared at the Council as ordered, had quoted the Act of Council of the 20th of April 1681 that had given him the authority to hold Duart, and had then been told that the Act should be repealed and that, even before it was, he should walk over to the Tollbooth and incarcerate himself. Justice indeed.

Yet, by the 12th of December 1682 it seems that Inverawe was at liberty again to write yet another Discharge to Neil of Duntroon for Mary MacNeil's tierce for 1682.⁵⁵ The following

year of 1683 in March, Inverawe was at Baravuline when he wrote the next Discharge for her jointure.⁵⁶

Archibald of Inverawe had the advantage that one of his first cousins, Alexander Campbell, was a merchant in Edinburgh and an astute man who acted as his agent in the capital. Alexander was a younger son of Alan Campbell in Barnaliam, a place between Loch Awe and Loch Avich. Alan was a younger brother of Archibald's late father, Lt. Col. Dougall Campbell of Inverawe. Most of the letters of Archibald's that have survived are among Alexander's papers in the National Archives. Most, like this one, are strictly on business affairs. This is dated on the 3rd and 12th of March 1683 when Inverawe was in Edinburgh:

Translation to modern spelling:

Memorandum for Alexander Campbell [Burgess in Edinburgh]

That of the Precept drawn [up] by Lanlon upon which is in your hands, payable to me and Duncan MacDougall, of the 900 merks whereof 360 merks belongs to me, you shall give to Alexander the sum of 330 resting by my Bond which he is to get. Together with an Assignment from the late Bishop Scogie's relict and her daughter's Curator, to a registered Bond wherein I am caution for 200 merks for John Carswell. Together also with a Discharge of a ticket resting by myself to the said Bishop, of £45 Scots or thereby you shall give also to Dougall Campbell my brother £20 Scots which compleats the said 360 merks. In witness whereof I have submitted these presents at Edinburgh the 3rd of March 1683.

A. Campbell of Inverawe

Edinburgh 21st March 1683

Received from Alexander Campbell the forsaid £20 Scots paid to me, Dougall Campbell.⁵⁷

Original spelling:

Memorandum ffor Alexr Campbell

That of the precept drawne be Lanlon upon [blank] wich is in yor hands payable to me and Duncan McDugull of nyne nyndreth mrks qof three hunreth and sextie merks belongs to me Ye shall give to [blank] Alexr the soume of Three Hundreth and threttei mrks resting by my bond which he are to get w [? in] Together with ane assignation from the late Bishops Scogies[?] relict and her daughters curator to ane regrat bond qrin I am cation for two Hundreth mrks for John Carsuall Together also with a discharge of a ticket resting be my self to the sd Bish: of ffourtie ffyve pundis scots or theby Yee shall give also to Dugall Campbell my brother twentie pundis Scots qch compleits the sd three hundreth and sextie merks In witness qrof I have subt these prits at Edr the 3d March M vy c & Eightie three yeris

A Campbell of Inveraw

Edr 21 March 1683 Receaved from Alexr Campbell the fords twentie pundis Scots

P me

D^{all} Campbell

John Carswell was likely a distant cousin, a descendant of John Carswell, Bishop of the Isles and builder of Carnassarie, whose daughter Christian was Archibald of Inverawe's great-grandmother. The bishop had died in 1670-72. 'My brother Dougall' appears repeatedly in

Inverawe's correspondance. He would later be Breadalbane's Bailie of Nether Lorne, based at the old stronghold of Ardmaddy, and would still later buy Nether Rhudil in Glassary and then Shirvan, then just south of Kilmartin. His descendants the Graham-Campbells would later move Shirvan to the coast at Castleton, south of Lochgilphead.

While on the one hand Archibald of Inverawe had been gaining what he could of lands along the upper arm of Loch Etive, and Glen Etive, he now had Wadset or gave a lease to purchase,

like a mortgage, of the one merkland of Drumachoise in Glen Etive to James Stewart of Fasnacloch and his wife Isobel with their younger son Duncan. Drumachoise is on the western side of the upper arm of Loch Etive, just north of the head of the loch. The document was signed on the 22nd of May 1683. A witness was John Stewart, fear [heir] of Fasnacloch and Duncan Stewart's elder brother. This appears to have been a means of setting up the younger son Duncan Stewart with some land on which he could live. Fasnacloch lies northwest over the high ridges from Drumachoise.⁵⁸

The deal on Drumachoise may have raised some funds towards Inverawe's interest in buying a tenement in the old town of Inveraray. In those days a 'tenement' was not always an existing building, but could simply mean a plot on which to build. Being under threat of forfeiture due to his loyalty to Argyll, he may have seen it useful to have an alternative dwelling, should his lands and houses be taken from him. Similar actions were taken by his descendants under threat in Zimbabwe in the early 21st century. In Archibald's case, the Deed of Sale was dated on the 21st of July 1683. This was done at Inveraray by Donald MacOlvorie [like MacGillivry] Provost of Inveraray, and others, concerning a tenement in Inveraray to pass into the hands of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe. The witnesses were Dougall Campbell, cousin to Archibald, and Dougall Campbell, Archibald's half-brother [Dougall later of Shirvan]. The cousin Dougall may have been he of the Barnalian family who became a soldier and then made a fortune in London and was known in the family as Captain Dougall the merchant.⁵⁹

There was little doubt that the continued payments from Duntroon for Mary McNeill gave Archibald leverage he would not otherwise have had. Nine days later, on the 30th, Archibald was writing to his first cousin Breadalbane on the subject of a bargain with Campbell of Lochnell.⁶⁰

The following year, on the 13th of May 1683, Inverawe was given Sasine of the lands of Cruachan, Barmaddie and others on Loch Awe, based upon the Charter granted by Argyll on the 18th of October 1681. Donald Campbell of Drumdarroch was bailie and Alexander Campbell of Kilmartin was a witness.⁶¹ This Cruachan, not the three high peaks, was on a shelf of hill on the northwest side of Lochawe about half way down the loch and just south of Barnalian. Although Inverawe was in a precarious position because he held his lands from Argyll and not directly from the Crown, these normal processes continued. During Archibald's father's life, under similar circumstances of the forfeiture of the Marquess of Argyll, the King had eventually stated that those with grants from Argyll should be left in place. Yet now, with Argyll in exile and his lands now forfeit, the situation of those who held from Argyll was unclear.

In 1684 the government, hearing of the Earl of Argyll's plotting in Holland with Monmouth for a Protestant invasion, appointed the Marquess of Atholl to be Lieutenant and Sheriff of Argyll. He was given orders to march there immediately with a strong force and to occupy the County. To finance the venture he was given 'the gift and tack of the houses, parks, and mill of Inveraray.' Atholl marched into Argyll with about 1,000 Highlanders. He apprehended several who were suspected of treasonable correspondence with Argyll. The Earl's brother, Lord Neil Campbell at Ardmaddy, was required to pledge himself to remain faithful to the government.

'Atholl's instructions were to arrest several leading Campbells, including Ardkinglas, Ellangreg, Inverawe, Barbreck and Dunstaffnage – and Cameron of Glendessary. He was to disarm the disaffected, demolish the castles and examine the indulged presbyterian ministers, to find pretexts for withdrawing their licenses. In August [1684], he entered Argyllshire without opposition. Ardkinglas was arrested for supplying Argyll with money, and the ministers were silenced, but Atholl acted with moderation. Rather than try other suspects and make them desperate with sentences he had no authority to commute, he gave them bond to appear before the Council. He collected weapons from the militia and the disaffected, but unsuccessfully suggested to the Committee that the country people should be allowed to keep their arms. He obtained the heritor's promise to support the Inveraray garrison (but in the event had to pay for it himself) and demolished no castles as yet. Then he returned, leaving Steuart of Ballechin as his deputy with a small force.'⁶²

In fact, Archibald of Inverawe was a first cousin of the Earl of Atholl whose mother had been a sister of Inverawe's mother. Both ladies were daughters of 'black' Sir Duncan of Glenorchy. Nevertheless, Archibald was arrested with Ardkinglas and appears to have been spending his days in the Tollbooth at Inveraray. However his brother Duncan evidently had access to him, for Archibald was able to sign papers on the 26th of August. Given the uncertain nature of the time, and his own position, having no son and heir of his own, Archibald gave a Disposition to Duncan Campbell his full brother, of the lands of Inverawe and others. That was dated on the 26th of August 1684. It was followed by Sasine of the 15th of September that year. Some reservations survive as outlined in the Sasine which followed. Duncan's son Archie may well still have been Inverawe's servitor or assistant.

Meanwhile, on the 31st of August the Marquess of Atholl was at Inveraray from where he wrote to the Earl of Breadalbane. The latter had evidently been pressing for the release of Inverawe and Lochnell who must have been imprisoned upon Atholl's invasion. Archibald's wife was safely taking refuge in the little tower house in the castle of Fraoch Eilean. Atholl's line reads: 'and as for McKonachie he hath gotten liberty already and if Lochnell desyre it, he shall have it also.'⁶³

Returning to the grant of Inverawe lands by Archibald to his brother Duncan, that was with the reservation 'that if it shall please God to bless the said Archibald with any son of this or any other marriage, then the said Duncan by acceptance of this Disposition shall be obliged to denude himself of his right to the said lands in favour of the said son and heir; and reserving the liferent of Mary McNeill, spouse to the said Archibald.' The witnesses included John Campbell, brother of Archibald and Duncan. Duncan's son was the ultimate heir of those then living. He was also named Archibald, so that to avoid confusion he will

here be called 'Archie.' He was likely now aged about fourteen and would later appear to have been attending his uncle Inverawe as his Servitor or assistant.⁶⁴

Due to the amount of cattle rustling taking place by the Macleans and MacDonalDs who had taken advantage of Argyll's arrest to go out and plunder, Atholl instituted a list of approved drovers who were allowed to move beasts about Argyll to the trysts or fairs. Some of these were MacConnochie. One was Patrick Campbell in Inverawe, a natural brother of Archibald of Inverawe. Another was his cousin Patrick, son of Alexander of Achouran on Lismore. Inverawe's full brother Duncan was another, later known as Duncan of Crunachy.⁶⁵

Charles II died on the 6th of February 1685. This meant that his brother, the Catholic James Duke of York, succeeded to the crown as James VII & II. This event caused Monmouth and Argyll and their colleagues in Holland to decide that the time had come to invade Britain for the Protestant cause.

Leaving the Netherlands, Argyll set sail and rounded the north of Scotland. On Friday and Saturday the 15th and 16th of May 1685, his fleet sailed down the Sound of Mull. They passed Duart, but no shot was fired at them by the garrison.

'When, therefore, Argyll's ships arrived off Dunstaffnage Castle ...and landed his son Charles to call out the clan, there was no leader to organize local opposition. The obvious candidate, Macdougall of Dunollie, had just died, almost a hint from Providence to exploit the opportunity. Instead, representatives were elected for a council. Certainly, the news that Argyll's son Charles Campbell brought was disappointing. A dozen potential supporters, such as Campbell of Dunstaffnage and Campbell (MacConnochie) of Inverawe, had been detained in Edinburgh [in fact in Inveraray for Inverawe]. Others even refused to see Argyll. One source alleges that Campbell of Lochnell promised to join, then sent Argyll's letters to the Council. Certainly by 26 May he was in Ardnamurchan raising men for Atholl and complaining that Lochiel was claiming them as his followers. Argyll's lowland colleagues were contemptuous of the result, and Argyll was dismayed. Yet the haphazard government detentions often weakened their own side. Most of Inverawe's men joined his cousin Breadalbane.' [For this last, see Hopkins p.103 note 133]⁶⁶ In fact, as we have seen, Inverawe was imprisoned by Atholl in the Tollbooth at Inveraray.

Argyll's fleet then sailed south and anchored in the Sound of Islay. But the Marquis of Atholl's forces had already occupied the island. Argyll moved to attack Atholl's men by night, but found they had fled to Kintyre. Only eighty Islay men came forward to join Argyll, the lands being Campbell of Cawdor's and held from the Crown rather than from Argyll. Cawdor's men were 'lusty, tall and handsome men' but few of them appeared the next day, however further efforts produced three companies to go over with Argyll to Kintyre.⁶⁷

'Ironically, Breadalbane who violently demanded that order should be restored, was one of the first sufferers. His, Lochnell's and Inverawe's men were found guilty of carrying off a fellow Campbell's cows. They protested that the real raiders, Macdonalds, returning through their lands, had also plundered them, and that their tenants had recovered a mixture of their own and other people's cattle, while half the rest was carried to Glencoe, half to Brae-Lochaber.¹³¹ Lochnell and Inverawe must anyway have had uneasy relations with other

Campbells after their men joined the forces which ravaged the shire, even though his loyalty gave Breadalbane power to influence the government in favour of the gentry detained . . . The division now may partly explain why Lochnell and Inverawe followed Breadalbane into Jacobite plotting in 1689.⁶⁸

On Wednesday the 20th of May Argyll's fleet crossed to Kintyre and landed at Campbeltown where a 'Declaration' was read at the market cross.⁶⁹ A week later, on the 27th of May Argyll's fleet sailed north and arrived at Tarbert where they were met by Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck and the earl's younger son Charles with about 1,200 men, which brought up their forces to about 2,500 horse and foot.⁷⁰ On that same day, John Campbell of Glenorchy, no longer Earl of Caithness but now Earl of Breadalbane, was at Kilchurn in opposition to Argyll, whom he no doubt hoped to succeed. He sent word to Atholl that he had issued orders to take control of all the boats on Loch Awe. He reckoned there were eighteen to twenty to be collected, either at Kilchurn, at Innischonnel or at Fraoch Eilean where Archibald of Inverawe's wife Mary McNeill was secured.⁷¹

In June Argyll's army was ferried from Tarbert to Bute, with Charles disgracing himself by commanding troops who looted and burned. He was sent to recruit in Cowal with little effect, being attacked there, although he and his men escaped to their boats. Some escaped to Ellan Gheirig, an island in Loch Riddon [later owned by Gen. Peter Campbell of Southall, a cousin of Inverawe] that Argyll had chosen as his base. The castle there was used to store munitions and was destroyed when the Royal Navy later blew up the place.. Argyll next shipped his forces to Castle Toward on the mainland but considered strengthening Ellan Gherig as a site for stores.⁷²

A letter was sent on the 14th of June 1685 to John Earl of Breadalbane from the presently governing 'Secret Committee.' They had responded to a request from Archibald of Inverawe to allow him liberty to sell his cows for his maintenance 'if the recipient thinks it expedient.' This seems curiously out of touch with what was going on further south, but shows that Inverawe was not about to be recruited in support of the Earl of Argyll. Inverawe was again in the Tollbooth prison at Inveraray and would petition Atholl himself before long.

My Lord,

Maconochie of Inveraw represents that most of his people have joined yr Lop as shall his brothers [that] are not wt yow and desyrs liberty on surty, and that his kows may be allowed to be sold for his maintenance, weve judge this reasonable but most to add grants to what you judge expedient and we will give permission or not as you presume, we are of hearing from you and are, My lord

affectionate

4 afternoon

humble servants

Queensberry, Perth, Tarbert

It is writ for certainty that the D of Monmouth is gone about the North of Scotland wt a ship of 32 guns and another lesser one etc.⁷³

Monmouth's Rebellion did not go well, either for Monmouth in the south or Argyll in the north. On the 18th of June Argyll was captured after crossing the Clyde and taken prisoner to Glasgow. Two days later he was taken to Edinburgh.⁷⁴

As mentioned, on the 29th Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and other prisoners in the Tolbooth of Inveraray, petitioned the Marquis of Atholl to give them a pass to Edinburgh to sell their cattle. Passes were granted by the Governor, and one also provided for Patrick Campbell, brother of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe. Patrick was not a full brother but a natural son of Archibald's father Dougall.⁷⁵

Then, in Edinburgh, Archibald 9th Earl of Argyll was executed by use of The Maiden guillotine in Edinburgh on Tuesday the 1st of July 1685.⁷⁶

In the aftermath of Argyll's execution and the effective forfeiture of the lands of Argyll, those holding from Argyll were required to produce their Charters and other writs. Inverawe must have sent his to his cousin Alexander in Edinburgh who produced a list of them that October of 1685. It is worth noticing that none are earlier than 1630. The earlier Inverawe and Fraoch Eilean documents were possibly burnt in the destruction of Fraoch Eilean in the 1570s.

Note by Alexander Campbell, Merchant in Edinburgh, of papers produced by Archibald Campbell of Inverawe:

(docketed Octbr 1685) Not of papers produced be Ard Campbell of Inveraw

1. Charter, late Earl of Agyll to said Archibald, of Inverawe, Drumchoise, Achacharn, Branrie &c., dated 30 Sept; 1688 [?]
2. Instrument of Sasine thereon (Neill Zuill, notary), 1 & 4 July 1673
3. Charter of resignation, said late Earl to said Archibald, of Kilmartin, Glencaverane, fernoch & Lagan & others, 30 May 1674
4. Instrument of sasine thereon (Alexander Zuill, notary), 8 June 1674
5. Charter of excambion, said late Earl with consent of Lord Lorne to said Archibald, of Crouchan & Arivodonich &c., 18 October 1681
6. Sasine following (not date given)
7. Charter of confirmation under the Great Seal of foresaid charters 1 February 1678 (marginal note, to Cha: Oliphant this 23 July 87)
8. Disposition by Donald McIlvorie 83 to Ard Campbell of Inverawe of ane Contract betwixt the sd Donald & Lord Lorne 1630 of houses in Inverary & accre.⁷⁷

On the 11th of November Archibald Campbell of Inverawe wrote again to Alexander Campbell, merchant in Edinburgh and his agent. He wrote from Inveraray. Argyll was still under Atholl's occupation. His letter is full of evidence of the solidarity of the surviving MacConnochie kin.

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Inveraray 11th November 1685

Affectionate Cousin,

I have [probably 'returned'] my papers to you with the key of the Coffers so I have written to John Campbell of Succoth to call for them when he sees fit if need be. I have instructed Succoth also to keep the Viscount of Strathallan, General to his Majesty's Forces in mind to see when ever his Lordship thinks fit I go to Edinburgh. So let you keep Succoth in mind to speak to his Lordship from time to time, and if need be give you some money to Succoth if advocates must appear for me and [Campbell of] Stronchormaig and [all?] the [Campbell of Achouran?] and [Campbell of] Fanans and I shall pay you. Let me know what you hear from [cousin] Dougall or anything else.

Present my respects to your bedfellow.

Your affectionate cousin

A. Campbell of Inveraw

Write on the back of Dougall's letter where he may be found at London.⁷⁸

[Original spelling]:

Affectionat Coossn

Invery 11 nobr 1685

I have retiend my peapers to you wt the ky of the Coffe so I have wrytten to John Campbell of Sockich to call for them qn he sies fit of nied bies. I have instructed Sockich [Campbell of Succoth?] also to kiep the vicount of Strathallan grll to his majestys forces in mynd to sie qn ever his Lo/ thinks fit I go to Edr so lett you kiep Sockich in mynd to speak to his Lo/ from tym to tym, & if nied bies give ye som mony to Sockich if advocats most compear for me & Stronchormick, & [?a]ll the [Achouran?] & phanans [Campbell of Fanans] & I shall pay you let me knuo qt ye hear from Dugall or any thing els

Present my respects to yr bedfello

Yr affectonat Coosy

A Campbell of Inveraw

Wryt on the back of Dugald letr qr he may be found at London⁷⁹

'Cousin Dougall' was Captain Dougall Campbell, one of the younger sons of the Barnalian family from Lochawe. He had worked in an office as a clerk as a boy and later been in the army, possibly in the Dutch Service, and was then a merchant in London where he had considerable success. Late in life he would marry a daughter of Viscount Grandison, widow of Skinner Byde, but they left no children. He would present the memorial silver cups to Inverawe, Kilmartin and Shirvan and leave a considerable fortune that was meticulously assigned to a wide range of members of the family and charities, including the education of 'poor boys' of the Inverawe kindred and the assistance of any of the poor of the family.

The author of the life of the 9th Earl of Argyll, outlined the effect of the attempted Protestant coup now generally known as 'Monmouth's Rebellion':

'The suppression of the rebellion which Argyll had raised was attended with comparatively little bloodshed, so far as the regular administration of justice was concerned. The Highlanders who had taken part in it were regarded as having been in

a measure obliged by their tenures to obey their chief. ... Yet many perished from starvation and disease in the loathsome prisons into which they were crowded, and numbers [were] sent overseas as slaves to the plantations. The Earl's sons, John and Charles, who had shared in the rebellion, were sentenced to death, but this sentence was commuted to banishment with forfeiture of all rights and property. Lord Neil Campbell, the Earl's brother ... in obtaining his liberty took refuge for a time in New England [in fact in New Jersey].

'But although the Government should be credited with comparative lenity in dealing with the rebels, many atrocities were perpetrated in Argyllshire upon members of clan Campbell who had aided their chief in his fruitless attempt. The persons responsible for this were the Duke of Gordon, the Marquess of Atholl and the Earl of Breadalbane. Thus we read of twenty-two or twenty-three persons, some of whom had surrendered under promises of quarter and protection, being put to death, and of an express being sent from the Privy Council forbidding further bloodshed, which is said to have been very unwillingly obeyed. Carnassery Castle, the residence of Sir Duncan Campbell [of Auchinbreck], was defended by his friends tenants for some time but was surrendered on honourable conditions. These, however, were violated, and the house was pillaged and burned. For thirty miles around Inveraray the country was laid waste, and in order to ruin it effectually, parties were sent to pull down houses, to break millstones, to destroy fruit-trees and to stave in boats and to burn fishing-nets. So shameful were their actions that the Government marked its displeasure at them by depriving Atholl of the Lord-Lieutenancy of the county.'⁸⁰

In the midst of all these events, Neill Campbell of Duntroon valiantly continued to produce the payments for the lady Inveraw's jointure. Archibald gave him a Discharge on the 25th of May 1686 for the jointure of 1685. The paper was dated at Tirvine on Lochawe, the best of the sparse Inverawe arable farmland for growing oats.⁸¹

The Campbells at Achacha in Benderloch were struggling. Like Kilmartin, their lands were held through Inverawe. Whether they were themselves MacConnochies is not clear, but seems almost certain. Archibald was able to help out his kinsman there on the 19th of June when Donald Campbell, then living at Knipoch on Loch Feochan in Lorn and full brother to John Campbell of Achacha in Benderloch, borrowed the considerable sum of £100 [presumably Scots] and gave him a Bond.⁸²

Next year, on the 10th of February 1687, Archibald of Inverawe was again writing to Alexander Campbell the Merchant, his agent in Edinburgh. Again, he was at Tirvine. Although the fashion for wigs was changing, Archibald preferred the old full style. Few could afford a wig so that the wearing of one gave an air of authority, plus it is likely that Archibald was balding. Later, in 1687, Inverawe wrote for 'ane perjoke either short or long as you get it, only of brown hair.' And then in 1693, his brother Dougall would be writing to Alexander for a wig, seemingly of the new fashion, 'one fair little periwig of a roundabout for myself.'

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Tirvine 10th February 1687

Affectionate Cousin,

Having this occasion I wish you to speak to John Campbell of Succoth and Mr. Colin MacKean[?] to see if there be any of the affairs of the Councils of the Shire to be in hand except these that are forfeited, and write to me with the boy I have sent. That like peruke you sent for [me], it will do me no good. It's so little and short and too little hair on it. I have sent a dollar to buy another if it [can] be gotten exchanged, if not buy another and acquaint me what it costs and I shall send it with the first occasion.

Naught else but my respects to you and your bedfellow.

I rest,

Your affectionate Cousin

A. Campbell of Inverawe

If 'black Colin' [Campbell] of Clenamacrie's brother be not in town, give my letter to Colin Campbell of Carwhin with six merks four shillings Scots and get his answer to my boy.

If that 'black Colin' nor Colin Campbell Captain Colin's son be not there, break open his letter [from me] to send to the Captain's lady and [seal]ing me her letter with our account.

[Addressed: Alexander Campbell, Merchant in Edinburgh.]⁸³

[Original spelling]:

Affectionat Coussin

Tirvin 10 feby 1687

Having this ocan I wish ye to speak to John Campbell of Sockich & Mr Collin M^cKeyin[?] to sie if ther be any of the affairs of the Cossalls [Councils] of the shyr to be in hand except thes tht ar firfault & wryt to me wt the boy I have sent[.] tht like piruick ye sent for it wil do me no good its so little & short & to little hair in it[.] I have sent ane dollar to buy ane other if it be gotten exchynged if not buy ane other & aquent me qt it soces & I shall send it wt the firt occa'n[.] not els bot my respects to your & yr bedfellow

I rest

Yr affectionat

Coussin

A. Campbell of Inverawe

If black Collin [Campbell of] Cleanimackry his brothr be not in toun give my lr to Collin Campbell of Corechuin [Carwhin] wt sex mrks four shillig Scots & get his ansuer to the boy[.]

If tht black Collin nor Collin Campbell captan Collins son be not ther brack up his letter to send to the Captans lady and [seal]ing me hir lr wt yr compt

[addressed: ffor Alxr Campbell merchant at edr]⁸⁴

This letter makes clear Archibald's continued concern about the status of the forfeiture and whether there were any developments on that score. When he mentions 'the boy' or 'my boy' he is referring to the 'runner' who delivered his letter. These were fit young men who

were perforce honest, trustworthy and athletic. They would often be on the road and were clearly valued members of the household or community. An 18th century illustration of one by Paul Sandby shows him barefooted and between 16 and 18 years in age.

A month later, on the 14th of March 1687, Archibald was again writing to Alexander in Edinburgh, but this time from Inverawe:

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Affectionate Cousin,

I would send the annualrent of Wellwoods but that I had no money here, this boy being in haste, but let the Discharge be kept and I'll send it. Be pleased to deliver my Charter and Sasine and Confirmation to the lands of Inverawe to John Campbell of Succoth when he requires it, for I sold to the Laird of Lochnell the three merk land of Achacharne [Benderloch or Glenleiver?] that a Disposition may be written to him by Succoth, and get back the writs as he has done and keep them with the rest. And get the Sasine I sent that I did give my brother Duncan and give it to Succoth with the rest of the papers and [then] lay it up with them again. I entreat you send me some peruke either short or long as you get it, only of brown hair. I spoke to Dunstaffnage's lady about the money and it will be sent so soon as she can. If I thought you did not keep a War house I would not send it. Let me hear from you. I rest,

Your affectionate cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe

Receipt my memorandum for seeds with thirty shillings Scots money to buy the worth of it for seeds.⁸⁵

[Original spelling]:

Inveraw 14 March 1687

Affectionat Coossin

I would send the annualrent of Walwods bot tht I had no mony hier this boy being in haist bot let the discharge be kepted & Ile send it, be pleased to delyver my chartour & Seasine & Confirmation to the Lands of Inveraw to John Campbell of Sockich qn he requires it for I sold to the Laird of Lochnell the three merk land of Achecharn tht ane disposition may be written to him be Sockich & got back the wrychts as he hes doon & kiep them wt the rest, & get the Seasin I send tht I did give my brothr Duncan & give it in to Sockich wt the rest of the peapers & lay it uup wt them again I entreat ye send me som peruick other short or long as ye get it, only of broun hair I spoak dunstaffnes lady anent the mony & it will be sent so soon as she canif I thocht ye did not kiep ane War hous I would not desre it let me hear from you I rest

Yr affectionat Coussin

A Campbell of Inve[torn]

Reseate my memorandum for sids wt thretty shilling scots of mony to buy the worth of it of sieds.

A 'War house' was presumably a secure house. Archibald of Inverawe would struggle over having those in Edinburgh process his Charters and other papers. This process was

presumably required due to Argyll's forfeiture, so that the Crown knew who owned what as grants from the successive members of the Argyll dynasty for the lands that were now all in Crown hands. As to the 'annualrent' owed to Wellwood and Walker in Dunfermline, negotiations over this debt were drawn out by Inverawe since he clearly found it unfair in some way. The business would not be finally settled until 1696. There would be further 'annualrents' later from lands that 'cousin Dougall' in London had bought. These had to be collected from the Bailie of Muckiarn, Cawdor's agent Donald Campbell, and sent to Alexander in Edinburgh for transmission to London. Both these 'annualrents' would prove to be an irritation to Archibald of Inverawe.

Inverawe's attempts to be sent a suitable wig or peruke 'only of broun hair' suggest that his own hair was originally brown. He is clearly not so fussy about style, only about quality. Since he was now only in his early fifties, his own hair may not yet have turned grey. Numerous 17th and early 18th century portraits show the full wig that would have been in style at the time.

Archibald's next letter to Alexander, ten days later on the 24th of March, was written from Breadalbane's castle of Kilchurn at the northeastern end of Loch Awe. He must have been ailing in some way, or hung over, since the letter was written by a scribe and Inverawe's signature is shaky. The proposed transfer of land was not straightforward. Alexander Campbell of Lochnell and Archibald of Inverawe were clearly colleagues and trusted each other. What appears to have been the situation was that the family at Achacharne were in debt and needed to sell. Perhaps Archibald wanted to keep MacConnochie lands like Achacharne in Benderloch [not the one in Inverliever] in the family, but he may have been inhibited from buying the place himself, possibly due to being in a position of trust with the family, such as Tutor to the heir. This is not clear.

But what Inverawe proposed to Lochnell, and Lochnell evidently agreed, was that the lands should be sold to Lochnell but then bought back by Archibald of Inverawe, plus some further lands in Glen Etive. Although John Campbell of Achacharne in Benderloch is called 'of Achacharne,' it would seem as though he must owe Archibald, perhaps for a Wadset of the place. Again, the letter was written by a scribe at Kilchurn and signed by Archibald with a shaky hand.

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Castle Kilchurn March 24th 1687

Affectionate Cousin,

Lochnell and I have written to Mr. Robert and Succoth to cause draw up a Disposition by me and Duncan to Lochnell, of the lands of Achacharne, conform to the Minute [of contract] sent. And I entreat of new you [re]mind them [meaning 'once again'] of it that it may be sent home by the bearer. I have also sent you my Disposition to my brother [Duncan] with the bearer which you would produce with the Sasine and my other writs and Conformation, if called for. And so soon as the Disposition is drawn [up], return this Disposition and Sasine thereon to me by the bearer. If Mr. Robert cannot attend [to] this you would return the Letters and Minute sent before with the Disposition and Sasine, that we may cause draw the writs here. Yet I had rather have it done there if possible, so I recommend to you to be urging with Mr. Robert. This is all at present from

Your affectionate
Cousin,
A. Campbell of Inverawe

[Signature of Archibald, very shaky]

[Annotated: April 13th Returned the disposition & seasing wth Jno McAllans brother]⁸⁶

[*Original spelling*]:

Castlekelchourn March 24 1687

Affectionat Coosing

Lochnell and I hes written to Mr Robert and sockoch to cuase draw ane Disposition be me and Duncan To Lochinell of the Lands of Achacharn conform to the Minutt sent And I intreat of new ye mynd them of it that it may be sent home by the bearer I have also sent you my Disposition to my brother with the bearer qch ye would produce with the seassine & my other wrights & confirmation if called for And soe soon as the Disposition is dawn return this disposition and seassine theron to me by the bearer Iff Mr Robert cannot attend this ye would return us the Letters & Minutt sent befor with the disposition & seassine that we may cause draw the wrytts hier. Yet I had rather have it done their if possible soe I Recommend to you to be urging with Mr Robert This is all at pntt from

Yor affectionat

Coosing

A Campbell of Inverawe

[Signature of Archibald, very shaky]

[Annotated: April 13th Returned the disposition & seasing wth Jno McAllans brothr]⁸⁷

About the middle of April 1687 Inverawe wrote again to Alexander in Edinburgh about the account with Wellwood and Walker in Dunfermline. Who Michael 'ruadh' and Col. Millar were is currently not known to the writer.

[*Tanslation to modern spelling*]:

Regard the enclosed account and speak to Wellwod & Walker [in Dunfermline] to see if you can get the forty pounds that I am asking off his five hundred this year. ...merks I owe and if I can get it I'll pay him his principal at the term, viz. at Candlemass next. You may ask that at Candlemass [I get] an account also. But if I get only the forty pounds down off the principal, I'd pay the cost. And I am sure you were never more penny worthy than I for it. Send me Michael Roy's son's bond that I sent you to convey [and] register. Send it with Col. Miller if it is registered now. If you have your brother Dougall's bond against me, I may pay it off his annualrent. And let me know what you heard last from Dougall, and what all you her in particular of Lord Lorn. And get Wellwood's decision on his annual rent [that was] sent in Candlemass last....

Your affectionate cousin A Campbell of Inverawe

Since my brother writes to me that you say he did not send those papers [belonging] to Donald Mor ... in Inveraray, it is likely that he did not remember ...

you will find most of my papers and [those of Campbell of] Fanans in this bag...sent to me.⁸⁸

[Original spelling]:

Affectionat Coosing

Forteen April

1687

Regard ye inclosed compt & speak to Walwood & Walker to see if ye can get ye ad forty pound yt I am [asking?] of his fyve hunder this year ... merks I owe & if I get it at Ile pay him his principall at the term, viz at Candle[mass?]nixt, ye may crave that in yt Candlemas ane acct... also, bot if I got bot ye forty pund down of ye principall I'd pay ye cost, & I am sure you was never worse peny worthy nor I had for it, Let you send me Mikell Roy son's bound [bond] that I sent you to [convey?] either at ... send it Ill bot [medle?] yt it be regrat now, If ye have yr broyer Dougall's bond against me yt I may pay gt ... of his annualrent, & let me know qn ye heard last from Dougall, & qt ... all you hear & in particular of Lord Lorn & let you get Welwoods desyring for his annualrent sent the Candlemas last, Not anyr [torn] the ... mony sent me that compt

Yr affectionat Coosing

A Campbell of Inveraw

[Syne?] my broyer wryts to me that ye says he did not send of thet peapers [belonging?] to Donel More... in Inveraray its lyke he did not remember at fifty and [distance?] that nor sent in .. rest... send over ... have forgotten to Mr. Jager... nor yt at Edr my Coosing to find any ... of all men's peapers yt I sent [hour?] & to snd off... them all out of yr [torn] in hes ... [instudys?] for he pleases...[torn] to the Clerks & ...ye mony my Coffe[r] [reposes?]agenst yr .

Ye will ffind in that most of my peapers & of Phanans's Peapers in this bag... sent to me.⁸⁹

'Donald mor' was likely Campbell in Achacha / Achacharne in Benderloch. Archibald's interest in Lord Lorn was to know whether he would have his lands restored by the Crown. The potential 10th Earl of Argyll was working every angle of influence to retrieve his patrimony. 'Your brother Dougall' was again the one who would be Captain Dougall Campbell, merchant in London. When he came to either position is not clear. But Inverawe owed him money on a Bond, and 'I may pay it off his annual rent' suggests that Dougall owed rent to Inverawe for some land. Archibald of Inverawe was also sending the papers of Campbell of Fanans 'in this bag.' Their place is just up river and on the other bank from Inverawe, it would have been a small farm community in the mouth of the Pass of Bander opposite Crunachy.

The origins of the Campbells of Fanans (sometimes spelt Phanans) are not clear, but their regular interaction with the MacConnochie kindred, being witnesses or curators to them, leaves a suspicion that they were also of that family. And now Inverawe is dealing with their papers. His paternal aunt Eithne (pronounced Eyna) had married Alexander, eldest son and heir to Ewen of Fanans, in 1630.⁹⁰ Alexander had died by the end of January 1648.⁹¹ Their son Archibald of Fanans succeeded and gave Bonds for securing the peace in 1683 and 1684 when his cautioners were Duncan, brother to Inverawe, and Duncan of Stronchormaig.⁹²

By the 2nd of May 1687 the needed documents for the deal over Achacharne were to hand, and the Disposition to Alexander Campbell of Lochnell was signed by Inverawe's brother Duncan, transferring to Lochnell the three merkland of Achacharne in Benderloch. The fact of Duncan acting for Archibald suggests that Archibald was still ailing in some way. The Sasine followed on the 5th of May, when Lochnell was given the handful of earth and stone on the land. The witnesses were John, Inverawe and Duncan's full brother, and their half brother Dougall, later Bailie of Nether Lorn and ultimately of Shirvan.⁹³

Two days later, on the 5th of May, Lochnell made a Disposition of the three merkland of Achacharne back to Archibald of Inverawe, plus the two merkland of Inverkinglas on Loch Etive in the parish of Baliveodan, now Ardchattan, under redemption, upon payment to him of the principal sum of 3,000 merks. Sasine was given to Inverawe on various days from the 5th to the 18th of May. The witnesses were John Campbell, cousin of Inverawe, and another cousin [although not stated as such], Colin Campbell of Inveresragan, the place just northwest over Loch Etive from Inverawe. John, now in his mid forties, was likely the son of Inverawe's uncle Patrick, who had been brother of Lt. Col. Dougall of Inverawe and was killed at Inverlochry. His mother's Gaelic lament survives, as does the legend Patrick's saving her from the plague. John had a tack of Aros on Mull.⁹⁴

Later that month on the 28th of May, Inverawe was again writing to his cousin and agent Alexander Campbell, Merchant in Edinburgh from Inverawe. He must have recovered, since his hand writing is his own and the signature firm again:

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Inverawe 28th May 1687

Affectionate Cousin,

I am hearing that it were likely that the production of the Vassal's Right would be over again at Edinburgh the first of June next, so I have written to Succoth and Mr. Colin McKean[?] to be attentive about it so I expect you will [re]mind them. And let you acquaint me in the meantime what is likely to be done in it, or of anything you hear of the Shire's affairs. I am very pressing about that account of Dunstaffnage's relict but it is likely no money can be got until Martinmass. I could not trust the bearer with these annualrents of your brother's and your own. I rest,

Yr. affectionate

Cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe

I have sent five shillings Sterling to get a little glass of Fountain's eye water, sold at Mr. Blackwood's at Edinburgh.⁹⁵

[Original spelling]

Inveraw 28 May 1687

Affectionat Coossin

I am Hearing that it wer lyke tht the production of the vassals richt would be over again at edr the first of Jun nixt so I have written to Sockich & Mr Collin M^cKeyin[?] to be tentative anent it so I expect ye will mynd them & lett you aquent me in the mean tym qt is lyk to be doon in it or of any thing ye hear of the shyres affairs

I am very pressing anent tht compt of dunstaffnes relict bot its lyk no money can be
got till martinmus I could not trust the bearer wt thes anualrents of yr brothrs & yr
selfe I rest

Yr affectionat

Coossing

A Campbell of Inveraw

I have sent five shilling sterling to get ane little Glasse of ffuntans ey water sold at Mr
blackwoods at edr.⁹⁶

The eye water, presumably a soothing salve, suggests that Archibald's scrawl may have been partly due to poor eyesight or some infliction of the eyes. His mention of not being able to trust the bearer suggests that he may have had a new boy messenger, or one sent with papers or letters to him and whom he does not know well enough and so hesitates to trust.

'Messengers' or 'Boys' may rarely have carried cash, more often notes of Bonds, what would now be called an 'IOU.' The hill tracks on which they ran in those days before military roads attracted those who might exploit an easy target.

The repeated mention of 'Sockoch' in Archibald's letters about his papers in Edinburgh, presumably refers to Campbell of Succoth, a family from the Dunbretan area. (now spelt 'Dumbarton'). John Campbell of Succoth, 4th of that place, had succeeded to the lands in 1665 when he came of age, although his father had died in 1658. He did well in the field of law in Edinburgh, and had married Janet Hamilton in 1670. When she died in 1675, he married as his second wife Agnes, daughter of William Stirling of Law. Looking towards his retirement in the west, in this year of 1687 he was negotiating the purchase of the house and lands of Garscube on the sylvan banks of the river Kelvin, northwest of Glasgow.

Around the fifth of June in that same year of 1687, Inverawe was again writing to Alexander in Edinburgh. 'Candlemas' was the Catholic Feast of the Purification of the Virgin on the 2nd of February and, with Michaelmas, Martinmas and Whitsunday, persisted as 'term days' in the Scots legal calendar of the year. The Michael 'ruadh' and Col. Miller whom he mentions were the same he had mentioned on the 14th of April that year. The 'production' of the papers of Stronchormraig, Fanans and Achouran, clarifies the continued unity of the MacConnochie kindred and Archibald of Inverawe's leadership in matters affecting them all. Kilmartin would not have been included since at this point he held his lands from Inverawe.

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Affectionate Cousin,

Inverawe 5th June
1687

I wrote to Mr. John Campbell that you had produced my proposals and Stronchormraig's and Fanan's and Achouran's [papers], so if he lets you know, you are to go with him to the Clerk who marked them with the necessary year. If it is not already done, I entreat you to send me Donald McNockard's Commission [or] else I'll lose ... it so send it with the bearer. I sent you nine and a half dollars that you asked for the production of the writs with Ardchattan ... two year's annualrent of Wellwood's money and has gone off ... for Dunstaffnage which close, and what more you spent about the production shall be given when you acquaint me what it is current you write in your first letter yet there was some expenses of ... since Donald

Morison's Disposition of these papers of Inveraray. I mean my Lord Marquess Disposition to him and mine to join my brother['s] are marked in Mr. Hays' Minute Book at Inveraray ... for it. And ... not let Mr. John's produce it again. Its his productions that are put to from first to last. If there be any men against me not [your?]self, but my respects to you and your bedfellow, I remain

Your affectionate Cousin

A Campbell of Inverawe

I am surprised with a letter I got from Mr. John Campbell of the 22nd of this last month, about your productions of our papers, so give an account to Mr. John that my papers have been rightly produced, for it seems that [they].. ...are mistake about it.⁹⁷

[Original spelling]:

Affectionat Coosing

Inveraw fifth [?]June
1687

I did wryte to Mr. John Campbell that ye had produced my proposals & Stronchormick's & Phanans & Achechuorans so if he cognize yow your to go wt him to ye clerk qt marked thm wt the necessar year if it be not don already I intreat ye send me Donald McNokard['s] Comision els Il [confirm] some ...ied him it so send it wt ye bearer, I sent ye nyn dollars & half ye did desyre for the production of the wryts wt Ardchattan he ... wt tuo years annuallrent of Wellwods mony & has went off[f] ... for Dunstaffnages which close & qt mor ye spend anent ye production shall be given qn ye aqwent me qt it is corants ye write in yr fors letter yt yr was som expenses ad since that Donald Morison's Disposition of the puaper[s] of Inveraray, I mean my lord Marquis Dispositon to him & myn to joyn my broyr ar marked in Mr Hays minute book at Inveraray Idd for it, & fyl ... not lett MrJoyn produce it again, Its here productions that ar put to from frist to last, If ther be any mens agnsnt me not self bot my respects presented to you & bed fellow I remiane

Your affectionat Coosing

A Campbell of Inveraw

I am surprysedwt ane letter I got from Mr. Joyn Campbell of the 22 of this last month, anent yer productions of our peapers, so give ye ane acompt to Mr. Joyn qt my peapers hs been rightly produced for it seems qt it ... are mistake anent it.⁹⁸

There is a suggestion in these letters that somein Edinburgh may have been calling for re-registration of documents so as to collect more fees, illegally. Later that summer, on the 17th of August, Archibald was writing again to Alexander in Edinburgh, this time from Inveraray. He was concerned about the confirmation of the Charter of the lands of Cruachan beause the arrest, imprisonment and ultimate execution of the late earl had prevented that being processed.

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Inveraray 17th August 1687

Affectionate Cousin,

I received yours of the 4th of this Instant showing that the certification [concerning] the Vassals of Argyll was called, and that Mr. Colin McKean desires to produce our papers, whereof General Drummond thinks [it] strange that any clerk desired production after that they were all produced and booked by Mr. Hay, his clerk here. For he says had but Mr. Hay been spoken [to about] it, that he would prevent any production. However, whatever money you paid more [than] that nine dollars and a half that the clerks got, it shall be paid for any expenses thereby. Only acquaint me what it is. You say there was produced for me a charter under the Great Seal and another charter from Argyll for the lands of Kilmartin. Which charter of Kilmartin is confirmed in that same charter under the Great Seal, and its only a charter of the two merk land of Cruachan that you have that is unconfirmed, for it was the time that my Lord Argyll went from this town that it was called, so look to that, and he was immediately laid up in the Castle [imprisoned in Edinburgh] and then I could not get it confirmed, though it was not my fault. I have written to Welwood & Walker that I will send their annualrent till Whitsunday last immediately after this Fair at Stirling with one of my own men, since it was not paid for want of a trusty occasion to carry it.

Let me hear from you as you get occasion. I rest, Your affectionate Cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe⁹⁹

[Original spelling]:

Inverary 17 august 1687

Affectionat Coosing

I received yrs of the 4 of this Instnt showing that the certifica'n agst the Vassalls of Argyll was cald & tht Mr Collin M^cKeyin desires to produce our peapers, qr of generall Drummond thinks strange tht any clark desyrd production after tht they wer all produced & booked be Mr Hay his clark heer, for he says had bot Mr Hay been spoken in it, tht he wold preveen any production however, qt ever mony ye payd mor as that nyn dollars & half tht the clarks got it shall be payd for any exspense forby only aquent me qt it is, ye say ther was produced for me ane charter under the great seall & ane other charter from Argyll for the lands of Kilmarteen qch charter of Kilmarteen is confirmed in tht sam charter under the great seall, & its only ane charter of the tuell mark land of Cruachan tht ye have tht is unconfirmed, for it was the tyme tht my lod Argyll went from this toun tht it was cauled so look to that & he was immediately liad up in the castell & then I could not get it confirmed thoch it was not my fault Ihave written to Walwood & Walker tht I will send ther annualrent till Whitsunday last immediately after this fair of Stirling wt on of my oun men since it has not payd for want of any trusty oca'n I rest Yr affectionat

Coosing

A. Campbell of Inverawe¹⁰⁰

The 'Fair at Stirling' would be a cattle sale, after which cash be carried back into Argyll by the drovers. There is a further suspicion here that a minor bureaucratic industry had developed over the matter of 'production of papers' on the part of those who recorded them.

And was Archibald using ‘the want of a trusty occasion to carry it’ as a means of delaying payment of a debt? Nine days later, on the 26th of August 1687, Archibald of Inverawe was either still or again at Inveraray writing to Alexander in Edinburgh.

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Inveraray the 26th August 1687

Affectionate Cousin,

I received yours about your production of my rights whereof: I sent an answer with Ronald ‘mor’ MacDonald, drover, and as to that Charter of the lands of Kilmartin, it is continued in my confirmation... of land, the General adm[its?] how any rights were called for after that Mr. Hay, the clerk, had here for all our rights produced here, and he has them all booked. It seems we must always produce, but since it was Mr. Colin [who] desired [them], I am satisfied though I had not need of more expenses. Let me [know?] with the first occasion that [you hear of Lord?] Lorn’s affairs. I will ... Mr. Welwood so soon as I am ... man there, resting [i.e. except for] annualrents.

Your affectionate

Cousin,

Campbell of Inverawe¹⁰¹

[Original spelling]:

Inveraray the 26 agust 1687

Affectionat Coosing

I received yrs anent your production of my richts Qrof: I sent ane answer wt Ronald mor m^cDonald drover & as to that Chartour of the Lands of K[ilmar]teen its continued in my confirm’n [torn] of Land, the generall admea... how any richts was cald for after tht Mr Hay the clark he had heir got all our richts produced heir, & hes them all booked it seems we mest always produce, bot since it was Mr Collins desyr I am satisfied thoch I had not nied of more expenses lett me [torn] wt the first occa’n qt [torn] Lorns affairs I will [torn] Mr Walwood so soon as I am [torn] man ther Resting anuellrents

Your affectionat

Coosing

A Campbell of Inveraw¹⁰²

On the 7th of September Archibald of Inverawe was still or again at Inveraray and wrote again to Alexander in Edinburgh:

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Inveraray 7th September 1687

Affectionate Cousin,

I shall desire to hear from you to this place with the first occasion particularly what papers are produced for me, for I did not find mention in your letter of the production of an Assignation that one Donald Monson [Morrison?] did give me of some houses in Inveraray with a Disposition from my Lord Marquess of Argyll to him, and that [should] be produced amongst the rest that no advantage be taken against me or otherwise advantage may be taken of me for not production since they are so peremptory, and see that you have got back all the papers again. I rest,

Your affectionate Cousin

A. Campbell of Inverawe

Addressed: Alexander Campbell, Merchant in Edinburgh to be found at Mr. Clark's Chamber, Edinburgh.¹⁰³

[Original spelling]:

Affectionat Coossin

Inverary 7 Sepr 1687

I shall desyr to hear from you to this place wt the first ocaion particularly qt peapers ar produced for me, for I did not ffind mention in your ler of the production of ane assignation that ane Donald Monson did give me of som houses in Inverary wt ane disposition from my Lord Marqus of Argyll to him & tht be produced amongst the rest tht no advantage be taken agst me or other ways advantage may be taken of me for not production since they ar so preemptor, & sie tht ye have gotten back all the papers again

I rest

Yr affectionat Coossin

A Campbell of Inveraw

[addressed: Alexander Campbell Merd in Edhr to be found at Mr Clarks Chamber Edhr]¹⁰⁴

Two days later, still at Inveraray, Hector Maclean of Kinlochaline was borrowing 50 merks from Inverawe, for which Hector gave him a Bond. The witnesses to the Bond were Archibald's brother John and 'Archibald Campbell, servitor to Inverawe.' Again, this was likely Archie, Inverawe's nephew and potential heir, the son of Inverawe's brother Duncan, the same who had been his servitor on Mull. He would likely now be aged about seventeen.¹⁰⁵

That November Archibald of Inverawe was at Tirvine from where he wrote again to Alexander in Edinburgh on the 21st. He again mentions his 'coffer' which would have been his Charter Chest containing all the valuable papers. Who Inverawe's cousin John at Edinburgh could be is not clear, but likely one of the Breadalbane family. Again he was concerned about what had become of Lord Lorn.

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Tirvine 21st November 1687

Affectionate Cousin,

Receive the enclosed account and speak to Wellwood & Walker to see if you can get the odd forty pounds that I am resting [holding] of his five pounds and three Scots merks down, and if I get that I'll pay him his principle at this term, viz at Candlemass next. He may have this next Candlemass annualrent down also, but if I get but the forty pound down of the principal I'll pay the rest, and I am sur there was never a worse penny worth nor I had for it.

Let you send me Nicol 'ruadh's son's Bond that I sent you to be registred, so send it. It's but needless that it be registered now. If you have your brother [Captain] Dougall's Bond, [let me know so] that I may pay what it [is] by run of his annualrent.

And let me know what you heard last from Dougall, and what news else you hear and in particular of Lord Lorn. And let you get Welwod's Discharge for his annualrent till Candlemass last with a [torn] of [torn]

John my brother writes to me that you say I did not send none of the papers relating to Donald Monson in Inveraray. It's like[ly] you did not remember at such a distance, yet they were sent in that Coffe[r] [torn] However I have written to Mr. John Campbell writer at Edinburgh my cousin to send a [torn] of all papers that I sent... and to see if he gets them all out of the [torn] in his own custody, so be pleased to [torn] to the clerks & give him my Coffe[r] [torn] what [until?] they were before, for he is to be my agent there. You will find in the Coffe[r] notes of my papers and of Fanans' and [Achouran's] and of Stronchormaig [rest missing].¹⁰⁶

[Original spelling]:

Tirvine 21 novr 1687

Affectionat Coosing

Receave the Inclosed compt & speak to Walwood & Walker to see if ye can get the od forty pund that I am resting of his five pundes & thrie scots marks doun & if I get that ile pay him his principale at this term viz at Candlesmas nixt He may have this nixt Candlesmus annualrent doun also, bot if I get bot the forty pund doun of the principall Ile pay the rest, & I am sure ther was never worse peny worth nor I had for it let you send me Nickell Roy son's bound that I sent you to be registerat so send it Its bot niedles tht it be regrat now If ye have yr brother Dugalls bound aquent me tht I may pay qt it by run of his annuellrent, & let me know qt ye heard last from Dugall, & qt neus els ye hear & in particular of Lord Lorn & let you get Walwoods discharge for his anell rent till Candlesmas last wt any [torn] of [torn]

John my brothr wrytes to me that ye say I did not send non of the peapers relating to Donald Monson in Inverary its lyk ye did not remember at such ane distance yet they wer sent in tht coff[er] [torn] However I have written to mr John Campbell wrytter at edr my coosing to send ane [torn] of all ...peapers tht I sent & to sie If he gets them all out of the [torn] in his own custody so be pleased to [torn] to the clarks & give him my Coffe[r] {torn} qt until they wer befor for he is to be my agent ther Ye will find in the coffe[r] nots of my peapers & of Phanans & [Achueran] & of Stronchormick... [the rest cut off the photocopy]¹⁰⁷

Also that month of November 1687, Alexander in Edinburgh did an accounting of funds sent him by Archibald for the processing of his papers that were still in Edinburgh. Again, the reason that Inverawe had been asking about Lord Lorne was that the Argyll lands were still in forfeiture, and had been since 1685. He would only have to wait until the next year. After his father and grandfather had died on the scaffold for their Protestant convictions, Lord Lorn had tried converting to Catholicism in order to gain influence with the Catholic King James so as to regain his lands. That did not work. Late in the following year he would try another gambit. However despite a liberal reputation between the sheets, he had produced two very fine legitimate sons, John and Archibald.

There follows an account by Alexander Campbell, Merchant in Edinburgh, of funds sent by Archibald Campbell of Inverawe (d. 1705) to Alexander as his agent:

November 1687

Compt mony sent to Alxr Campbell from McConche (dated November 1687).

	£	s	d
Imp: for production of papers	27	ii	00
It: for the lady Dunstafnedge hir acctt	31	09	00
It: for the @rent of 560 marks scots for 2 yeirs Fro Candlemas 1685 til Candlemas 1687	44	16	00
Suma	103	16	00 ¹⁰⁸

On the first of December Inverawe was again writing to Alexander Campbell, Merchant in Edinburgh. Again, Archibald was representing not only the branches of the Inverawe family like Achouran and kinsfok by marriage such as Fanans, but also Stronchormaig. They were of the MacConnachie kindred and had been since some time in the late fourteen hundreds. They clearly knew that they were kin, but not exactly how. While the Stronchormaig family had a clear tradition of descent from Duncan *na Crosta* in Sceodnish, the Inverawe origin tradition had been lost. This continuing strong link of trust over their papers strengthens their sense of shared identity in their similarity of origin from the same Duncan as their MacConnochie eponym. What is also interesting here is to see Archibald of Inverawe trusting Ardchattan with funds or papers, since the two families had been in repeated conflict over fishing rights in the previous century. The tenement, now a house or land in Inveraray, appears to have been passed on the Inverawe's brother John who had long worked as a 'writer' there, and may later have been a merchant in Glasgow.

[*Translation to modern spelling*]:

Inverawe the 1st December 1687

Affectionate Cousin,

I wrote to Mr. John Campbell that he had produced my papers and Stronchormaig's and Fanans' and Achouran's, so if he requires you to go with him to the Clerk that marked them, it's necessary you go, if it be not done already. I entreat you send me Donald McNichol's Bond, or else I'll lose that sum contained in it, so send it with the bearer.

I sent the nine dollars and a half you dispersed for the production of the writs with Ardchattan together with two years annualrent of Welwood's money and payment of 31 shillings for Dunstaffnage's relict's clothes, and what more you spent about the production shall be given when you acquaint me what it is. Because you wrote in your first letter that there was some expenses. I did find that Donald Monson's Disposition of the houses in Inveraray, I mean my Lord Marquess' Disposition to him and mine to John my brother as marked in Mr. Hay's Minute Book at Inveraray. I did see it and if that serve not, let Mr. John produce it again. It's sure productions we are put to from first to last. If there be any news acquaint me. Naught else but my respects to you and your bedfellow. I remain,

Your affectionate Cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe

I am surprised by a letter I got from Mr. John Campbell of the 22nd of this last month, about these productions of our papers, so give an account to Mr. John that my papers have been rightly produced, for it seems he is under a mistake about it.¹⁰⁹

[Original spelling]:

Inveraw first decr 1687

Affectionat Coosing

I did wryt to Mr John Campbell that he had produced my peapers & Stroncormicks & Phanans & Achechuarans so if he require you to go wt him to the clark tht marked them its necessary ye go if it be not doon already I intreat ye send me Donald M^c Nickells bound, or els Ile lose tht some contined in it so send it wt the bearer I sent the nyn dollars & half ye did diespurse for the production of the wryts wt ardchattan to gether wt tuo years annuellrent of Walwoods mony & payment of 31 ll for dunstaffnes relicts close & qt mor ye spent anent the production shall be given qn ye aquent me qt it is because ye wryt in yr first letter tht ther was som expenses I did ffind that Donald Monson's disposition of the houses of Inverary, I mean my lord marques disposition to him & myn to John my brothr as marked in Mr Hays minot book at Inverary. I did sie it & if tht serve not lett Mr John produce it again its sure productions we are put to from first to last if ther be any news aquent me not els but my respects presented to you & yr bedfellow I remain

Your affectionat Coosing

A Campbell of Inveraw

I am surprised wt ane letter I got from Mr John Campbell of the 22 of this last month, anent thes productions of our peapers, so give ye ane acompt to Mr John tht my peapers hes been richtly produced for it seems he is in ane mistke anent it.¹¹⁰

On the 19th of December an inventory was made of the papers of Inverawe's, Stronchormag's, Fanan's and Achourans's that were delivered to Mr. John Campbell and that had now gone on to Mr. Charles Oliphant on the 30th of July that year. Mercifully there have been some improvements in the processes of bureaucracies and law offices since the 17th century. The registration of these papers had taken two years.

Inventory of papers delivered [to?] Mr. John Campbell 19 December 1687, headed 30 July 1687, delivered to Mr. Charles Oliphant

(Latin) : Charter of feuferm Duncan Campbell of Stronchormigg by Archibald Earl of Argyll, 17 October 1667

Charter, Arch. Campbell of Phanans by ditto. 21 November 68

Charter, Alexander Campbell of Achouran by ditto, 21 November 1668

Charter, Archibald Campbell of Inveraw, of lands of Kilmartin, by ditto, 30 May 1674

Paid for production of above to Charles Oliphant	£11 14
Paid wth McConichies	6 11
To Mr Colin's man £2 . 18 , To Mr Oliphant	£ 2 2. ¹¹¹

List of the charters of Archibald Campbell of Fanans:

- Not[e of] peapers be Ard Campbell of Fanis
1. Charter, late Earl of Argyll to said Ard. Campbell of the 5 merk land of phanis, Argyll, 21 Nov 1688
 2. Sasine thereon (Duncan Fisher, notary) 24 Feb: 1669
 3. Chartr granted be the Earl of Argyl to Eun Campbell of the sd five merk land dated 2 of Apryll 1601¹¹²

Papers produced by Alexander Campbell of Achouran:

1. Charter, the late Earl of Argyll to sid Alexander of the 4 merk land of Achaworean over, Lordship of Lorn, 21 Nov: 1668
2. Sasine thereon (Duncan Fisher, notary), 7 Sept: 1669
3. Precept of clare constat by deceased Earl of Argyll to John Campbell as son & heir to Ewen Campbell, of the 4 merk land of Auchaverean over & the merk land of Clachleash [Clachlea], Lismore, Lorn, 28 Aug: 1612.
4. Charter by John Campbell of Cloichlea and Archibald his son to John Campbell son to Inverawe of the said lands of Achoulirran, 8 Dec: 1637
5. Sasine thereon, 27 Feb: 1638
6. Instrument of resignation of the said lands in favour of the said John Campbell, 29 Dec. 1629 (George Campbell, notary).¹¹³

Once again, on the 11th of February 1688, Neil Campbell of Duntroon paid Mary McNeill's Jointure for 1686, and also £400 as her tierce for 1684, 1685, 1686 and 1687 and was given a Discharge signed by Archibald of Inverawe. The witnesses were Dougall Campbell of Clenamachie and, once again, Archibald Campbell, Servitor to Inverawe. Clenamachie at the east end of Loch Nell, was a Dunstaffnage place and Dougall a branch of that family. On the 28th of March 1688 at Tirvine, Inverawe again gave Neil Campbell of Duntroon his Discharge for Mary MacNeill's jointure for 1687. This time the Witnesses were Dougall Campbell, brother to Inverawe and Archibald Campbell, Servitor to Inverawe, again likely his nephew.¹¹⁴

The situation of the unfortunate Campbells, perhaps also MacConnochies, at Auchacha[rne] was now developing further. On the 19th of June 1688 there was another Bond signed by Donald, brother of John Campbell of Auchacha, presently living in Over Knipoch on Loch Feochan in Lorn. The Bond was to Archibald of Inverawe for a loan of £100. On the same date at Stronchormaig [Glenfeochan] Donald gave another Bond to Inverawe for 43 merks. The witnesses were Patrick Campbell, son of Archibald Campbell of Stronchormaig, Donald Campbell, innkeeper at Kilmore, and Dougall Campbell 'son to the said Colin Campbell' [sic] although no Colin is mentioned.¹¹⁵

Meanwhile in England the unpopularity of the Catholic James Stewart, King of Scots and King of England, had increased. His sister Mary had married William of Orange. Their son, also William of Orange, had married his cousin Mary, the daughter of King James by his first wife. Lord Lorn had gone over to the Netherlands and placed his loyalty with James' Protestant daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange. They were now preparing to move on Britain. In June 1688, after many miscarriages, James' Catholic wife Mary of Modena, gave birth to a son, later to be called 'the old pretender,' father of Charles Edward

Stewart. The infant was also christened James, Jacobus in Latin, and from his and his father's names the term 'Jacobite' was derived for those who showed support for their senior but Catholic line of kings.

King James decision to flee in the face of Mary and William's arrival, was an astonishing choice, although a humane one. Some suggested that his breakdown was due to syphilis. However one comment was, 'our good King James was a brave and honest man, but the silliest I have ever seen in my life.' Of his successor, one author has written, 'William II/III, who dethroned him, was his antithesis, a Calvinist, odious but not silly, and with a penchant for choirboys which protected his person from syphilis and his country from a Dutch heir.'

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In Argyll meanwhile, without the leadership of an Earl of Argyll to mediate between the local and national scene, and to hold with consistency to the Protestant cause as they had done since the Reformation of 1560, and with the insecurity of the forfeited lands still hanging over many in Argyll, there was only an awareness that stability was threatened. John, the Campbell Earl of Breadalbane was ambitious for the leadership role and influenced his cousin Inverawe for the status quo and to hold to the side of James as the established king.

So Inverawe, or more likely his nephew Archie sent by Inverawe, appears to have joined with many of the non-Campbell leadership of the County to show support for James at a gathering. Now doubt many saw this as being the most likely course to assure their own security and that of those for whom they were responsible. There is a high probability that instead of attending personally, Inverawe sent his nephew [and 'servitor'] to represent the family, since even the ardent Jacobite Lochnell would seem to have sent his own son, rather than attend the gathering himself. The idea of having a member of the family on both sides where the leadership of the communities was at stake was an old one in the

They were no doubt misguided by fear, for the situation was evolving in the opposite direction. However, on the 6th of November 1688, the gentlemen of Argyll who were in arms for King James, gathered at Kilmichael Glassary They were there to oppose a landing of William of Orange which had been expected for several weeks. They could not have known that the Williamites had landed the previous day at Torbay in Devon.

At Kilmichael the assembled Jacobites signed an address of loyalty to the Catholic King James, offering them their lives and fortunes, 'which is that true holocaust which all true hearted Scotsmen will give to so good, so just and so great a Prince.' It was later to be published in the London Gazette (No.2401). The list of signatories was in many cases garbled by the English printers, but it is fairly easy to identify most of them. Many who held their lands from the forfeited Argyll would have been expressing loyalty to the supposed existing sovereign in the hopes of receiving confirmation of their responsibilities. They include:

Cameron of Lochiel and his son:

John Cameron of Glendessary

A. Macdonald of Largie

A. MacAlister of Tarbert-Loup

J. Macalister brother to Tarbert-Loup

John MacDougall of Dunollie.
Robert Stewart of Appin
John Stewart, Tutor of Appin
The Laird of Macnaughton's two uncles:
Maclean of Lochbuie, Younger
Ewan Maclean Yr. of Ardgour and his son Allan:
John Maclean of Tarbert (Torloisk's uncle)
Maclean of Kingerloch;
Andrew Maclean of Knock (the poet)
Alexander Maclean (brother to Knock)

[He was Commissary of Argyll and who had in 1686 been granted the estate forfeited by Campbell of Otter]

D. Macneil of Taynish (Donald Macneill of Gallachelly)
Alex MacKuthlar (MacArthur?)
Sir William Lathlane, Parl. of Kilmartine [a mystery?]
A. Campbell (Archibald Campbell of Inverawe or his nephew and heir)

[or Archibald his nephew and heir?]

A. MacLochinell (son of Campbell of Lochnell?).
N. Campbell of 'Tonerdust' (Torinturk?)
H. Campbell of 'Kiprasie'
C. Campbell of Inverae

NOTE:

Two of the Campbells have been identified by Paul Hopkins, author of *Glencoe* as the son of Campbell of Lochnell and Archibald Campbell of Inverawe. Both later, under the Earl of Breadalbane, were to take the lead in local Jacobite intrigues in 1689. Perhaps significantly neither had served under Argyll in 1685, Inverawe had been detained in the Tollbooth of Inveraray, whilst Lochnell is said to have joined Atholl in 1685 and to have robbed other Campbells.¹¹⁷

The arrival of William and Mary was seen in the south as 'the glorious revolution' for the Reformed or Protestant religion. After a series of switches back and forth through the centuries, perhaps Britain could now settle down to a future in which the dogmatism of religion would less often stir the blood to slaughter. Yet the 'revolution' was awkward for Scots, since on the one hand the majority were for the Protestant cause which William and Mary represented, and yet Mary was set up as their queen without their being consulted. This most naturally rankled, and in some turned a weak view of James into a loyalty for what he presented. Others reminded themselves that Mary was descended from the Scottish Stewart Kings and accepted the odd circumstances. Frustration caused others to smash the Stewart tombs at Holyrood. The insecurity of the Lowland folk about the Highlanders, often produced an appearance of Lowland superiority that rankled. In reaction, Highland pride, a support of morale in a subsistence life, was hurt enough to strike back. Peace had not yet come.

The change of rulers had restored Lord Lorn to his lands and title as 10th Earl of Argyll. On that score, Archibald of Inverawe could now relax. But the backlash against William would come.

And life went on: On the 7th of January 1689, Archibald of Inverawe was at Fearlochan when he signed yet another Discharge to Neil Campbell of Duntroon for Mary McNeill's jointure, this time for 1688. The witnesses were Lachlan Campbell and James McGregor, Servants to Inverawe.¹¹⁸

Archibald of Inverawe's uncle, Archibald *oig* Campbell, brother of Lt. Col. Dougall Campbell of Inverawe, who had looked after the lands of Largie for Argyll while MacDonald of Largie was forfeit until 1661, would seem to have died in 1689. There is a grave inscription at Ardchattan in the Inverawe enclosure: 'AC 1689.'¹¹⁹ This would appear to be Archibald *oig* Campbell, tacksman of Kilmorie in Kintyre. The likely proof is that in 1738, Malcolm McIlldonich, then tacksman of Lephincorrach, told the 1738 Commission to settle Largie-Argyll marches that for four years, from 1689 to 1693, he had been herd to Barbara Mcalester, widow of Archibald 'oig' Campbell, tacksman of Kilmorie.¹²⁰ The use of 'og' or 'oig' in Gaelic is in this case a distinguishing mark to avoid confusion between father and son who were both called Archibald. In this case it means 'younger.'

In late April that spring of 1689, Archibald of Inverawe was at Breadalbane's smaller castle of Finlarig at the west end of Lochtay. The earl also had with him Aalexander Campbell of Lochnell. They all three signed a letter to 'their cousin' Campbell of Barcaldine on the 30th of April 1689. They suggest the need for a meeting to discuss the affairs of the Shire of Argyll, the Earl of Argyll having gone to London: The meeting was to be at Inveraray on the 9th of May at 10 o'clock. They expect that Barcaldine will be there.¹²¹

One of Breadalbane's agile messengers set off with the letter for Alexander of Barcaldine in his tower house of Barcaldine Castle. What he read was as follows:

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Worthy Cousin,

Finlarig the 30th of April
1689

We have met at this place where we are certified of the Earl of Argyll's going to London, and finding an urgent necessity in his lordship's absence that such of us as are generally concerned in the affairs of the Shire of Argyll should meet for [considering] the same, have thought fit to name Inveraray to be the place, and the day of meeting to be Thursday the ninth of May, judging that no shorter notice can be given to those that live [at] so great a distance. Therefore we entreat you to meet us there against ten o'clock that day punctually, seeing it cannot be convenient for us to stay long.

Together we [remain],

Your affectionate Cousins

Breadalbane

Alexander Campbell of Lochnell

A[rchibald]. Campbell of Inveraw

For Alexr Campbell of Barcaldine.¹²²

[Original spelling]:

Worthie Cusine

Finlarig the 30 Aprile
1689

We have met at this place where we are certified of the Earle of Argyles going to London and finding ane urgent neccessitie in his Lo[rdrhip's] absense that such of us as are Generally Concerned in the affair[s] of the shire of Argyle should meett for conserting the same, have thought fit to name Inveraray to be the place, and the day of meeting to be Thursday the nynt of May, Judgeing [th]at noe shorter tyme can be given to those [th]at leive at soe great a Distance, Therfor we intreat you to meett us there againts ten a'clock that day punctually seeing it can not be convenient for us to stay long

Together we rest

Your affectionat Cusine[s] &

humble servants

Breadalbane

A Campbell of Lochnell

A Campbell of Inveraw

Letter 30 April 89 from

My Lord – Lochinell & Inveraw

For

Alexr Campbell of

Barcaltin¹²³

Opposition to William and Mary was no long in awakening in Scotland. Thirty-year-old John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, raised his standard for the now exiled King James on Dundee Law in the spring of 1689 and for four months toured the Highlands raising support.

The Campbell Earl of Breadalbane, Inverawe's first cousin, had been leaning towards a Jacobite stance, but now that there was once again an Earl of Argyll he was seemingly not prepared to take a stand when so vulnerable. 'In May – June 1689, Breadalbane retired to Kilchurn Castle and declared that he was suffering from gout and would meddle on neither side... By late June, however, Breadalbane could see that Dundee's rising would not collapse...' 'The chief agents whom Breadalbane, 'sitting with soar foot at the fyr seyde' used in his preparations were three of his chamberlains, Barcaldine, Campbell of Inneryeldie [sometimes Inverzeldie] in Lismore, and Toshach of Monievaird in Perthshire; Campbell of Lochnell, the most zealous Jacobite, and Campbell (MacConnochie) of Inverawe.'¹²⁴

Then, on the 27th of July, Dundee and his Highland force descended on a government army under MacKay at Killiekrankie in Perthshire. There he was killed. Some Highlanders melted away, while others, led by the political or religious convictions of those to whom they owed loyalty, continued in the hills. MacIains of Glencoe and MacGregors, being fully armed, raided fiercely on their ways home. The Glencoe folk burned and drove off the cattle of Breadalbane's neighbour and kinsnam Campbell of Glenlyon and his people, while the MacGregors raided the prosperous lands about Comrie including those of Campbell of Abruchill.

However Dundee's efforts had focused ideas about the change of leadership in Britain among Highland people and made them seem disturbing. And certainly, King William's main concern was not Britain but to use the country to recruit troops for his European wars with the French. His policies for Scotland would only serve to increase dissatisfaction, leading to further Jacobite disturbances in the future. But for Breadalbane and Inverawe the time had come to secure their situations by a demonstration of loyalty to William and Mary.

On the 9th of September 1689 at Edinburgh, Archibald of Inverawe, Lochnell, Inveryardies and Duncan Toiseach of Monzievaird attended the Privy Council to give their oaths of loyalty to William and Mary:

'Anent a petitione given in to the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council be [by] Alexander Campbell of Lochnell, Archibald Campbell of Innerawe, Alexander Campbell of Innerzeldies and Duncan Toshach of Monievaire, shewing that wher the petitioners were attending upon the saids Lords in the outer rume in order to receive the benefite of his Majesties indemnitie, and therefore humbly craving the saids Lords to call the petitioners and allow them the benefite of the said indemnitie, the Lords of his Majesties [Privy Council] having considered the above petitione, they grant and allow the petitioners the benefite of the indemnitie, they swearing and signeing the oath of alledgance, and granting bond and finding cautione to live peaceably and with all submissione to the present government under King William and Queen Mary, and that they shall not act, consult or contrive anything against them nor converse or corospond with the rebels or others they know to be acting, consulting or contriveing any thing against the present government.'

The size of the Bonds they were to pay in as surety for their good behaviour were outlined with those who were to stand 'caution' for them:

The said Alexander Campbell of Lochnell under the penaltie of any thousand pund sterling and Thomas Campbell of Skipnadge to be received as cautioner; the said Archibald Campbell of Inneraw under the penaltie of five thousand merks and allowes Archibald Campbell of Torbreck [Torrantuir?] to be his cautioner; the said Duncan Toshach of Monievaire under the penaltie of two thousand merkes, and allowes John Campbell of Claffick [Clathic] to be his cautioner, and the said Alexander Campbell of Innerzeldies or Barracarren under the penaltie of ane thousand merkes, and Mungo Campbell of Burnbank to be his cautioner.¹²⁵

The Council then 'remitts to the Earle of Annandale, Lords Yester and Carmichaell to administrat the oath of alledgance to them and the other persones craveing the benefite of the Act of Indemnitie, and to receive their cautioners.'¹²⁶ A merk was two thirds of a pound Scots, and a pound Scots was one twelfth of a pound Sterling, so the sterling amount for Inverawe would have been about £277.78, or over £30,000 in the funds of 2000.¹²⁷

'Jacobites flocked to Edinburgh to take the indemnity before it expired on 10 September [1689]. They included several lowland gentry from Angus and Aberdeen; peers from the same area such as Strathmore, who had sympathised with Dundee but had not risen; Lord Livingstone, who nearly had; some McAlisters from Kintyre, a sign that Sir Alexander

Maclean's regiment was disintegrating; and Breadalbane's chief Campbell subordinates in plotting his rising.' These last including Archibald MacConnochie Campbell of Inverawe.¹²⁸

The following February the 24th of 1690, Archibald Campbell of Inverawe was again writing to his cousin and agent Alexander Campbell, Merchant in Edinburgh. This time as he wrote, he was securely perched in the tower his grandfather had built in the walls of the old castle on the island of Froach Eilean on Loch Awe:

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Fraoch Eilean 24th of February 1690

Affectionate Cousin,

I hear that Mr. McLean the Commisary's brother was speaking to you about some money that I should be paying him. It's true I did give him a blank Bond in two hundred merks, so I know not what name is [shown] holding in it [now], but in the meantime be pleased to give him fifty merks or forty pounds in his present condition and take his receipt in part payment of my blank Bond given [by] me to him, and I shall send it to you with the first sure hand, [when you are] sending me his receipt.

Your brother and friends are well. I rest,

Your affectionate cousin,

Campbell of Inverawe¹²⁹

[Original spelling]:

Ffrechelan 24 februy 1690

Affectionat Coosing

I hear that M^cLean the comissars brother was speaking to you anent som mony tht I should be resting him Its trew I did give him ane blank bound in tuo hunder merks so I know not what name is holding in it, but in the mean tym be pleased to give him fyftie merks or fortie pund in his present condition & take his receat in part payment of me blank bond given to me to him & I shall send it you wt the first sure hand yet sending me his reaceat yr brothr & friends ar well I rest

Yr affectionat Coussing

A Campbell of Inveraw¹³⁰

On the 1st of May 1690 a battle took place on the Hughs of Cromdale near Grantown on the Spey, and there government forces defeated the last of the Jacobites who had risen under Dundee.

The gradual shift from a barter economy to one where cash was more important had begun. This created inevitable strains on people in the Highlands where the cattle trade with the Lowlands and England were developing and bringing more cash into the country. Signs of financial strain were beginning to show for Inverawe. On the 1st of August 1690 he was borrowing funds from Robert Brown, merchant in Inveraray. Robert, then 33, was son of William Brown who was Provost of Inveraray. William was then 87 and would live to be 108. Archibald's cautioner for the loan was his half brother Dougall Campbell who would later be 'of Nether Rudall' and meanwhile he held a tack of the Inverawe land of Tirvine. He would spend much of his life as Baillie of Nether Lorn for Breadalbane.¹³¹

As already mentioned, the late Alan Campbell in Barnaliam had been a younger brother of Lt. Col. Dougall of Inverawe and so Archibald of Inverawe's uncle. He had left a widow Janet Colquhoun who survived him. Sadly, she became deranged and, typically, a number of members of the kindred contributed to her keep. Her son Patrick in Barnaliam had looked after her for a long time, but as her mind gave way, it was more and more difficult for him to take proper care of her and carry on his farming life. On the 5th of December 1690, Patrick gave a Discharge to acknowledge receipt from Archibald Campbell of Inverawe of 60 merks Scots, in the name of Alexander Campbell and Dougall Campbell, for 'my mother's boarding,' from Lammas tide 1690 to Lammas 1691. He signed this at 'Burnaline' [Barnaliam]. The witnesses were Neil Campbell who wrote the Discharge and Duncan Gray, a servitor to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe.¹³² Besides Inverawe, Alexander had sent funds from Edinburgh and Captain Dougall from London.

As a 'Heritor' or one who inherited the responsibility for caring for the communities on granted lands, Archibald of Inverawe was obliged to collect, and contribute to, the funds to pay for the minister, the manse, church and glebe or field for the minister's cow. These funds were known as 'tiends.' Sometimes he would be paid by a Bond, in this case by Duncan Campbell, fiar or heir of Asknish for the delivery and payment of certain tiend victual of the lands of Kilbride. The witnesses were Duncan's father Iver Campbell of Asknish, his brother Donald and Malcolm Campbell. They were of the McIver (pron McEEver) Campbell family from whom Arthur, the great-grandson of Archibald's heir, would buy the lands he re-named Arduaine. The Bond was signed at Kilbryde near Lerags on the 14th of August 1691.¹³³

Finally, in 1692, Argyll received legal right to the Maclean lands and castle of Duart over which his father had striven so long. Their motivations had been various. One was to bring peace to an area of conflict, over the religious or Jacobite issue, and yet they had at times engendered conflict as a tool themselves. Another may well have been the pressure to provide land for the younger sons of the now numerous Campbells who could afford to provide them with some education. This could have been seen both as charity to their own but also in spreading minor legal abilities and literacy in order to ease governance. Archibald of Inverawe would play a significant part in administering both Duart, the collection of Mull rents, and the assignation of tacks on the Maclean Mull lands.

And again, in the spring of 1692, Archibald was accepting another Bond for tiends at Kintraw below the Beallach Mor at the head of Loch Craignish, this time from Archibald Campbell of Barbreck for some 'tiend duties' or payments for the Kirk that were due by him. The Bond was signed on the 26th of January 1692. Inverawe was likely on his way in the raw winter weather to or from Kilmartin at the time. His brother John was with him and was one of the witnesses.¹³⁴ The Williamite policy for Scotland would see its most ruthless incident a week later, when government forces planned and bungled the infamous 'Massacre of Glencoe.' What is seldom mentioned in modern reviews of the slaughter was that many of those who escaped, are most likely to have done so to the security of Campbell of Inverawe land, where Archibald's tacksmen the MacDonalds of Dalness looked after the Forest of Buchaille Etive for Inverawe. Since the head of the glen was not blocked, as had been intended, it is said that many escaped by that route. The only nearby succour that could be found in that direction lay at Dalness. And MacDonald in Dalness was himself a Glencoe McLain.

As has most recently been acknowledged, the massacre was undoubtedly a government rather than a 'clan' event. Even the captain of the company that was billeted on the Glencoe people was unaware until the night of the action what their task was to be. The order delivered to Glenlyon, the company commander, was personally signed by King William. Even in those days, that was an unheard of event. The orders specifically threatened him personally. Glenlyon was only in the army due to being ruined by the deprivations of these very Glencoe MacLains, yet they were also his kin.

No doubt the news came down Loch Etive to Inverawe, but not a word of that has survived. Archibald's earlier alliance with McLain of Glencoe does survive. The massacre served notice to all of government ruthlessness. Archibald of Inverawe perhaps felt a chill of fear at the news, given his earlier Jacobite actions with Breadalbane.

That April Inverawe's brother John was over in Edinburgh delivering funds to their cousin Alexander the merchant. On the 22nd Alexander signed a Discharge for John to Inverawe stating that he had received from John Campbell in name of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe 300 merks Scots, received from the Chamberlain of Muckairn for annualrents due to 'my brother' Capt. Dugall Campbell by Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder [Cawdor].¹³⁵

Cawdor was seemingly renting back from Captain Dougall the merchant in London some lands the Captain had earlier bought from Cawdor.

That spring a type of Census was taken to account for the number of men and boys between sixteen and sixty who could be called out for defence. They were known as 'the fencible men' and the list for the MacConnochie lands of Inverawe and others gives an idea of the male population. 'Dow' is here short for Dougall. The names illustrate clearly how almost all are patronymics other than MacConnochie or Campbell, the Campbell people being mainly those related to the kindred responsible for the communities. The list is dated on the 26th of May 1692.

Most of the younger branches of the MacConnochie had moved to Kintyre when Archibald of Inverawe's father and his brother Archibald *oig* had been caring for the MacDonald of Largie lands between 1648 and 1661. They were obliged by Argyll not to give tacks to local people and therefore brought in their kinsmen, most of whom stayed in Kintyre after the end of the forfeiture, although now all on Largie lands. Numbers of their descendants still live in Kintyre into the 21st century.

Parish of Baliveodan.

Lands pertaining to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe.

<i>Farmtoun</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Farmtoun</i>	<i>Name</i>
Inveraw	Ard Campbell at Bunaw		Johne mc Cavish
	Johne Campbell ther	Inverelane	Alexr mc Alister vc
	Donald oig McIllechonill		Insh
	Johne mc andra		Johne mc Ileyongart

	Johne mcEune oig	Invercarnan	Johne mc Alister roy
	Neill Craford		Donald mc Gilmichall
	Duncan mc Ilechonill		past sixtie
	Donald mc Gilespick		John mc Gilemichall
	vc Ilepatrik		his sone
	Donald mc Andra	Drumchuish	Ard mc alister vc Doull
	Donald mc Ilechonill		vc allan
	past sixtie	Nether Drum-	Duncan mc Gilespick
Brandrie	Lauchlane Campbell	chuish	vc lauchlane
ffibwly	Gilbert mc Beane		Ard mc anVane Dalincro
	Alexr mc Intyr \ past		past seventie
	Donald mc kilip / sixtie		Neill munro

Lands pertaining to Duncan Campbell brother-german to Inverawe;

Glenoa	Duncane mc Intyre	Duo	Duncan Dow mc Intyre
	past sixtie		Duncane mc Gilepatrik
	Donald mc intyre		vc intyre
	his sone		Donald mc Intyre
	Callom baine mc Intyre		Ard mc no Card
	Gilpatrick mc Nicoll		past sixtie
Barnadeis	Duncan mc Calom	Crunachie	Malcolm mc Intyre
	Ard mc Calom		Ard mc intyre
	Alexr mc Calom		John mc Andra
	past sixtie		John mc Gilechrist
Barhalchan	Euaine Campbell		vc intyre
	Donald mc kenrick		Gilcrist mc intyre
Kenlochettiff	Johne Campbell		past seventie
	Allane Campbell		Duncan mc Phail
Inveragusichan	John mc Kendrick		John mc Bean
	past seventie		Donald mc no Card
	John mc Illespick vic Intyr		

Innishail and Part of Kilchrenan - Mc Conechie property

Cruachan	ffergus mc kerris	Corbuy	Mallcollum Carsell
	John mc kerris	Barnaleine	Hew mc kay
	Allexr mc Arther		Allexr mc Arthor
	Dow : mc Illevory		Dun: mc Cosam
	Dun: mc phersone		Dun: mc Clullich
	Dun: mc Ilerrine	Ardechine	Gillies mc Illeis
	John mc kay		Don: mc Callum
	Dow : Campbell		Callum mc Callum
Barmaddie	Neill Carsell	Buchell	Ard Campbell
	Don: Campbell		Dun: mc keich
			John mc killip
Auchleine	John mc keich	Drumvrk	Pat; mc phederan
	ffinlay mc keich		Nicoll mc phederan

	Dun; Campbell		Don; mc bean
	JohnCampbell		Dun; mc bean
	Don; mc keich		John Campbell
	Dun: mc bean		Dun; mc Arthor
	John mc phadean		Pat: mc Nokard
	Don: Miller	Barindryan	Dow: mc Arthor
	Dun : mc Gregor		Pat; mc Arthor
	Dow : munro		John mc Inturner
	Neill munro	Ardbrecknich	Gilbert mc Nokard
Phanans	JohnCampbell		Dun: mc Nokard
	Hew Campbell		Pat: ferguson. ¹³⁶

The 107 men listed did not include Archibald or his brothers Duncan and John or the heir Archibald. The listed Archibald Campbell at Bunaw was the innkeeper whose grand heraldic table tomb survives in Taynuilt kirkyard. ‘Johne Campbell ther’ meaning at Inverawe, was likely the tacksman listed elsewhere as ‘John Campbell in Inverawe.’ The other Campbells listed first at the farmtouns; Lachlan at Branrie, John and Allan at Kinlochative, Archibald at Buchell and John at Fanans, may all have been tacksmen related to the family, but that is conjecture. At Fanans, Archibald McAlastair McEun Campbell of Fanans is not mentioned, so John would likely be his tacksman or farm servant.

Once again, at the end of October 1692, funds were being taken from Inverawe to Edinburgh and acknowledged with a Discharge by Alexander the merchant. This time to his brother Patrick Campbell in Barnalian. On the 31st of October 1692 at Edinburgh, Alexander acknowledged receipt from Patrick Campbell, ‘my’ brother, in name of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe of £296 Scots, £200 being of annualrents received for Capt. Dugall Campbell, ‘my’ brother from Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder’s Chamberlain of Muckairn, and £96 for the price of a horse belonging to ‘my’ brother Dugall and sold by Archibald.¹³⁶ Archibald of Inverawe and some of his extended family and kin spent that Christmas of 1692 at their tower house in the old castle of Fraoch Eilean on the island in Loch Awe. The great hall took up a whole floor of the building, fifteen feet across and forty-four feet long with a great fireplace at one end. Part was likely divided off with a screen behind which the food preparation took place. The floor below was for storage with possibly a kitchen. Above was space for sleeping, likely in those days a ‘men’s room’ and a ‘women’s room’ and one for Archibald and his wife. Inverawe’s cousin Patrick in Barnalian was now being called ‘in Kilmun’, another place about half a mile north and a tip east of Barnaline. Before the Reformation, St. Munn had been the patron saint of the Lochawe–Argyll family, while that of the MacConnochie Campbells had been St. Martin of Tours, no doubt due to their likely eponym Duncan being fostered in Kilmartin.

That Christmas Day Patrick and his family were also present. Presumably before any festivities, he signed a Discharge stating the he had received from Archibald Campbell of Inverawe 180 merks Scots on behalf of Alexander Campbell ‘my’ brother, indweller in Edinburgh; and also £40 Scots in part payment of ‘my’ mother’s boarding. Dated at ‘ffrecheline’ [Fraoch Eileain] on the 25 December 1692, witnessed by Dougall Campbell, fiar of Stronchormaig and Alexander Campbell ‘uncle sone to’ Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, writer hereof. Alexander was likely the son of John, brother of Lt.Col. Dougall of Inverawe. Young Dougall MacConnochie Campbell, heir to Stronchormaig was the member

of his family who would start to use the name Glenfeochan as much as Stronchormaig for their lands in the parish of Kilmore at the head of Loch Feochan.

The fact that the three surviving families of the MacConnochie Campbells were together at Fraoch Eilean on Christmas Day makes one wonder whether perhaps it had been an annual custom for their kindred since Archibald's grandfather had the tower there built in the first quarter of the century.

Although in those days 'New Year' was celebrated in March, the extended family must have stayed on after Christmas, because Archibald wrote on: 'Fraoch Eilean 7th January 1693.

'I got up my Bond to Mr. Blackwood for an hundred and twenty pounds Scots in lieu of the foresaid sum paid by me to Patrick Campbell for his brother Alexander being the like value. A. Campbell of Inverawe'¹³⁷

Early in the spring, Patrick was short of meal, as was often the case in the spring of the year. On the 3rd of March 1693 he wrote to his cousin Dougall, brother to Archibald of Inverawe. He wrote from his new place at Kilmun, north along Lochawe from his former place at Barnalian. Dougall would be Bailie of Nether Lorne and later of Shirvan. Due to the content of the following letter after this one, it is clear that this Patrick Campbell is the son of Campbell in Barnalian and the same who was at Fraoch Eilean for Christmas in '92.

[Translation to modern spelling]:

At Kilmun 3rd March 1693

Affectionate Cousin,

Be pleased to send me with the bearer hereof that hundred merks that I got my brother to order for and receiving obligation from the bea[rer]. And also my brother orders [that] I stand in need of three or four bolls of meal and hope [you] will trust me the said meal until Lammas next. And send me word with the bearer what is your selling price.

This is all at present. With love to your self and your Lady, [I] rest,

Your affectionate cousin,

P. Campbell.¹³⁸

[Original spelling]:

At Killmun 03 March 1693

Affectionarr Cussine

Be pleased to send me wt the bearer hearof that hunder mark tht I gott my Brother order for and receiveing obligation from three bea and alsoe my Brother orders I stand in need of three or four boalles of meall and hope will trust me the sd meall till Lambas nixt and send me word wt the bearer what is yor sealing pryce This is all at prit with Lov to your self and yor Leady rest,

Affectionatt Cussine

P. Campbell¹³⁹

On the 10th of May 1693 Archibald of Inverawe, was at Tirvine where he addressed a letter to Alexander merchant in Edinburgh, Patrick's brother and also brother of Captain Dougall Campbell in London. Their mother had gone off her head and was out of control and a major problem for the family:

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Tirvine the 10th May 1693

I have used all endeavours about your mother but none in this country would take her in boarding and as for your brother Patrick, it's not possible he can keep her with him and his wife. So he is gone himself with her yesterday to [the] Lennox and brought a quarter year's boarding. He had her for four years and he got from me sixty merks a year and as ninety[?] the last. And he got before from Captain Dougall or else from yourself, a hundred merks, so in all he has got for four years until the first of August next, two hundred and twenty merks.

Let me hear from you and if that MacLean comes to Edinburgh, give him my letter and as this boy comes from Edinburgh, see if Colin Campbell, Argyll's Chamberlain, has anything to write to me in answer to some letters I sent him. And acquaint me what you hear of our brother Captain Dougall. Naught else at present, but my respects to yourself and your bedfellow. I remain,

Your affectionate cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe.

Speak also to Ronald Campbell, Writer at Edinburgh, that I sent him two letters lest the one should miscarry to show. I send a boy to Ludovick Drummond to come and receive his money and see if he has anything to write to me also.

Let you remember Colin Campbell Argyll's Chamberlain about the Baron of Achacha that you speak about it to the Earl of Breadalbane. And give Colin my letter. Deliver this other packet to Mr. John Campbell, Writer in Edinburgh, together with a letter to him.¹⁴⁰

[Original spelling]:

Tirvine the 10 May 1693

I have used all Indeavours anent yr mothr bot non in this country would take bording out of her & as for yr brothr Patrick Its not possible he can kiep her wt him & his wyff, so he is gon himself wt hir yesterday to lenox & brocht ane qrtr years boording wt him She is wt him three years & three qrtrs bot since ye pays her Querter boording he hes her for four years & he got from me sextie mrks the year & as ninty[?] the last, & he got befor from Captain Dugall Or els from yr self ane hundr marks so in all he hes got for four years till the first of agust nixt tuo hundr & twenty mrks Let me hear from you & if tht Mclean cum to edr given him my Letter & as this boy coms from edr sie if Collin Campbell Argylls cchancerland hes any thing to wryt to me in ansuer of som letters I sent him & aquent me qt ye hear of yr brothr Captain Dugall not els at prit bot my respects to yr self and yr bed fellow I remain

Yr Aff Coossin

A Campbell of Inverawe

Speak also to Ronald Campbell Wrytter at edr that I sent him tuo lrs lest the on should miscarry to show I send any boy to Ladoveck Drumond to com & receive his mony & sie if he hes any thing to wryt to me also

Let you remember Collin Campbell Argylls chanerlane anent the barran of Achacha tht ye speak anent it to the Earle of Bradalban & give Collin my letter delyver this uthr packet to Mr. John Campbell wryter at Edr together wt ane Letter to him.¹⁴¹

This is an intriguing letter, leaving more questions than answers. Ludovic Drummond sounds as though he was a well known figure, but he does not appear in reference works. The 'Baron of Achacha' would seem to be Campbell of Achacharne, since he is so mentioned in later letters. Later still, when Inverawe was settling his affairs and writing about him, he called him 'The Baron of Acha.' This seems to refer to Acha, also known as Achacharne, in Benderloch, and not the place of a similar name in Glen Leiver on Loch Etive.

Alexander the merchant had now been elected as a Baillie of Edinburgh. A Baillie was like a Burgess or an established member of the business community. He was keeping account of his brother Captain Dougall's income from his lands in Argyll. Possibly Dougall had an idea of retiring there some day. The account was from Whitsunday 1690 to 93, Whitsun being the 15th of May.

'ffitted accompt by Ard Campbell of Inveraw wt Alexr Campbell burgess at Edr for what annuelrents was received by the sd Ard from Whitsunday M y^c and Nynty till Whitsunday M vj^c & nynty three belonging to Captain Dugall Campbell his bror

	lbs
Charge for the sd three yeris is	0720 - 00 - 00 ¹⁴²

The cost of maintaining the widow of Barnalian was still being shared among the kin, which needed careful accounting. The costs from May 1689 to August 1693 were listed. There survives the Account by Patrick Campbell and Alexander for the boarding cost for their mother the incapable Mrs. Campbell, mother of Alexander Campbell, merchant burgess in Edinburgh, and Patrick Campbell in Barnaline and Kilmun, and Captain Dougall Campbell in London, plus several daughters:

Ffitted compt for four years from May eighty nyn till agust nynty three being in all four years on quarter charge of the wholl boarding during tht tyme

Is ane hunder marks yearly Inde	145 ^m 00 00
---------------------------------	------------------------

Discharge

Imprimis received from Ard Campbell of Inveraw

Of moy [money] sent by Captain Dugall from edr to the sd Ard	100 ^m 00 00
--	------------------------

Item received from Ard Campbell of Inverawe

at tuo severall tymes of Captain Dugall's annualrent	120 00 00
--	-----------

Item received from Arcd Campbell of Inveraw

in March 95 by ordour from Alexr Campbell my brothr	100 00 00
---	-----------

Item alloed by Dugall McConchies brothr

Be ordour from the sd <u>Alxr my brothr</u>	100 00 00
---	-----------

Suma received	420 ^m 00 00
---------------	------------------------

Docket: acompt Patrick Campbell wt his brothr Alexr Campbell burges at Edr.¹⁴³

There is a Receipt dated at Inveraray on the 3rd of October 1693, signed by Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinglas, 'Knight Baronet,' to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, Alexander Campbell of Lochnell and Angus Campbell of Dunstaffnage, for certain Writs delivered to him in connection with a Bond by the said Archibald of Inverawe, Alexander of Lochnell, John Campbell of Carrick, the deceased Alexander Campbell of Dunstaffnage and Angus

Campbell of Kilberry, to the deceased John Campbell WS, for £6,000 Scots, dated on the 15th of October 1681. This was of course the amount which they were obliged to put up as surety for their loyalty to the government on the eve of the 9th Earl of Argyll's imprisonment. The receipt was witnessed at Inverary by Inverawe's half-brother Alexander Campbell of Kilmartin and by Colin Campbell in Inveraray. Inverawe would have been responsible for a fifth of £6,000, or £1,200 Scots. However it seems unlikely that at this point he was expected to pay, since the Receipt was for Writs, not cash.¹⁴⁴

Two weeks later, Archibald was enlarging his responsibilities by taking on a Wadset of more land. On the 18th of October Archibald Campbell of Barbreck granted a Wadset to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe of the lands of Dalchelich in Glendore for 1,350 merks in security of Bonds listed. However it later turns out that this Wadset was only in security for a Bond.¹⁴⁵ However, the very next day, a Disposition was signed at Kilmartin by Duncan MacGillise, to Inverawe, of his '2 merkland of Kilmun called Glenmeilshen with Tynabruaich and the ½ merkland of Tyghindaiker falling thereto in the parish of Kilchrenan.' The witnesses were Archibald Campbell of Barbreck and again, Alexander Campbell of Kilmartin. Why Inverawe needed lands in Cowal is not clear.¹⁴⁶

Inverawe's brother Duncan, who must have been married for over twenty years to his wife Isabel, daughter of the late Patrick Campbell of Edinample, was now appointed to a position of trust. Edinample had been a younger son of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, so that besides Duncan, Isabel was also a cousin of Breadalbane's.

On the 25th of January 1694, Elizabeth, Countess of Argyll, signed a Commission to Duncan Campbell, brother to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, and John Campbell in Falkirk, late Ensign to the Earl of Argyll's regiment, to be her Chamberlains and Factors to her in the Islands of Tiree and Coll. The witnesses to her signature were Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinglas, Colin Campbell, Sheriff Clerk of Argyll, and Colin Campbell in Inveraray. The position was no doubt well paid, but recent conflicts with the Macleans would not make the collection of rents an easy task. The Earl of Argyll and his wife had decided to live apart, and the Countess would move to Campbelltown where she would live quietly for the rest of her days. She was no doubt dependant on these rents for her income.¹⁴⁷ John Campbell in Falkirk, 'late Ensign to the Earl of Argyll's regiment' in 1694, may well have served at Glencoe two years earlier.

At Duntroon, Patrick Campbell had succeeded his father Neill. Archibald was again at Fraoch Eilean on the 27th of January 1694 when he wrote a Discharge to Patrick for Mary McNeill's jointure and tierce for 1693.¹⁴⁸

By the 19th of February, Archibald had moved on to Inveraray, from when he wrote again to Alexander the merchant in Edinburgh:

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Inveraray 19th February 1694

Affectionate Cousin,

I find by a line from your brother Dougall that he desires your brother Patrick to settle with Mr. Moor, and that he allowed him to give down the annualrents and expense which he says is the third part of the sum, and after he got it that he would

take Patrick's Bond for it, which Patrick is willing to do. But you having all these papers, and Rowallen, Mr Moore's brother whom they say does appear for his brother's debt, being at Edinburgh. So let you try Rowallen in this for you settled with John Yule for one debt of his brother's. And let me know what you say to it. You should speak to John *dubh* your uncle's son about your brother [Captain] Dougall's debt, then to write to me and you should do the like to McNaughtan. Naught else. I rest,

Your affectionate Cousin,
A Campbell of Inverawe.¹⁴⁹

[Original spelling]:

Inverary 19 Feby 1694

Affectiot Coosing

I fynd by ane line from yr brothr Dugall tht he desyrs yr brothr Patrick to sutle wt Mr Moor, & tht he allowed him to give doun the anellrents & expense Qtch he seys is the third part of the sum, & after he got it tht he wold take Patricks band for it Qtch Patrick is willing to do, bot ye having all thes peapers & Rowallen Mr Moors brothr qn they say dos compar for his brothrs dept being at edr so lett you try Rowallen in this for ye sutled wt John Yuill so for ane debt of his brothrs & lett me know qt ye say to it ye should speak to John Dow yr Uncle son anent yr brothr Dugalls dept then to Wryt to me & ye should do the lyk to McNaughtan, not els I rest

Yr affect Coossing

A Campbell of Inverawe¹⁵⁰

John *Dubh* was the eldest son of the late Archibald *oig* Campbell in Kintyre. He would be, if he was not already, Campbell of Whitestone, a farm near Saddell on the east coast of Kintyre. His younger brother Patrick, known as 'Peter' became General Peter Campbell of South Hall on the Kyles of Bute.

The Moores or Muirs of Rowallen in Ayrshire were connected to the Loudoun family by marriage. Rowallen is a handsome old house, unusual as it appears as a castle, having narrow round towers flanking the entance door at the top of a long flight of steps. The house is not a vertical 'tower house,' but quite long. In the 17th century it must have been a fairly prosperous estate. The Earl of Argyll settled younger sons of the Moores Kintyre. The earl's motive was that their more advanced Lowland farming methods would influence the local use of land. They were one of a number of Ayrshire families provided with grants of the level ground between Campbeltown and Machrihanish.

Then, on the 27th of February 1694, the work in sorting out the affairs of John Campbell of Achacha began. Earlier the place had been spelt Achacharne and later it was reduced further to Acha. On that date John of Achacha signed an Interdiction with his son and heir Archibald Campbell, fiar thereof, 'his eldest lawful son and apparent heir, in favour of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, Duncan Campbell his brother german, Duncan Campbell of Stronchormaug, Dougall Campbell fiar thereof, and Dougall Campbell of Clenmacrie, dated at Auchacha.' The witnesses were Colin Campbell of Inveresragan, Alexander Campbell his brother and Lachlan Campbell indweller in Brunrie.¹⁵¹ All of those named in the Interdiction were of the MacConnochie kindred, with the exception of Dougall of

Clenamacrie who was of the Dunstaffnage kindred. Of the witnesses, the Campbells of Inveresragan were a branch of the Ardhattan kindred and Lachlan we have already met at Branrie when he was listed among the 'Fencible men.' In Scots law an interdiction can be the same as an injunction. What seems likely is that Achacha had got himself into debt with all of his kin and they were pressing for payment. He was already liable for the liferent of his brother Lachlan's widow.

Meanwhile, Inverawe was again at Tirvine when on the 28th of March 1694 he signed another Discharge to Patrick of Duntroon for Mary MacNeill's jointure for 1693.¹⁵²

But the issue of John of Achacha's affairs would continue. On the 15th of May those named in Achacha's Interdiction, including Inverawe, Stronchromaig and the others, put forward an Inhibition against John Campbell of Auchacha. An inhibition was like a restraining order. Since it was evidently also like a horning, this makes clear that it was an issue of debt.¹⁵³ But they were not going to be ruthless since he was of their kin. So on the 8th of June John of 'Achachaw' gave a bond for £438-5s-4d Scots to Archibald of Inverawe, with the consent of all his Interdoctors.¹⁵⁴ This had the effect, presumably, of gathering all the debts into one and therefore making John only liable to Inverawe who, should he sell on the Bond to someone else, would be able to pay off the others who were owed.

While this case was evolving. Inverawe's most distant Tacksman, Alexander MacDonald of Dalness, away near the head of Glen Etive, was negotiating to have a wadset of his lands there. This was only two years after the government massacre in Glencoe when many of the fugitives had braved a snowstorm to cross the high passes over to their kinsfolk at Dalness to find succour on Campbell of Inverawe lands. Although the document is a long one, the conditions, particularly relating to deer on the Forest of Dalness or Buchaille, of which Inverawe was hereditary Forester, are clearly spelled out and so worth outlining here.

On the 23rd of June 1694 at Bunaw, likely at the inn there, a Contract of Wadset was signed between Archibald of Inverawe and Alexander MacDonald in Dalness. The choice of Bunaw is interesting. The place was just down river from Inverawe and an Archibald Campbell who was the innkeeper there and considered himself a member of the MacConnochie kindred. His wife would put what she considered the Inverawe arms on his table tombstone when he died. The stone survives at Taynuilt. Being near the tidal mouth of the River Awe, the inn was easily approachable by boat, and it would be by boat that MacDonald would most likely arrive from the head of the loch at Caenlochative. (Kinlochative on the maps). A family, who may have been kin of the Dalness family, had the lease of the stell-nets at the mouth of the Awe for a number of generations. These were wooden frames upon which nets were set and caught the salmon at high tide. All of which could be the reason that the parties met at Bunaw rather than at Inverawe. A 'kindly tenant' was one who was not limited to a 9 or 19 year tack, but had a fairly permanent right to the tack.

The Wadset was agreed by Archibald and his brother Duncan (of Crunachy) 'on the one part and Alexander McDonald, eldest lawful son to the umql [late] Alexander McDonald, kindly Doneleaser, tenant and possessor of the land of Dalness on the other part.' The price paid to initiate the Wadset was 1,200 merks. Inverawe set a tack of the land to MacDonald for 19 years, and within that time, should Inverawe choose, he could repay the sum of 1,200 merks [or £66.66 sterling], within the parish of Baleveodan and the lands would revert to him.

What is likely was that this arrangement was seen by Archibald as virtually ensuring that the people for whom Inverawe was responsible in the communities on his lands would suffer no more raids from the young men of Glencoe whose tradition was that such raids were a normal experience of their coming to manhood. Now if they did raid, their kinsman of Dalness could lose their lands.

The Lairds of Inverawe had, at some far earlier date, been appointed Foresters or Keepers of the 'Forest of Dalness,' also known as 'Buchailletive.' Since the position is not mentioned in any of the writs that survived in Archibald's time, it was likely from the previous century or before.

The Wadset to MacDonald in Dalness did not include the 'Forest' of Buchailletive. But it included the position of Subforester for the Forest of Buchailletive,

'for keeping and inbringing of the Deer, in and to, the said Forest, and killing of the samen Deer in about the said Forest as when desired or required by the said Archibald Campbell of Inveraw or his heirs ... or any having their orders and Command, and that MacDonald and his followers use and exerce [exercise] all and whatsoever things requisite and necessar for preserving and keeping of the Deer and killing of the Deer when desired or required as any subforester may do within this Kingdome with all Rights and privileges of the haill woods within the foresaid Bounds, and their Tenants and Cottars, to cut als much of the said woods als well fir as Oak, as will be requisite and necesar for Bridges and erecting of new houses, or repairing old houses within the foresaid Bounds, together likeways with the Salmon Fishing in and upon the Water of Etive on both sides thereof from Craiginnarie to Cuibblie (except the marches of Inveraoline allenarly) together also with the Tiends of the samen lands, als well parsonages as vicarages brock and stock thereof and Tiend Sheaver of the samen all by and in manner foresaid ...in the said lands etc....

This suggests that there was then more than a mere surviving remnant of the old pine forest, which today has a few lonely and immature trees by the river, fenced in the hope of regeneration.

The lands were to be held from Archibald for payment yearly the sum of 'eighteen merks Scots money of feu on surplus duties with ten Merks Money foresaid to Tiend duties, and two Merks Money of dry multure yearly as long as Archibald or his heirs shall happen to keep a going Milne within the Bounds of Glenetive, all extending to the sum of Twenty pounds Scots money in feu, tiend, and dry multure, beginning the first years payment ... at and again the feast and term of Martinmas next to come...' 'Dry multure' or meal was from oats that was hard to grow in shaded Glen Etive.

This was followed by the feudal requirement for;

'hosting and hunting, not only of the said Alexander Macdonald himself and his heirs and successors, but also of the haill Gentlemen descended of the said Alexander... his goodsyr [as] many of them as will follow and obey the said Alexander... with the haill Tenants, Cottars, and Inhabitants of the said twenty Shilling land of Dalness, and that whenever they are called, desired or required thereto. And that upon the Cost and

Expenses of the said Alexander ... for the first fifteen days of the said Hosting and hunting, and thereafter during the haill space thereof, upon the cost and Expenses of the said Archibald ... they being halways upon the head thereof and personally present, in ordering, conducting and managing of the said Hosting and hunting'...further Alexander is to relieve Archibald of all crimes committed in the lands of Dalness. Mention is made of the lands between 'Lochanaline' and the point of 'Ardmuchras.' Alexander MacDonald was assigned the right 'to input and output tenants at their pleasure...'155

Then, once again on the 26th of June 1694, Archibald was at Inveraray and writing to his agent Alexander Campbell the merchant Baillie in Edinburgh. Archibald seems a little irascible about the issue of Captain Dougall's lands and the Bailie of Muckairn, Donald Campbell, since his advice about them was not taken originally, and tells Alexander to deal with them himself.

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Inveraray 26 June 1694

Affectionate Cousin,

I have sent you now as formerly an account [for?] your brother, [this would be Captain Dougall] so acquaint him as you think fit. He knew his case, the Bailie of Muckairn D... Campbell is at Edinburgh and so is young Caddell [Cawdor]. Two years now remains [owed] of your brother's at Whitsunday last of annualrents, except the hundred merks got a little while ago. My advice was not followed in taking land from old Caddell, what need all right for your brother. So deal [with] them there. I remain,

Your affectionate cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe¹⁵⁶

[Original spelling]:

[torn] [?Invera]ray 26 Jun 1694

Affect Coosing

I h[ave] sent you now as formerly anecompt from yr brothr so aquent him as ye think fitt [?H]e knew his cace, the bally of Mocairn D[onald] Campbell is at edr & so is young cade[ll] [Cawdor] tuo years now rests of yr brothrs at Whitsunday last of anuell rents, except the hundr mrks got ane little wheill ago my advice was not followed in taking land from old Cadell Qt nead all richt for yr brothr so deall them ther I remane

Yr Affect Coosing

A Campbell of Inverawe¹⁵⁷

Inverawe was again at Inveraray at the end of July when, on the 31st, he was witness to a tack by Archibald, 10th Earl of Argyll.¹⁵⁸ Next day he was writing to Alexander the merchant in Edinburgh again.

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Inveraray 1st August 1694

Affectionate Cousin,

I did signify in my last to you that it was likely that the Bailie of Muckairn did not intend to pay your brother's annualrents. It's likely he is prohibited to pay it. I did also write to you that it was fit that you should speak to Mr. Moor's brother [Rowallen] that [compounds?] his brother's debt. So see if you can settle that particular of your brother's debt with him and acquaint me about it. You have Mr. Moor's papers which he got sent to you from me, and your brother Patrick can do nothing with Mr. Moor according to your brother's direction without the papers and a commission from Captain Dougall, but if you can agree with Mr. Moor's brother, it's far better. I rest,

Your affectionate cousin.

A Campbell of Inverawe.¹⁵⁹

[Original spelling]:

Inv[era]ray first agust 1694

Affect Coosing

I did signify in my last to you, tht it was lyk tht the bally of Mocarn did not intend to pay yr brothrs annuellrents its lyk he is prohibited to pay it. I did also wryt to you tht it was fitt tht ye should speak to Mr Moors brothr [Rowallen] tht conpons his brothrs dept, so sie if ye can sutle tht particular of yr brothrs dept wt him & aquent me anent it ye have Mr Moors peapers Qtch he got send you from me, & yr brothrs Patrick can do nothing wt Mr Moor according to yr brothrs direction wt out the peapers & ane commission from Captain Dugall, bot if ye can agreea wt Mr Moors brothr its far better. I rest. &c.

Your affect Coosing

A Campbell of Inveraw.¹⁶⁰

There is then no further word of Archibald of Inverawe until the first of December when once again he is at Inverary signing a Discharge to Patrick Campbell of Duntroon for Mary's tierce for 1693. The witnesses were Dougall Campbell in Ardmaddie, likely his half brother who would be Bailie of Nether Lorn there, and John McIntyre, servitor to Inverawe. John was possibly one of the sons of McIntyre of Glen Noe, a neighbour up Loch Etive, perhap even being fostered at Inverawe.¹⁶¹ Less than a week later Archibald was back at Tirvine writing to Alexander in Edinburgh again.

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Affectionate Cousin,

I think as brother Dougall is ... with the Laird of Cawdor, it had been better for you to have taken my advice, for I advised him to take a wadset in Ichrachan from the old Laird. Now I find the young Laird is wadsetting Muckairn and if your brother would get the land of Ichrachan in his six thousand merks with power to reduce a croft that is called Tayinloan & Barfail, that is wadset to one of Cawdor's family who died the other year in seven hundred merks which Crofts are in the bosom of the land of Ichrachan, which is in all six thousand seven hundred [merks]. If he got this down

he might see the bargain accommodated to the best advantage to him. So you may signify this to your brother and if it be a bargain betwixt you and young Cawdor, I would wish to be known to it to get it rightly accommodated, since I know the Laird best and how the bargain might be. It would be the w...at to speak to Mr. John Campbell in it if that once you did see your brother [as being] willing, so as you find occasion, acquaint me what his liability [opinion?] may be of this. I remain,

Your affectionate cousin,

A.Campbell of Inverawe

I have sent with Barcaldine five hundred and sixty merks to be given to William Walker, late Provost of Dunfermline, to whom you will get occasion, that he may deliver up my Bond together with a relaxation of the arrestment that was laid on it, so take my name from the Bond and send it with Barcaldine if you get it or his [torn – bearer?] come home. If not, send a receipt of what money I sent.¹⁶²

[Original spelling]:

Tirvin[?] 6 Jry 1695 [In modern dating January 1696]

Affectionat Coossing,

I think as brothr Dugall is ste... wt the Laird of Cadell, it had ben better for you to have taken my advice, for I advised him to take ane wadsett in Ichkrachen from the old Laird, now I ffind the young Laird is wadsetting Mocarn & if yr brothr would get the land of Ichkrachen in his sex thousand merks wt power to reduce ane craft tht is cald Tey in Loan & barefail, tht is wadsett to on of Cadells family qo died the othr yeir in seven hundred mrk Qlk crofts ar in the bosom of the land of Ichkrachern Qtch is in all sex thousand seven hunder. If he got this doon he nicht sie the bargon acomodat to the best advantadge to him so ye may signify this to yr brothr & if it be ane bargon betuixt you & young Caddell, I would wishe to be known to it to get it rightly acomodat since I know the laird best & how the burgon might be. It wold be the w...at to speak to Mr. John Campell in it if that once you did see your brother ... willing, so as you find occasion, acquaint me what his liability may be of this. I remaine

Your affct coosine

A.Campbell of Inverawe

I have sent with Barcaldine five hundred and sixty merks to be given to William Walker, late Provost of Dunfermline, to whom you will get occasion, that he may deliver up my Bond together with a relaxation of the arrestment that was lid on it, so take my name from the Bond and send it with Barcaldine if you get it or his [torn – bearer?] come home. If not, send a receipt of what money I sent.

Your affectionate cousin

Archibald Campbell of Inverawe¹⁶³

Possibly Archibald's interest in Captain Dougall in London purchasing Ichrachan and the croft there may have had to do with the bounds of that land marching with Fanans or Inverawe across the river. Although this seems as though Archibald was finally paying off his long term debt to Wellwood and Walker in Dunfermline, some weeks later he would be sent a threatening letter about what he owed. He had taken advantage of Campbell of

Barcaldine travelling to Edinburgh to send coin for the debt. Perhaps Alexander delayed taking action.

Among the Barcaldine papers in the National Archives, (GD170/608) there survives a letter from Archibald of Inveraw to Campbell of Barcaldine, dated at Inveraw on the 2nd of February 1695. Due to Breadalbane's ambitions, it was never easy to ride the fence of loyalty between him and Argyll. Argyll's brother Lord Neil had died, and Breadalbane wanted to buy the lands of Ardmaddy from his children. Inverawe had heard that Breadalbane was displeased with him, seemingly because of his concern for the widow Susan Menzies and the children;

Its trew I could wishe Lord Neill's children and the relict well, bot nothing to the Earle of Breadalban's prejudice ... ye may assure his Lordship that, although I would, I will nevir be for the prejudice of his family. I have been very jelus for the advancement of Argyll's family, I wishe his family nixt to it and wishes ane hapy understanding betuixt them. When Argyll did com to Inveraray from Flanders Last and was to put his affairs in ordour ... I proposed ... that the Earl of Argyll should nominat the Earle of Breadalban as oversman to regullat the esteat of Argyll, and I would pledge my oun fortoun for his lordship's fidelity to the family of Argyll.

Patrick Campbell in Barnalian, also in Kilmun Lochawe, signed a Discharge to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe in name & behalf of Alexander Campbell 'my' brother, in part payment of Alexander and Patrick's mother's boarding during the time she stayed with Patrick, for 100 merks Scots. The Discharge was written by John McIntyre, who again appears as servitor to Archibald, & signed at Barnaline on the 2nd of March 1695 before Archibald McLachlan there & John McIntyre himself.¹⁶⁴

Discharge:

Patrick Campbell in Kilmun [& Barnalian] has received

Imper per Recept from Alexr Campbell of	
The date 22 Aprill 1692	0200 – 00 – 00
Item be receipt from Patrick Campbell in	
Kilmun at his sevrall tymes	0800 – 00 – 00
Item per receipt from the sd Alexr of the date	
The last of October 1692	0100 – 00 – 00
Item given to Dugall Campbell brothr of the sd	
Archd by direction of the sd Alexr	0133 – 00 – 00
Item given to Patrick Campbell in Kilmun	
Per receipt 2 of March 1695	0066 – 00 – 00
	Suma discharge is <u>0680 – 00 – 00</u>
	So rests 0040 – 00 – 00

Nota I am to pay the balance @rents to
A. C. for my brothr¹⁶⁵

On the 8th of March 1695, Alexander Campbell the merchant in Edinburgh wrote to Archibald of Inverawe asking him to pay to 'your' brother Dougall Campbell, later Bailie of

Nether Lorn and of Shirvan, 200 merks Scots, out of annualrents received for 'my' brother Captain Dougall from the Chamberlain of Muckairn.¹⁶⁶

The next day at Inveraray, Archibald of Inverawe was witness to a Tack by Archibald 10th Earl of Argyll, to Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, of the lands of Aross and Morinish and others in Mull for nineteen years. Other witnesses included Lt. Col. Robert Campbell in Ardbrecknish and Colin Campbell, Sheriff Clerk of Argyll. The Tack was written by Ronald Campbell, son to Donald Campbell of Craignish.¹⁶⁷ On the 20th of March, now back at his castle of Fraoch Eilean, Inverawe wrote yet again to his cousin and agent Alexander Campbell, Merchant Burgess in Edinburgh:

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Fraoch Eilean 20th March 1695

Affectionate Cousin,

I received yours and shall accordingly give two hundred merks to Dougall my brother which with the hundred merks I gave to Patrick your brother, does complete the annualrent of your brother's debts until Martinmass '93. Except that I did allow to the Laird of Cawdor's Chamberlain for the deduction of the annualrents [to] conform to the Act of Parliament [in] Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor's name as gratuity so that this can do no prejudice. So I have in whole fourscore pounds to clear the whole intromission of all the years that I meddled after that my brother gets at this time.

As for Mr. Moor's papers, you may well remember I sent them to yourself when I did see that John Cameron would do no good in it. So let you seal them out for certainly you have them which your own letter to me at the time declared. Naught else at present.

I remain, Your affectionate cousin.

A. Campbell of Inverawe.

Signed by Archibald but not written by him¹⁶⁷

[Original spelling]:

Frechellan 20th March 1695

Affectionat Coossing

I received yors and shall accordingly give tuo hundreth mark to Dugall my brothr qch wt the hundereth marks I did give to Patrick yor brothr does Compleit the @ rent of yor brothrs Debts till Marts nyntie three; Except that I did allow to ye Laird of Caddells Chamberlane ffor the deduction of ye @rents conforme to the act of parliat Sr Hew Campbell of Caddell did allow his Chamberlaine to give it back to me and only did give a receipt off ffourtie pound to him, in the Laird off Caddells name as gratuadie so yt this can doe no prejudice. So I have in wholl fourscore pouds to Cleir the wholl Intromissione of all ye years that I meddled after yt my brothr gets at this tyme as ffor Mr Mooors peapers you may weill remember I sent them to your self qn I did see qt John Cameron would doe no good in it So let yow seile ym out for Certanlie yow have ym qch yor own letter to me at the tyme Declared not else att pritt I remaine,

Yor Affectionat Coossing,

A Campbell of Inveraw¹⁶⁸

In Dunfermline on the 29th of March, Mr. Wellwood, or Wallwood, of the firm Wellwood & Walker, wrote to Inverawe a warning letter about a debt gone grey with age. For ‘annualrents’ in this case read ‘interest’ and these annualrents are spelt ‘@rent.’

[Translation to modern spelling]:

To Archibald Campbell of Inverawe
Dunfermline the 29th of March 1695

We are aware that since Candlemass 1687, which was the last years annualrent we received from you of our principal sum of five hundred and sixty merks, that we have not received anything [it] being eight years past at Candlemass last 1695. You put forward that the money was held [up] by Robert Wellwod at Edinburgh, which arrestment he has past, from being satisfied of all he could ask to now, Sir, having the occasion of this bearer coming to your [area?] we resolve first [in] havinging the experience of your civility and good payment.

And now by your delay in not either paying of our annualrents or taking a ready way of paying our principal sum now so long owed, [we] write to you in a civil way that you will not after so long delay take present order for payment of both the principal sum and annualrents bygone, the annual rents being eight years behind, amounting to an hundred and seventy-nine pounds four shillings Scots money. Otherwise you will force us sore against our will to get one against you in using all legal diligence against you which we resolve presently to do if you do not prevent [that] by taking a speedy way for our satisfaction and payment, which wer are confident you will do and not put yourself and us to needless expence. And so we are,

Your humble servant
William Walker Robert Wellwood ¹⁶⁹

[Original spelling]:

Double [copy] of a lettir Wallwood and Walker
To Ard Campbell of Inveraw

Dunfermline the 29 March 1695

We admire that since candlemes 1687, qlk wes the last yeares @rent we received from yow of our princl somme of five hundreth & threescoir mrks that we have not received nothing being aught zeirs bygone at Candlemas last 1695 Ye pretended the money was arestit be Rob: Walwood at eder qlk areistment he has past fra being satisfeit of all he could crave so now sir having the occasions of this bearer coming to your [fields?] we resolve first having the experience of your civilitie & gud payment And now by your delay in not nather payeing of our @rents or takeing a redy way of payeing our prrill soume now soe long awand to wryte to yow in a civell way that ye will now efter soe long delay to take present order for payment of boith the prinll somme and @rents bygane ye @rents being aught yeres bygone amounting to ane hundereth three scoire nynteing pund four shilling Scots moe [money] utherways ye will force us sore against our will to get one against yow in using all legall diligence against you qlke we resolve presentlie to doe if ye doe not prevent by takeing a spedie way for our satisfacione & payment qlk we are confident ye will doe & not put yor self & ws to neidles expsnces and soe we are

Your humble servand
Will: Walker

R. Walwood¹⁷⁰

The day Wellwood wrote from Dunfermline, Archibald was writing about them from Tirvine to Alexander in Edinburgh:

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Tirvine 29th March 1695

Affectionate Cousin,

I shall entreat you to appoint Wellwood & Walker in Dunfermline about that five hundred and sixty merks the annualrent thereof is resting [owing] since Candlemass eighty seven, so let you deal with them to see if the annualrent be gotten down. I would pay them their principal against Whitsunday. If not to see what ease you can get against Martinmass next with making what apology you think fit for me. I had many other sums to pay & fail not to take some pains in this. I did ... you in my last that certainly I did send you Mr. Moor's papers. Acquaint me what you do with these men. I remain.

Your Affectionate cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe.

Remember me to Mr. John Campbell and acquaint me what he has done in getting up the Baron of Achacha's papers from Carwhin.¹⁷¹

[Original spelling]:

Tirvin 29 Mar 1695

Affectionat Coossing

I shall intreat ye to apoynt wt Walwood & Walker in drumferline anent tht fyve hunder & sextie marks the annualrent therof is resting since Candlemus eichty seven, so let your deall wt them to sie if the anuellrent be gotten doun I would pay them ther principall agst Whitsunday If not to sie qt ease ye can get agst martinms nixt wt making qt apology ye think fitt for me I had many other somes to pay & fail not to take som pains in this I did agu... yow in my last tht certainly I did send you Mr Moors peapers aquent me qt ye do wt thes men I remane, Yr. Affectionat Coossing

A Campbell of Inverawe

Remember to Mr John Campbell to aquend me qt he has doon in getting up the barran of achecha his peapers from Correchuin.¹⁷²

Closer to home, Inverawe was using his funds within the family. On the 8th of May Patrick Campbell in Barnalian, now in Kilmun [Lochawe], wrote him a Discharge for £40 Scots in the name of Alexander Campbell, burgess in Edinburgh 'my' brother. Patrick was at Inverawe where his signature was witnessed by Archibald McLauchlan in Barnaline, who had likely accompanied him there, and Mr Colin Campbell [of Achnaba], mininster at Ardchattan, 'writer hereof.'¹⁷³ Colin was a most remarkable man, a deep scholar who corresponded with Sir Isaac Newton, who told a gathering of his fellows in London that were Colin there with them, 'he would make us all look like children.'

Two days later, on the 10th of May 1695, Inverawe was responding to the letter of William Walker of Wellwood and Walker in Dunfermline:

[Translation: to modern spelling]:

For William Walker and Wellwood at Dunfermline
1695

Inverawe the 10th of May

Sir,

I received yours and I believe it [the debt] is so long holding [[being withheld] as you write, but I did not see any loosening of that arrestment of Robert Wellwood at Edinburgh as yet so I have interested my cousin Alexander Campbell, Burges at Edinburgh, to settle with you. And if you do settle he will assure you of payment of all I promise against Martinmass next. I assure you I never got anything of the benefit of the Bond I gave you, so I expect ordinary civility in ease of your annualrents, and the principal shall be punctually paid against Martinmass next without fail if you give me such favour as I expect. I remain,

Your loving friend,

A. Campbell of Inverawe.¹⁷⁴

[Original spelling]:

ffor William Walker and Walwood at Dunferline

Inveraw the 10 May 1695

Thes Sr

I reaceaved yrs & I bellive it is so long resting as ye wryt, bot I did not sie any lousing of tht arrestment of Rt Wallwood at edr as yet so I have Interested my Coosin Alxr Campbell burges at Edr to satle wt yow, & if ye do satle he will assure yow of payment of all I promees agst marmas nixt I assure yow I never got any thing of the benefit of the bound I did give you, so I expect ordinair Civillity in ease of yr annuelrents, & the principall shall be punchially payd agst Martins nixt wt out fail. If ye give me such favour as I expect I remane

Yr loving freend

A Campbell of Inverawe.¹⁷⁵

Next day, on the 11th, Inverawe wrote again to Alexander in Edinburgh:

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Inverawe the 11th of May 1695

Affectionate Cousin,

I received yours of the 27th of last month and when ever Dougall my brother goes I shall send all my receipts of your brother Dougall's annualrent. I will not be resting [owing] above forty pounds Scots as my accounts & receipts will testify. I have sent you the double of Welwood & Walker in Dunfermline's letters to me, and I have sent enclosed a letter to them as you may see. And I expect you will deal with them to the greatest advantage that you may. Yet you may pretend that my estate is

so conveyed [i.e. burdened with debt so owned by others?] that they can have but personal action, so it's better for them to settle with me, so acquaint me as soon as you meet with them, and whatever you do with them, I'll stand by it and shall send you money against what time you agree with them. There is many in as good circumstances as I am in that gets down all their annualrent in, so that they paid more profit [than?] I had in their Bond. I hope it's true what you [write?] about your good sister [in-law] Captain Dougall's lady, for I did dream that I was at London two nights before I got your letter [and] that I did see them hale and [well?], and I hope it shall be so. Let you try all ways with Mr. Moor. McNaughtan has not been at home this quarter of [the] year but about Stirling and Doune, and I expect no money by his long absence. If he be at Edinburgh I wish you [would] see him. I remain,

Your Affectionate cousin,
A. Campbell of Inverawe.¹⁷⁶

[Original spelling]:

Inveraw 11 May 1695

Affectionat Coosing

I received yrs of the 27 of the last month, & qn ever Dugall my brothr goes I shall send all my receats of yr brothr Dugalls annuellrent. I will not be resting above forty pund scots as my compts & receats will testify I have sent yow the double of Walwood & Walker in dunferlins lrs to me, & I have sent enclosed ane letter to them as ye may sie & I exspect ye will deall wt them to the greatest advantadge yt ye may ye may pretend yt my esteat is so conveyed yt they can have bot personall action, so it better for them to sutle wt me so aquent me as soon as ye meett wt them & qt ever ye do wt them Ile stand be it & shall send you mony agst qt tyme ye agree wt them ther is mony in as good Circumstance as I am in tht Gets down all ther annuellrent in so tht they pad more profit as I had in ther bound I hop its trew qt ye [write?] anent yr good sister [in-law] Captain Dugall's lady ffor I did dream tht I was at Lunden tuo nights befor I got yr letter tht I did sie them hale & [well?] & I hope it shall be so let you try all ways wt Mr Moor McNaughtan hes not been at home this qrter of year bot always about Stirling & down & I exspect no mony by his lang absence If he be at edr I wishe ye did sie him I remain,

Yr. Affectionat Coosing
A Campbell of Inverawe.¹⁷⁷

Besides a son Archibald, now likely aged about 25, Inverawe's brother Duncan had a daughter Marjory. Marjory had been courted by Donald Campbell, the eldest son and heir of Neil of Auchinard and his wife Jean. On the 12th of July 1695, a Marriage Contract was signed between Marjory and Donald. Then on the 15th, Sasine was given to Marjory on the four merkland of Auchinard in Lismore, reserving priority to the liferent of Dougall's mother Jean.¹⁷⁸ The Auchinard family were a branch of the Campbells of Dunstaffnage. Neil, Donald's father, was the second son of John Campbell, Captain of Dunstaffnage, and had married August 1664, Jean, daughter of his great-uncle Donald Campbell of Auchinard. Donald and Marjory would have a son whom they traditionally called Neil, born in 1700. He would succeed to Dunstaffnage in 1742 and live until the 8th of March 1762, leaving a daughter and a son Angus who succeeded him. However Angus had no sons so in time the castle and lands of Dunstaffnage passed to a cousin.

Archibald of Inverawe was again writing to Alexander in Edinburgh on the first day of December 1695:

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Inverawe 1st December 1695

Affectionate Cousin,

I received yours after writing my other letter to you and since I find that Kilh...d's deputy is like to trouble McNachtan presently, I thought best to send that Horning and regrant Bond of McNachtan's to you, that you may cause renew the Horning and Caption since he lives at Glasgow but write to him first to meet you if you see him not there. He promised too often payment to me that I cannot trust him although [torn] ... him some ease it's best you end it or get sufficient caution of him if he delay it, for as I will not have occasion to see him in haste [soon?].

I will give your [Mannie?] six pounds and let you buy me a flying net for a setter dog for partridges and moor fowl, you will get several that has store of them. They are to be had with a John Maitland that gets them overseas, he is at the head of F... Wynd. My Lord Morton would send his man to chase the net if you be acquaint with him. The net to be four or six ply and very small. They say that the net will cost four [or] five shillings Sterling. Send also ... of fir seed, I got it the last year for five shillings Scots the ...

And give the bearer what surplus will be of the six pounds Scots. I rest,

Yr. Affectionate Cousin,

A Campbell of Inverawe

Give a receipt of your brother's papers with the bearer

[Note on the back]

To send him a net & some firseed & with McNachtans papers... Sent him 8
[?'bunr'?] fir seed cost 02 00:¹⁷⁹

[Original spelling]:

Inveraw first dec 1695

Affectionat Coosing

I received yrs after wrytting my othr ler to you & since I ffind tht Kilh..ds dept is lyk to truble M^cNaughtan pntly, I thoct best to send tht Horning & regrat bond of M^cNaughtans to you, tht ye may caus renew the Horning & Caption since he lives att Glasgow bot wryt to him first to meet you if ye sie him not ther he promised to oft payment to me tht I can not trust him althoch [torn] him som ease its best ye end it or get sufficient ca'on [caution?] of him if he delay it for as I will not have ocation to sie him in hast. I will give yr [Manny?] sex pund & let you buy me ane flying nett for ane setting dog for partrixs & moor fouls ye will get severalls tht hes Steur [?] of them they ar to be had wt an John Metlan tht gets them over sea he is at the head of f... wyn my lord Morton would send his man to chase the nett if ye be aquent him, the net to be four or syks ply & very small they say tht the nett will coast four five sh sterling send also ... of fir seed I got it the last year for five shilling scots the ... & give the bearer qt superplus will be of the sex pund scots I rest

Yr. Affectionat Coosing

A Campbell of Inverawe

G... ane receat of yr brthrs peapers wt the bearer

[Note on the back]

To send him a nett & some firseed & with McNachtans papers... Sent him 8 ... firr seed cost 02t 00.¹⁸⁰

Inverawe wanted his debtor McNachtan put to the horn, allowing anyone to arrest him for debt, and yet he still wanted Alexander to 'write to him first' to give him a last chance to pay. Archibald was again writing to Alexander on the 23rd of that month. He was at Inveraray and finally ready to pay Wellwood & Walker. The juxtaposition of these two debts is interesting.

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Inverawe 23rd December 1695

Affectionate Cousin,

I shall desire you agree with Mr. Walker late Provost of Dunfermline that according to my promises I have his money ready when ever I get occasion to send it. I did see a relaxation he got from [Wellwood &?] Walker about the loosing of his arrestment, but write to him it must be renewed for it wants any Witness to it. So let him depute one at Edinburgh to receive the money and I'll send it to you by the first occasion, and let him send my Bond to be given up to me.

I hear that the Laird of Lamont is at Edinburgh that he try out the nature of the right he had to his estate, for his father asks me two thousand merks by Bond, and I know not how to win at him [reach him] because it's by ... and other ... he comes to his estate, I suppose it's before the [sixteen] sixty year of God. I wish that he try it out with some that are agreed with Laumont's condition. I wish to hear from your brother Captain Dougall.

I remain. Yr. Affectionate Cousin,

A Campbell of Inverawe

[Note on the back]

26th February 1696 ...sent him home his bond & a discharge from Welwood & Walker.¹⁸¹

[Original spelling]:

Inverary 23 decer 1695

Affectionat Coossing,

I shall desyr ye agree wt Mr Walker leat proverst of drumffirline tht according to my promises I have his mony rady qn ever I get oca'n to send it I did sie ane relaxa'n he got from Walker anent the lousing of his arrestment, bot wryt to him it most be renewed for it wants any Wittnes to it so lett him deput on at edr to receive the mony & Ile send it to you by the first ocas'n & lett him send my bound to be given up to me I hear tht the Laird of Lamont is at edr tht he try out the nature of the richt he hes to his esteat for his fathr asks me tuo thousane marks be bound & I know not how to win at him because its by ... & othr he comes to his esteat I sipose its before the sextie year of god I wish tht he try it out wt some tht are agreed wt Laumonds condition. I wish to hear from you[r brother?] Capt Du[gall]. I remaine,

Yr. Affectionat Coossing

A Campbell of Inverawe

[Note on the back]

26 february: 1696 ...sent him home his bond & a discharge from Walwood & Walker¹⁸²

That appears to be the end of Inverawe's debt to Wellwood and Walker. Archibald's next letter to Alexander, on the 17th of February 1696, saw him again at his tower house within the castle walls of Fraoch Eilean.

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Fraoch Eilean 17th February 1696

Affectionate Cousin,

I expect by this time you have gotten up my Bond from the Provost of Dunfermline together with the raising of the arrestment. And if you have given it to Patrick Campbell of Inverinan behind ... with the bearer. Let me know what you hear of your brother Captain Dougall or of any news else but my respects to you and your bedfellow. I rest,

Your affectionate cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe

Take up ... from the b..d..s you deliver it.¹⁸³

[Original spelling]:

Ffechellan 17 feby1696

Affectionat Coossing

I expect by this tyme ye have gotten up my bound from the provest of dumferline together wt the rasing of the arestment & if ye have given it to Patrick Campbell of Inverinan behind wt the bearer, lett me know qt ye hear of yr brothr Captain Dugall or of any news else bot my respects to you & to yr bedfellow I rest,

Yr. Affectionat Coossing

A Campbell of Inverawe

Take up .. from the b..d..s ye deliver it.¹⁸⁴

The troubles over Achacha surfaced again. On the 10th of May 1696 Archibald felt obliged to press for legal action against Alexander Campbell in Lochnell and Donald Campbell, brother german to John Campbell of 'Achachaw' for a debt of 300 merks. That was not Campbell 'of' Lochnell but the tacksman 'in' Lochnell.¹⁸⁵ On the 27th of May Inverawe was at Breadalbane's castle of Kilchurn on Lochawe where he would meet from time to time with his colleagues who were also agents for the earl. There, he made a Declaration in favour of Archibald Campbell of Barbreck, stating that, although he had Wadset dated on the 18th of October in 1693 of Dalchelich in Glendore for 1,350 merks, that contract of Wadset was granted only in security of Bonds referred to in the writ of the Wadset and not for further advance. The Declaration was written by Patrick Campbell, writer in Edinburgh, who witnesses with Dougall Campbell, later of Shirvann and half brother of Inverawe.¹⁸⁶

There was further dealing with Achacha on the 22nd of July that summer of 1696, when John Campbell of Achacha gave a further Bond to Inverawe for 44 merks Scots.¹⁸⁷

What appears to have been a 'charter of confirmation' was granted to Archibald of Inverawe by Archibald 10th Earl of Argyll on the 3rd of October, calling him 'now of Inveraw' although his father had died thirty years before. This was of the lands of Drumachoise in Glenetive,

for the payment of 13 shillings and 4 pence scots.¹⁸⁸ This confirmation was likely necessary due to the forfeiture and restoration of the earldom.

On the 10th of October, at Edinburgh, Archibald Earl of Argyll further granted to Inverawe a tack of various lands on Mull, which he may already have held earlier. These included the the £20 land of Aross, the 35 merk land of Morenish, Glenbewart, Oresnish, Isle of Geometra, Osgeomell, Corquomull, Glanengray, and Phanmore, for 19 years. Two discharges were written on the back of the document. The witnesses were, Captain Charles Campbell, brother german to the earl, and Mr. John Campbell WS.¹⁸⁹ On the same day in Edinburgh, the earl granted a charter of of the office of Bailiary of the lands of Inverawe and others to Archibald of Inverawe. He was given Sasine following on the above Charter.¹⁹⁰

In 1696 the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies was formed. Mercifully for most people in Argyll who were cosmopolitan enough to be aware of the scheme, few if any had adequate cash to invest. Archibald of Inverawe certainly made no investment and so avoided the financial disaster which struck so many others over the next four years. A Highland Laird of his kind sailed close enough to the wind of survival already, despite his broad lands and an hunded families in his care.

Archibald Campbell of Barbreck would seem to have been unable to pay off his Bond to Inverawe that was secured by the 20 shilling land of Dalchelish in Glendore, and so let them to him with a Contract of Wadset on the 18th of October 1696.¹⁹¹

Archibald of Inverawe's next letter to Alexander in Edinburgh deals with issues beyond debts and showing papers. The comments on Archibald's ignorance of his ancestry show the disconnect caused by the Tutorship of John 'dubh' during the minority of Archibald's grandfather Archibald. (b.1582-3). The issue and that of the arms of Inverawe were no doubt brought up by Captain Dougall since he wanted to have the Inverawe arms engraved on the cups that he planned to give to 'the three brothers,' Inverawe, Kilmartin and Shirvan. Of all Archibald's surviving letters, this reveals the most about him.

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Inveraray 22nd February 1697

Affectionate Cousine,

I received yours wherein you say that your brother [Captain] Dougall as you supposed would do nothing until that I did wait what my brother's advice was [and if?] they think the work good. If he can spare it but none will advise him beyond his ability and that while he can spare it. If he could get either Ichrachan or Ardgaw in Muckairn of Lochnell, especially Ichrachan at the present rent, but Ardgaw is in Warrantice of other lands already, which signify to him. As to your brother Patrick he inclines not this year for Mull, neither can I advise any for fear of the troubles of the time, but of present I would give him his choice of land as cheap as I could.

As to the Memorandum of the coat of arms, he says that a Gentleman's blazon is 26 ll and a Baron 38 ll whereof I am not, for I hold not of the King. Neither can I prove my descent but by the Genealogy of the family of Argyll, and you may advise not that man..[that?] gave you the Memorandum that I have no other way [of] giving my descent but he get the Earl of Argyll to verify my descent. And if this do, I'll

write to the Earl of Argyll and he to back it, with my sending the double [copy] of the book of Genealogy to his Lordship.

So enquire and again acquaint me. And whenever I can have any money (which is very scarce with me at present) I shall send it. For the supporters, they can not be had by the Memorandum except I prove by possession [that] I have been a King's Baron since King James' time, which I cannot see signify this also. And acquaint me by the first if I shall write to Argyll about a certificate. And let my respects be present to your brother. Let me know when he comes to England [Britain]. Naught else but my respects presented to your. I remain,

Your affectionate cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe.¹⁹²

[Original spelling]:

Inverary 22 feby 1697

Affectionat Coossing

I received yrs qrin ye say that yr brothr Dugall as ye siposed would do nothing until tht I did weyt qt my brothers advice was they think the work good. If he can spair it bot non will advyse him beyond his ability & tht wheill he can spair it If he could get othe Ichkrachern or Ardegaw in Mocarn of Lochnell especially Ichkrachern at the prit rent bot Ardgaw is in Warrantice of other lands already Qch signifie to him as to yr brothr Patrick he inclines not this year for Mull neither can I advyse any for fear of the trubles of the tym bot of pe..nt I would give him his choyse of land p as cheape as I could

as to the memorandum of the coat of armes, he says tht ane Gentlemans blazon is 26 ll & ane barron 38 ll qrof I am non for I hould not of the king nather can I prove my descent bot by the Genealogy of the family of Argyll and ye may advyse not that man give yow the Memorandum tht I have no othr way to giving my descent bot he get the Earle of Argyll to verifie my descent, & if this do Ile wryt to the Earl of Argyll and he to back it, wt my sending the double of the book of Genallagy to his Lo so Inquire & agane aquent me. & qn ever I can have any mony (Qch is very scarce wt me at prit) I shall send it) for the siporters they can not be had by the Memorad / except I prove by possession I have been ane kings barron since King James the first tyme Qtch I can not sie signify this also, and aquent me by the first if I shall wryte to Argyll anent ane testificat & let my resepects be presented to yr brothr let me know qn he comes to England not els bot my respects presented to your I remane
Yr. Affectionat Coossing

A Campbell of Inverawe.¹⁹³

Had Argyll been asked, he could only have recourse to *The Genealogie of the Campbells* first put together by Judge Colville at the request of the then earl. While it stated that Inveraw was descended from Sir Neil in the days of Robert Bruce, King of Scots, the one branch of the MacConnochies with a surviving origin tradition, saw them descend from one of Sir Neil's great-grandsons, Duncan, son of Gillespic of Lochawe.

Next summer in July 1697, Archibald was at Auchinellan when he signed his Discharge to Patrick Campbell of Duntroon for Mary McNeill's jointure of 1695 and for her tierce of 1695 and 1696. On that occasions the witnesses were his half-brother Alexander Campbell of Kilmartin and Archibald Campbell, Servitor to Inverawe, again, likely his nephew and heir

who would now be aged about 27. Duntroon Papers quoted in Lorne Campbell PhD's Notes.¹⁹⁴

Archibald of Inverawe would seem to have acquired a right to the 2 merkland of Dalavich and the Mill of Avich from Angus MacLachlan, Captain of Innis Chonnel castle for the Earl of Argyll. Archibald's great-nephew Duncan would discover years later that although the Minute of Contract of the promise to Dispose the lands to Inverawe was signed, the contract remained unfulfilled and MacLachlan had been continuing to collect the rents of those lands. The area was important since it was between Patrick Campbell's two places of Barnaliam and Kilmun. The Minute of Contract was dated on the 27th of December 1697.¹⁹⁵

The following 16th of March 1698, Archibald of Inverawe was again concerned about Achacha – now simplified to 'Achaa' – and wrote to Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine, called his 'cousin' about a rental. On the docket it is inscribed 'Achaa's papers.' SRO/NAS GD112/39/177/10.¹⁹⁶

That summer on the 10th of June Inverawe was at Slochavullin between Kilmartin and Duntroon where he met with Patrick of Duntroon who signed a Disposition with consent of Mary MacNeill, widow of the late Nial Campbell of Duntroon and now wife of Inverawe.¹⁹⁷ This shows Mary MacNeill, the lady Inverawe, still living on that date.

The Earl of Argyll was still making use of Archibald of Inverawe for the administration of his lands on the Isle of Mull. On the 7th of November 1698 the 10th Earl signed a Commission of Coronorship to Inverawe as his Depute Crouner within the bounds of the Isle of Mull and islands thereof, other than Tiree and Coll.¹⁹⁸

About mid March 1699, Mary MacNeil, the lady Inverawe, Archibald's wife, took ill and retired to her bed. What she was experiencing must have been serious, because five months later Archibald would write that she was not likely to recover. Meanwhile John Campbell of Achacha[rne] had also died, leaving his son Archibald, his own widow and that of his brother.

By the 15th of March 1699 there would have been signs of spring when Inverawe signed a Discharge to Archibald Campbell, son to Anna Campbell, relict of John Campbell of Achacha, as to teinds and vicarage for the crop of 1698 and the preceding year.¹⁹⁹ At least the poor widow of Achacha was able to come up with the funds and at a time of year when often poverty bit the hardest, before the grass improved the grazing.

But before long, John's son Archibald, still 'fiar of Achacha' and therefore a minor although

heir to his father, was increasing the family debt by signing a Bond to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe for £132 Scots. This was dated the 10th of May 1699. To do this, because of the Interdiction, he had to first gain the consent of Dougall Campbell of Stronchormiag and Duncan Campbell, brother german to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, to whom he and the deceased John Campbell of Achacha, his father, were interdicted.¹⁹⁹ The debt would still be due on Archibald of Inverawe's death.

Clearly Archibald of Inverawe held the superiority of Achacha, because next day he was at Kilchurn and signed a Disposition of the lands of Achacha and Barnamuic to his cousin John, Earl of Breadalbane. The earl must have agreed to buy the lands to relieve Archibald of their burden of debt and to offer some security for the widow Anna and the boy Archibald. The lands were conveniently adjacent to those of his kinsman Campbell of Barcaldine's.²⁰⁰ The names of the lands were written in this document as 'Acha and Carnamuck' while in a later document, below, they are spelt 'Auchacha and Barnamuic.' This identifies them clearly as those lands against the hill to the east of Barcaldine Castle.

Two days later Inverawe was still at Kilchurn. John Campbell 1st Earl of Breadalbane granted a Heritable Bond to him for 900 merks Scots with an annualrent out of his wadset lands of Glencie and Crunachy, signed at Castle Kilchurn by the earl before Duncan Toiseach of Monyvaird, Colin Campbell, Clerk of Lismore Diocese as Notary on the 13th of May 1699.²⁰¹

As Breadalbane's agents, Inverawe and Duncan Toschach of Monyvaird must have been staying with him at Castle Kilchurn while the affairs of Achacha were sorted out over the following days. On the 15th of May some particularly hard work was undertaken producing writs.

First, Alexander Campbell, Notary, wrote out an Obligation by Alexander Campbell of Clanamacrie that, whereas John Earl of Breadalbane has made payments to Anna Campbell, widow of John Campbell of Achacha, for her liferent right of half the lands of Auchacha and quarter of Barnamuic, she could not herself subscribe a Disposition at present, since two notaries and four witnesses would be required, and he therefore states that he will procure a valid disposition by the 1st of August 1699. Witnesses to the Obligation were Archibald of Inverawe and Duncan Toschach of Monyvaird.²⁰²

The next document produced and signed that day at Kilchurn was another Obligation written by Duncan Toschach of Monyvaird whereby Archibald Campbell of Inverawe agreed that, whereas John Earl of Breadalbane had delivered up to him a Bond for 800 merks for young Archibald Campbell sometime of Acha, as the remainder of the price for his lands, the earl shall have no further responsibility for his maintenance as in a Bond dated at Castle Kilchurn on the 13th of May 1699. Duncan Toshach of Monyvaird witnessed with Alexander Campbell of Clenamachrie.²⁰³ Since it appears likely that Inverawe was Tutor to young Archibald, sometime of Achacha, the responsibility for the boy's future lay in his hands.

Yet another Obligation was written that 15th of May at Kilchurn. Again it was penned by Duncan of Monyvaird. The document obliged Archibald Campbell of Inverawe to deliver to Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine in the name of the Earl of Breadalbane by the 1st of August all the writs of the late John Campbell of Acha and his predecessors then in the hands of Dougall Campbell of Stronchormag and Donald Campbell, brother to Alexander Campbell of Clenamachrie, who was himself a witness.²⁰⁴

Then that same day, Duncan of Monyvaird wrote out an Assignation by Archibald of Inverawe in favour of John Earl of Breadalbane of some Bonds:

- 1) Bond for £438. 5s. 4d. Scots dated the 8th of June 1694.
- 2) Bond for 144 merks Scots of the 22nd of July 1696.

3) Bond by Archibald Campbell of Achacha for £132 Scots dated the 10th of May 1699. These were the bonds given to Inverawe in return for funds lent to the late John of Achacha and the last to young Archibald of Achacha. The Assingation provides that the Bonds listed may be security only on the lands of Acha[cha] and Barnamuic disponded on the 11th of May 1699 at Castle Kilchurn by Archibald Campbell to the earl. Duncan Toisach of Monyvaird was again a witness with Alexander Campbell of Clenamacrie.²⁰⁵

But there was yet another Bond. Later that 15th day of May at Kilchurn, Angus MacDonald, Servant to Archibald of Inverawe, wrote another Obligation to be signed by Inverawe agreeing to deliver to Breadalbane a Bond for £226. 4. shillings Scots granted by the late John Campbell of Achacha to James Robertson at Parkhead of Keir. Angus was witness to his signature along with Alexander Campbell of Clenmachrie.²⁰⁶

The next document produced at Kilchurn that day was an Obligation by Archibald of Inverawe to deliver up to Breadalbane the Bond granted by young Archibald Campbell, fiar of Acha [Auchacha], for £132 Scots dated on the 10th of May 1699 to which he had granted assignation. This Obligation was again written by Duncan Toshach of Monyvaird who was a witness with Alexander Campbell of Clenamachrie. That appears to have completed the day's work concerning Achacha.²⁰⁷

Two weeks later, Archibald of Inverawe and his colleagues were all back at Kilchurn again on the 24th of May that year of 1699. With him, Duncan Toschach of Monyvaird and Alexander Campbell of Clenamacrie was young Archibald of Achacha himself, Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine, Donald Campbell who was Cawdor's Baillie of Muckairn with his son Campbell of Skinderlands in Islay, plus Alexander Campbell, the Notary Public. He it was who scribed the first piece of business; an Extract of Disposition by Archibald Campbell of Achacha with consent of his interdictors, Archibald of Inverawe, his brother Duncan, Dougall of Stronchormaig and Alexander of Clenamacrie, with young Acha's maternal uncle Colin Campbell Sheriff Clerk of Argyll. The Disposition was to John, first Earl of Breadalbane, of the 6 merkland of Auchacha and the 4 merkland of Barnamuck in the Parish of Balleveolan, Lordship of Lorne, Argyll, saving to James Stewart of Fassnacloich his wadset of Barnamuck, to [Anna] Campbell, his mother, widow of John Campbell of Auchacha, her liferent of half of Auchacha and a quarter of Barnamuck, and to Janet Campbell, widow of Lauchlan Campbell of Auchacha, elder brother to the said John Campbell, and now wife of Archibald McCorquodale of Phantillands, her liferent of the other half of Auchacha and quarter of Barnamuck. The witnesses were Monyvaird, Barcaldine, the Baillie of Muckairn, his son Campbell of Skinderlands and Alexander of Clenamacrie.²⁰⁸

The document clarifies that the unfortunate young Archibald of Achacha, who had signed over his birthright and so would seemingly vanish from record, was the son of John of Achacha who had succeeded his elder brother Lachlan. Further, it shows that Archibald's mother Anna Campbell was sister of Colin Campbell, Sheriff Clerk of Argyll, and that her sister-in-law Janet, widow of the late Lachlan of Achacha, was now wife to Archibald MacCorquodale the baron of Phantilands. Although Achacha and Barnamuic were placed in the hands of Breadalbane as overlord, he was granting reponsibility for the lands to his kinsman and agent, Campbell of Barcaldine. He was now responsible to continue to pay the two widows, Anna and Janet, their liferent for their lifetimes.

From Kilchurn a party, including young Archibald of Auchacha, rode eastwards up Glen Lochay, by Tigh an Drum, the ridge of Alban, and down by Loch Dochart, where they may have spent a night, then on by Killin and Finlarig and along above the shores of Loch Tay to Breadalbane's castle of Taymouth.

There took place the final chapter in the winding up of this branch of the Campbells in terms of their tie to the land. Face to face with John, Earl of Breadalbane, at his massive house of Taymouth, formerly known as the Castle of Balloch, on the 29th of May 1699, Archibald Campbell of Auchacha resigned to John Earl of Breadalbane his 6 merkland of Auchacha and 4 merkland of Barnamuck in the Lordship of Lorne, Argyllshire (sic), based upon the Disposition he had signed at Kilchurn on the 24th of May 1699.²⁰⁹ Archibald, likely little more than 21 years of age, freed from the harsh toil of attempting to wrest a living from the land, was now on his own to make his way in life. After a few weeks as a landowner, he joined the great insecurity and freedom of the landless.

Patrick Campbell, now in Kilmum, Loch Awe, would seem to have exchanged the tack of Barnalian with that of Kilmun, because by the 9th of September 1699 there was a Donald Campbell in Barnalian, no relation of Patrick's. Since Donald is called 'in' Barnalian rather than 'indweller in Barnalian,' it would appear that he was in fact now the tacksman there. On that date in September he signed a Bond to Dougall Campbell, half brother to Archibald of Inverawe, for £18 Sterling. The witnesses were Duncan and John Campbell, brothers to Alexander Campbell of Clenmacrie, who was Cautioner.²¹⁰

There was some wild weather that November as usual. In a letter to Breadalbane, Archibald of Inverawe, writing on the 6th about a heritable Bond, mentioned that 'a storm has hindered the boy writer sent to Mull.'²¹¹ In another letter to Breadalbane two days later Archibald writes concerning the rent of a place called 'Ballechrunnall,' likely Baliegrundle in Lismore.²¹²

Archibald wrote to Breadalbane on the 8th of November 1699, again about Balochrunal on Lismore. The issues remain somewhat obscure.

[Translation to modern spelling]:

My Lord,

Inverawe 8th November 1699

I sent a letter yesterday to Glenorchy to be sent [on] to your Lordship about these localities but I suppose the Officer was not at home, and if not, this bearer will get my letter [to you]. I find ... is not willing to become my brother's debtor for this year's rent of Ballochrunall, but to get it for ... 's relict, which I told [them] could not be answered at this term. Naught else.

I remain

Your Lordship's humble servant

A Campbell of Inverawe

Your Lordship may signify your pleasure about the rent of Ballochrunall, so Barcaldine may adjust it any other way if ... get it this year.²¹³

[Original spelling]

My Lord

Inveraw 8 novr 99

I did send ane lr to Glenurchay to be send to yr Lo anent thes localities bot I suppose the officer was not at hom, & if not this ... will get my letter I find is not willing to becom my bris debtor for this years rent of Ballochrunall bot to get it for ... his relict, qtch I toald could not be ansierd at this tearn, not els at pnt I remane

Yr Lo hmble servant

[A.] Campbell of Inveraw

yr Lo may signifie yr pleasur anentt the rent of Ballochrunall, t Barcaulden may adjust it any or way if ... get it this year.

[*in verso*]

For the Rg honorable The Earle of Bradalban.²¹⁴

That month of November 1699, Inverawe's brother and immediate heir Duncan died. He had been a constant support to Inverawe and had been appointed to collect island rents for the Countess of Argyll. He had been known as Duncan of Cruanchy at times, having a Wadset of that place, adjacent to Inverawe, from Breadalbane. He was the father of Marjorie and her brother Archie Campbell who was now heir to Inverawe. Duncan was at one time 'wadsetter of Catnish' which was elsewhere called 'Cotannis and Lairgin in Glenurchy' or 'Cat-innis and Learg'. Archie his son, now Yr. of Inverawe, was Heir in Special of an annualrent of 216 merks over Catnis and the Larigs.²¹⁵ On the 5th of December 1699 at Inverawe, old Archibald was writing to his half brother Dougall who was agent at Ardmaddie, offering to buy some of the 'deals' or boards which he had heard that Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine had arranged to obtain from a Mr. Barclay, possibly a ship's Master.²¹⁶ Perhaps they were needed for his brother's coffin. 'Deal' or sawn boards were scarce.

Two days after Christmas, on the 27th of December 1699, a Dougall Campbell in Kentallen in Mull, cousin german to Inverawe, acted as attorney for Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, in receiving a Sasine on a Heritable Bond granted by Breadalbane dated the 13th of May 1699 for 900 merks Scots and with an annualrent of £36 Scots out of his wadset lands of 'Glencie' and Crunachy. The Bond had been signed at Castle Kilchurn on the 13th of May 1699 by Breadalbane before Duncan Toiseach of Monyvaird, and Colin Campbell Clerk of Lismore Diocese as Notary.²¹⁷ This cousin may have been Dougall, son of Patrick Campbell, tacksman of Barnalian and later of Kilmun, Loch Awe. There is also record of a Sub Tack in 1700 by Archibald of Inverawe of the lands of Aros etc. in Mull.²¹⁸

On the 8th of July in that summer of the new century, Archibald was again writing to his cousin and agent Alexander Campbell, Merchant and Burgess of Edinburgh.

[*Translation to modern spelling*]:

Inverawe 8th July 1700

Affectionate Cousin,

I marvel that I hear nothing from you these several posts that I have written to you. And now [I write] again to know your condition of health and about what you did with Ronald Campbell, Writer in Edinburgh, about the money I advanced for Patrick [in Kilmun] your brother. I almost repent that I meddled at this time about renewing

these tacks of Tiends, only let you and Ronald consult if it be not done, what to do in it, as you see matters go. Naught else. Expecting to hear from you by some of the Sheriff of Argyll's men. I rest,

Your affectionate cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe

I expect you have ere now done something with the Tutor of Cawdor whom is so long in Edinburgh. Let me know what you hear of your brother [Captain] Dougall.²¹⁹

[Original spelling]:

Inveraw 8 July 1700

Affectionat Coossing

I marrvell tht I heare nothing from you thir severall poasts tht I have written to you & now agane to know yr cond'on of heath & anent qt ye did wt Ronald Campbell wrytter at edr anent tht mony I advanced for Patrick yr brothr I almost repent tht I medled at this tym anent renewing thes tacks of tiends, only lett yow & Ronald consult, If it be not doon qt to do in it, as ye sie maters go not els exspecting to hear from you by som of the shreff of Argylls men. I rest

Yr. Affectionat Coossing

A Campbell of Inverawe

I exspect ye have or now doon sumthing wt the tutor of Cadell qn is so long in edr let me know qt ye hear of yr brothr dugall²²⁰

A week later on the 15th Inverawe wrote to Alexander again mentioning that 'ther is no hope of my wyfs recuvery qo is now fyve months bedfast.'²²¹ 'Your brother' was again Captain Dougall Campbell, merchant in London.

[Translation to modern spelling]:

Inverawe 15th July 1700

Affectionate Cousin,

The Tutor of Cawdor did come to Muckairn the last week and sent me word from Inveraray that he would t... me about that affair of your brother's but was in hastily [and I] did not see him. And although [even if] I had, I had no Commission or Factory from your brother to end with him, nor from you. If ye get full Commission from your brother, of which my brother Dougall has written to you, I'll take the lands of Ichrachan and pay your brother's annualrent according to his direction in it. And as to the bygone annualrents, I suppose it be seven years at Whitsunday last, and it shall be ordered according to your brother's direction on sufficient security, or the money itself to [be] disposed as he pleases. I am sure he will not change his intention [in] his last letter to me, to get the annualrents secured with the Principal for the said use. As also he did write to me to put three boys to School this Lammas for two years, which I have done. I ... a School at Bonawe this while I put only two boys to it, one son of Patrick my [natural] brother, and another [the] son of Archibald McFetricks [MacPadraig or MacFetteridge] that is fatherless.

I doubt not but your brother has sent you ample Commission so you would send a registered factory or else I'll register it at Inveraray, but it's best at Edinburgh. I received no account from you of that three hundred and fifty I paid to Patrick

according to his letter to you which I did write you should give to Ronald Campbell, Writer at Edinburgh, on his account to you for my use. I entreat you [to] give me a sure account with the bearer of all. And neglect no time about that money of Cawdor's as long as they are willing to give it. So let the Commission be to me and my brother Dougall. Let it be full and ... the money settle with the Tutor. And you would consult a Disposition there [as to] how he take land in corroboration of our brother's Bond, for the Tutor [of] Cawdor promises to be in this country next month. And although your Commission be full that you sent it is always at your brother's disposal. Let me know of your condition and send my letter to your brother by the first [post]. There is no hope of my wife's recovery who is now five months bedfast. Naught else, but my respects to you and your bedfellow. I rest,
Your Affectionate Cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe

You may back [address] your brother's letter where he may be found.²²²

[Original spelling]:

Inveraw 15 July

1700

Affect Coosing

The tutor of Cadell did com to Mocarn the last week & sent me word from Inverary tht he wod t... me anent tht affare of yr brothrs bot was in hastyly did not sie him, & anthoch I had, I had ne Comission or factory from yr brothr to end wt him nor from you If ye get full commission from yr brothr of Qtch my brothr Dugall hes written to you, Ile take the lands of Ichkrachern & pay yr brothrs anuellrent according to his direction in it, & as to the bygon anuellrents I supose it be seven years at Whitsundy last, & it shall be ordered according to yr brothrs direction on sufficient security or the mony it self to disposed as he pleases I am sure he will not chynge his intention his last lr to me, to get the anuellrents secured wt the principall for the sd use, as also he did wryt to me to put thrie boys to scooll this lambas com tuo years Qtch I have doon I ane scooll at bonnaw thus wheill I put only tuo boys to it ane son of Patrick my brothr & ane othr son of Ard McFatricks tht is fatherless

I dupt not bot yr brothr has sent you ample commission so ye would send ane factory regrat or els Ile regrat it at Inverary, bot its best at edr. I received no acompt from you of tht threi hunder & fyftie I payd to Patrick according to his lr to yow Qtc I did wryte ye should give to Ronald Campbell wrytter at edr on his compt to you for my use. I intreat ye give me ane sure acompt wt the bearer of all & neglect no tym anent tht mony of Cadells as long as they ar willing to give it so let the Comission be to me & my brothr Dugall let it be full & anpleyt the mony satle wt the tutor, & ye wold consult ane dispos'n ther how he take land in Currobora'n of yr brothrs bond for the tutor Cadell promises to be in this country the next moneth. & althuch yr Comisiun be full tht ye send it is always at yr brothrs disposal let me know of yr condi'n & send my lr to yr brothr by the first. Ther is no hope of my Wyfs recovery qo is now five months bedfast not els bot my respects to you & your bedfellow. I rest

Yr affect Cosing

A Campbell of Inverawe

Ye may back yr brothr lr qr he is to be found ²²³

Mary MacNeil had not died yet, and on the same day in mid July 1700, Patrick Campbell of Duntroon was signing a Bond to Inverawe for 1,000 merks, presumably for her liferent in Duntroon.²²⁴

Archibald of Inverawe would have been relieved at the marriage of his nephew Archibald, son of his brother Duncan of Crunachy. To avoid confusion with his uncle, the younger man is here called 'Archie' as he likely was in fact. The idea that he was at times the same as the Archibald Campbell 'servitor' to Inverawe when Archibald was arranging tacks on Mull for Argyll, is reinforced by Archie's engagement to a girl from the island. On the 4th of October 1700 a Minute of Contract of Marriage was signed between Archibald Campbell, nephew of Inverawe, his late father Duncan's brother, and Janet Maclean, sister of Alexander Maclean of Torloisk.²²⁵

Archie's mother was Elizabeth [or Isabel], second daughter of Patrick Campbell of Edinample. This was contained in a letter to Olive Campbell of Inverneill from Minna Tait of the New Inverawe family dated 11 November 1899 and appears to be accurate. When Archie's father Duncan had died the year before, it would seem that the Wadset of Crunachy reverted to Brealbane.²²⁶ So, even before his uncle died and he inherited the responsibilities of Inverawe, Archie was never known as 'of Crunachy.'

Then on the 11th of October, Inverawe's brother John, Archie's other uncle, was procurator for him, recording his succession to his father Duncan in the Service of Heirs.²²⁷

The harvest was late that year, particularly in Breadalbane in Perthshire. On the 25th of November, Duncan Toiseach of Monzievaird wrote to the Breadalbane to let him know that a great fall of snow had delayed the harvest. But that at Finlarig near Killin, and that at Taymouth at the other end of Loch Tay, had finally been completed 'with all stacks crowned' meaning thatched.²²⁸

With the turn of the century, the fortunes of the Campbell leadership at a national level brightened. On the 23rd of June 1701 the 10th earl of Argyll was created Duke of Argyll for his support of William and Mary and the Protestant cause. That he had a considerable potential following would also have tilted any scales in his favour.

Although old Archibald of Inverawe had effectively made his nephew Archie his heir, he still may have had hopes of producing a son of his own. His wife had recently died and word was out that he was looking for a new wife. Had he been born in about 1634-5, he could now have been aged about 66-67.

Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine, who had benefited by Breadalbane's purchase of the nearby lands of Achacha, received a letter from his uncle, Alexander Campbell of Glenure, dated at Edinburgh on the 10th of July 1701:

Loveing nephew,

I have received your last letter with the bearer dated the 3rd July instant ... I have thought seriously on what you have written concerning Mrs. Lillias Campbell and has acquainted some others of her friends therewith And as we have a great dale of respect for Mc:Connochie [Archibald of Inverawe] and his familie who carrie a very

Creditable Character – if he and that Gentlewoman be so happie on both sides as mutually to agree in their affections I have not the least doubt bot the choice prove comfortable to both, and until they satisfie them selves in yt [that] material point yr [there] can be the less said yr [there] anent. She stayes at present with her Aunt at Machanie. [the Oliphant place between Crieff and Auchterarder]. Her principles and his will agree very weill if they fancie on another. Bot to say the truth, we can say little or rather nothing anent tocher. Her brother [Lawers] who is lyke to be a very prettie Gentleman being left under some incumbrances which yow know some of his friends has made very uneasie to him. Withall, that Gentlemane’s years and [being] in the Highlands should induce him to turn over if he fancie her to seek nothing with her [i.e. in tocher], She being very well bred of a Creditable familie and a weill favoured proper Gentlewoman that might make a desirable wife to aney in the nation. If he think fitt to see her when yow acquaint me yr [there] with I shall endeavour to speak with her before that tyme
 And if yr [there] be aney thing of friendship or from these who are her relations yt [that] can be advance his interest yr [there] shall be none more willing to him and his than he is who is
 Your affectionat Uncle to the
 Outmost of my power
 Al^{exr} Campbell.²²⁹

The marriage is also mentioned in one or two other letters in this group. Inverawe had recently lost his first wife Mary MacNeill, who had gained a rich liferent from Duntroon, but produced no children either for Duntroon or Inverawe. He may well have hoped that he could finally produce an heir with Lillias Campbell of the Lawers family.

Within that same year, an Instrument on a Contract of Marriage was being written up on behalf of Mrs. Lillias Campbell, spouse to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and [daughter] of Sir James Campbell of Lawers.²³⁰

Campbell of Lawers had got into trouble and was in debt. On the 4th of April 1699 Mungo Campbell, a Factor for Breadalbane, had written to the earl that things at Lawers were in a state of confusion. Lawers’ tenants were being oppressed by one named Archibald, and some had left... Mungo wished Lawers to be put in his right ‘that a wrights sone or a rogue like Archibald may not be called any longer Laird of Lauers.’ He hears that Archibald intends to do a flitting, meaning to vanish to escape his creditors.²³¹

Mungo was possibly Mungo Campbell of Kinloch, a cadet of Lawers, who died in about 1736 when his will is recorded at Dunkeld on the 29th of January.

James of Lawers was Lillias’ brother, and their father was also James, so unless Archibald was a younger or natural brother, who he was is not clear. Perhaps James, while overseas, had appointed a brother called Archibald to be ‘laird’ in his stead.

However on the 2nd of July 1701 Campbell of Aberuchill, another of Breadalbane’s Factors, wrote to the earl that there had been more trouble with Lawers ‘due to Mungo’s folly’ and that Lawers was ‘unstable.’ Lillias would also prove to be quite insecure, poor lady. James Campbell of Lawers was born after his father’s second marriage to a daughter of William

Stewart of Grantully in 1678, and had succeeded his half-brother James (who died without children) in July 1703. He would eventually be murdered in his bed in Greenock by Duncan Campbell of Edramuckie on the 22nd of April 1723. James was likely therefore aged about 23-24 in 1700. James and Lillias' late father was a nephew of the first Earlof Loudoun and was made Lord Lyon King of Arms in 1658. He had died after 1689, which is why Lillias' brother James was responsible for her tocher.

By the autumn of 1701 an agreement had been reached between the parties. A Contract of Marriage was signed between Lillias Campbell, daughter of the late Sir James Campbell of Lawers, and Archibald Campbell of Inverawe on the 13th of October 1701.²³² This was followed on the 6th and 7th of November by Sasine being given to Mrs. Lillias Campbell, now spouse of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, on the Contract of marriage between them, and dated the 13th of October 1701, infesting her in an annuity of £1,000 Scots from the lands of Carbachen [not Cabrachan but mis-spelt Cruachan] and Barmaddie.²³³

Patrick Campbell of Duntroon would now finally free himself from the long and heavy burden of payments to Archibald of Inverawe for Mary MacNeil. There had been one outstanding remaining Bond to be paid off, and he managed that final payment on the 15th of [November?] 1701. On that date at Largie, presumably Largie McKessag, later to be enlarged to be Kilmartin House, Archibald of Inverawe signed the Discharge to Patrick Campbell of Duntroon for payment of the final Bond. Inverawe was likely staying at Kilmartin with his half brother Alexander of Kilmartin. Alexander and Partick Campbell of Raslie were the witnesses, one from each kindred.²³⁴

On the 15th of December, Archibald of Inverawe and his nephew and heir Archie, would appear together on a Bond where Inverawe borrowed 1,000 merks from a Patrick Campbell, Writer in Edinburgh. Archie acted as Cautioner for his uncle.²³⁵

John Earl of Breadalbane made a payment to Archibald of Inverawe by assigning him a Bond on the 6th of February 1702. The Bond, originally by Donald Stewart of Invernayle for £162 Scots, had been made by Donald to the earl in payment for some victual two days earlier, being dated at Taymouth on the 4th of February.²³⁶

Then on the 24th of February the same Bond was re-assigned or 'translated' by Archibald of Inverawe, by then at Inveraray, to Colin Campbell, Chamberlain to the Duke of Argyll. This meant that Archibald would have the cash which the Bond represented.²³⁷

On the 8th of March 1702 King William died, leaving a bad taste in Scotland but an impressive international reputation. The new sovereign was Queen Anne, whose many children never survived long beyond infancy.

On the 27th of March 1702, Inverawe was again borrowing 1,000 merks, this time by a Bond to his cousin Alexander, merchant in Edinburgh.²³⁸

That April of 1702, Archibald was still dealing with the Maclean lands and tacks on Mull. On the 28th of April he gave a Sub-Tack to Donald MacLean of Kingairloch of the one penny land of Ostramull [Oskamull?] for three years.²³⁹

Next day on the 29th, in the final word that appears the Campbells of Achacha, Anna Campbell, mother of Archibald Campbell sometime of Achacha, signed away her liferent to Breadalbane in exchange for 1,200 merks Scots. What survives is an Assignment by Anna Campbell, widow of John Campbell of Auchacha, narrating that by marriage contract of the 31st of December 1657, she had liferent right to half of the 6 merkland of Auchacha and quarter of the 4 merkland of Barnamuic in the parish of Bellievodan and Lordship of Lorne in Argyllshire. Then she stated that John Earl of Breadalbane had purchased those rights for 1,200 merks Scots. One hopes she was well advised and survived.²⁴⁰

Inverawe's half sister Isabel, the widow of Campbell of Knap, was also to be married again. She had first been married in 1665 and now, 37 years later, she married for a second time. On the 5th – 6th of November 1702, a Contract of Marriage was signed between Isobel Campbell, daughter of the late Lt. Col. Dougall Campbell of Inverawe by his second wife Janet McNeill, and Archibald Clerk of Braeleacan. 'Braeleacan' was Braigh-leacain, about 1 ½ miles due north of Furnace on the Leacann Water and nearby to Pennymore on Loch Fyne where the Clerks had a burial ground. There was another Braeleacan between Dalmally (then Clachan Dysart) and Inveraray, a hill farm, but this was not where the Clerks lived.²⁴¹ The contract was followed on the 20th of November by her Sasine of Braeleacan in the lands of Pennymore, and others based upon their Contract of Marriage, made with consent of her brothers, Alexander Campbell of Kilmartin and Dougall Campbell, Bailie of Nether Lorn.²⁴²

Two days later, on the 22nd of November 1702 a son was born to Janet Maclean and her husband Archie, heir to Inverawe.²⁴³ What seems almost certain is that Archie and Janet were living at Tirvine on the shores of Loch Awe at that time. They had the boy Christened Duncan after his paternal grandfather. Archibald of Inverawe was no doubt re-assured that, if the child survived, there was a future for him as head of the MacConnochie kindred and that care of the communities in their responsibility would continue into the future.

Appropriately enough, less than three weeks later, on the 11th of December 1702, Colin Kennedy, Servitor to Archibald of Inverawe, was one of the witnesses to a Commission by the Kirk Session of Belliveodan to John Campbell of Ardchattan to collect certain rents due to them for the use of the school of the parish of Belliveodan. Colin would later be Innkeeper at Bunaw.

On the 25th of September 1703 the first Duke of Argyll died and was succeeded by his soldier-statesman son John as second duke. He would earn the name 'Red John of the Battles.'

Early in the spring of 1704, on the 17th of February, Archibald of Inverawe wrote to Breadalbane concerning his wife Lillias' jointure, payable from the lands of Lochawe. Although she was now parentless, Breadalbane was her Godfather.²⁴⁴

Inverawe had been paying tack duties to the first Duke of Argyll, presumably for the lands in Mull which he had let in Sub-Tack to various people, including Macleans. On the 20th of February 1704 Mr. John Campbell of Mamore, the Duke's brother, signed a Commission at Edinburgh that he had right, by assignation by the late first Duke, to the Tack duties payable to him by Alexander Campbell of Lochnell, Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, Archibald Campbell Tutor of Islay, and others, for £8,000 Scots yearly, until he receives the sum of

40,000 merks. By this Commission he granted commission to Dougall Campbell, Chamberlain to the second Duke of Argyll to uplift the said yearly sum from the lands affected thereby, and he is to make payment and accounting to Ronald Campbell WS, for the same. John of Mamore had been cautioner for the first Duke to pay these funds to the Earl of Moray.²⁴⁵

The following year, on the 6th of March, Archibald of Inverawe signed a Bond to his half brother Dougall, Bailie of Nether Lorn for Breadalbane. His cautioner was Alexander Campbell of Duchollie, 'Dubh Choille' or the dark wood, near Achlian on Inverawe land. The MacConnochie Campbell tacksmen in Duchollie appear to have been Inverawe kin, descended perhaps from Patrick, brother of John *dubh*, Tutor of Inverawe who was killed in circa. 1603.²⁴⁶ Although here Alexander was called 'of' Duchollie, the place was still in Inverawe hands in 1765, so that he was in fact still a tacksman of Inverawe. However he was what was called a 'kindly tenant' which was often the case when a tack was renewed generation after generation, and due to being a long established family they were often known locally as 'of' the place. Another family on nearby land at Achlian were also called 'of Achlian' by many although they were actually Inverawe tacksmen of the place. They believed their descent was from the MacConnochie Campbells of Stronchormaig and so were considered to be kin by Inverawe.

A long and active life was coming to an end. On the 21st of May 1705, old Archibald MacConnochie Campbell of Inverawe died, presumably at Inverawe.²⁴⁷ He would have been aged about 70. His funeral at Ardchattan would likely have been well attended. As Barcaldine's uncle, Alexander of Glenure had written only a few years earlier, '... we have a great dale of respect for Mc:Connochie and his familie who carrie a very Creditable Character...' When figures like Archibald's leave the active scene of a swath of communities, there is at times a sense of it being the end of an era. Certainly the pace of change was accelerating and, while some might have questions about the abilities of his nephew Archie, his grandson Duncan would gain and increase respect for the family into the second half of the century.

What remained were the legal closures that were by now a regular feature of Argyll life for those with any possessions to pass on. The responsibility for the people in any communities on granted lands went automatically to the heir male, in this case Archie, now of Inverawe, subject to a re-grant from Argyll. The 'testament' detailed what was owing and owed to the one who had died, plus any distribution of legacies. On the 5th of November 1705, the Testament Dative of the late Inverawe, who had died on the 21st of May that year, was registered at Inveraray. Later, his Testament was further recorded in Edinburgh by his cousin Alexander Campbell, merchant there. Alexander appears as 'executor qua creditor to him in respect of the defunct's Bond of the 27th of March 1702 to him for 1,000 merks, and a Bond by the said defunct as principal and Archibald Campbell, son of Duncan who was brother german to the defunct, for 600 merks, assigned on the 24th of August 1705 to the said Alexander Campbell.' Inverawe's estate consisted of cattle, horses and victual with household plenishings, valued in all at £1,006. 13s. 4d. There was due to him by James Campbell of Lawers by Bond of the 13th of October 1701 the sum of £2,000 and interest there-upon. Archibald's surviving brother John was cautioner for him for the executor.²⁴⁸

Another version was registered much later, on the 15th of April 1713. More detail appears in this version, given up by Archie Campbell, now of Inverawe: There was due to the estate £132 of principal with annual rent and expenses by young Archibald Campbell of Auchacha by his Bond with consent of Dougall Campbell of Stronchormaig and Duncan Campbell, brother to the late Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, dated in May 1699. Also £43. 6s. 8d. was due by Dame Julian McLeod, widow of Sir Allan McLeod, now spouse to James Campbell of Glendaruel, which Archibald had desired the his brother John Campbell to collect, no doubt trusting him to be diplomatic. But in fact John had died in the meantime. Also there was a further debt owed by Duncan Campbell, fiar of Asknish, for certain teind victual of the lands of Kilbryde contained in his Bond to Archibald of the 14th of August 1691.²⁴⁹

So now Archibald and both his full brothers, Duncan and John had moved on and only their sisters Isabel survived, along with the half brothers Alexander of Kilmartin and Dougall, now Baillie of Nether Lorne and ultimately of Shirven. Archibald's widow Lillias – who signed herself 'Lilias' - seemingly left Inverawe for her Godfather Breadalbane's castle of Finlarig, so that Archie and Janet and the infant Duncan could move from Tirvine into Inveraw itself. A question remained with potential to have great influence on their lives. Was Lillias pregnant with Archibald's son?

END NOTES

Chapter 10

¹ Argyll Transcripts.

² R. D. Durie 13, 530; R.D. Indices.

³ *Argyll Sasines* Vol.II fol.147.

⁴ SRO/NAS GD 202/2/3 [1&4?]; Advocates Library M.S. 31/2/3 p. 95.

⁵ Rec. 8 Dec 1702 in Vol. III *Sheriff Court Bks. Inveraray* 1702-1706; & Clan C. SCBI p. 47.

⁶ NAS/SRO GD 202/2/3 [1&4?]; Advocates Library, M.S. 31/2/3 p. 95.

⁷ Argyll Charters Vol. I pp. 199, 301.

⁸ SRO/NAS JP 36/6/5; Frank Bigwood, Justices of the Peace [Courts] in Argyll 1686-1825 p. 126.

⁹ Argyll Sasine Abstracts 544.

¹⁰ Reg. 22 June 1674 Argyll Sasines Vol. I fol. 46.

¹¹ Both above in NLS Adv. Lib. M.S. 31/2/3.

¹² SRO/NAS GD 50/26/32 commented upon in a letter from Dr. Lorne Campbell PhD.

¹³ Scot. Hist. Soc. *Highland Papers* Vol. I p. 294 1914.

¹⁴ Argyll Sasine Abstracts 614 & Vol. I fol. 93. IN

¹⁵ SRO/NAS GD112/39/121/3.

¹⁶ Duntroon Papers quoted in Lorne Campbell PhD's Notes.

¹⁷ Sasine Reg. 16 May 1676 in Argyll Sasines Vol. I fol. 151.

¹⁸ Historical Manuscript Commission, Argyll p. 628 No.183.

¹⁹ Argyll Transcripts.

²⁰ Argyll Transcripts quoted by Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol.2, p.20.

²¹ Argyll Transcripts; Scottish History Society, *Highland Papers*, vol.1, pp. 309-11.

²² Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, vol. 2, pp 21-22.

²³ SRO/NAS GD112/39/123/1.

²⁴ Notes by Lorne Campbell PhD from Duntroon Papers

²⁵ Clan C. lists as HMC Report VI p. 618b (101); & Vol. VII Abs. by Duke Neil p. 249