

The MacConnochie Campbells in the 16th Century

A Chronological Discussion of the Succession

Chapter 2

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Duncan Skeodnasach or his son were almost certainly granted the island castle of Fraoch Eilean in Lochawe by Sir Colin. After the first of the Campbells of Glenorchy had built the neighbouring Castle Kilchurn in the 1440s, this older stronghold became less strategically important. This could have opened the chance for the earl to expand the MacConnochie area of responsibility.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The progenitor Duncan Skeodnasach could have named his son Archibald after his own father Gillespie, lord of Lochawe, and this Archibald have called his son Dougall who could have been followed by Archibald, first of Inverawe. This number of generations would parallel those known for the family of the Campbells of Lochawe during that period.

That a ‘Dougall McConnoquhe of Croquhinnican’ or Cruachan is on record in 1495 would lend credence to this supposition, the place of Cruachan on Lochawe being between Ardskeodnish, where Duncan Skeodnasach spent his boyhood, and Fraoch Eilean which was the apparent home of his descendants. A claim that this Dougall was a MacFarlane seems far-fetched but widely accepted.

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

The Place of Inverawe

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Inverawe and their Kin - the Early Generations

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

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

The earliest evidence for the Campbell family of Lerags, and perhaps for their relationship with Inverawe, is found following the granting by Colin, first Earl of Argyll, to one 'Alano Somwrlati Johannis', (probably a younger grandson of John Allanson of Dunollie) cousin of the granter, and the heirs male of his body, the eight pennylands of the two Leverax (Lerags) and four (?) penny lands of Devanson [Dunach?] in the Lordship and Shire of Lorne... Significantly the document was signed at Inverawe on the 20th of June 1471.⁹ This was clearly one of a series of grants made by the Earl of Argyll in setting up a new administration for the lordship of Lorne which had come to him in some disarray. A grant of a similar year to Archibald, known as 'late of Inverawe' seems almost certain, as such a charter is later mentioned in 1485 as having taken place earlier.

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

Alan is here called 'Alone Sorlson McCoull', Alan son of Somerled MacDougall. Perhaps, due to the way his name was shown formerly, he was therefore in fact Alan son of Somerled and grandson of John MacDougall of Dunollie. This is a matter for conjecture, but his stated cousinship with the earl suggests that he was grandson of John ciar MacDougall of Dunollie and his wife who was of the Lochawe Campbell family.

This Alan can be identified as the one mentioned on the elaborately prosperous tapered slab at Ardoch whose Latin inscription can be read as 'Here lie the sons of Somerled MacDougall, Duncan and Dougall (MacDougall), successive priors of this monastery, together with their father, mother and brother Alan...' Dougall, creator of the monument, died in 1502.

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

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

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

The action of the court went against Alan, even although he was a cousin of the earl's, and one suspects that a grant and confirmation of the lands to Duncan must have followed. He was certainly being referred to as late 'of Lerags' on the 29th of November 1509.¹¹ Equally Dougall appears as 'of Inverawe' in 1485 (vide infra), having succeeded his father on some date after 1478.

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

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

This information suggests that Archibald, father of Dougall, was first 'of Inverawe' and that he died after 1478 and before 1485. Since Dougall is mentioned in 1478 with Duncan, later of Lerags, as his senior but without territorial title, his father Archibald of Inverawe can be taken as still being alive upon that date. The 1485 charter was therefore likely granted to Dougall (2nd) of Inverawe as a part of his entering his inheritance of Inverawe not long after the death of his father Archibald first of Inverawe. The source for the contents of this charter are the same as for that dated between 1493 and 1510.¹³

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There is no evidence for Archibald of Inverawe's first wife Margaret in Herbert Campbell's genealogy of the Dunstaffnage family at the Lyon Office, however the early years of the family are sketchy at best and few of the daughters of the Inverawe family are traceable in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, so that the lack of mention in no way indicates that Margaret did not exist. Kilmartin also identifies her as daughter of Dunstaffnage in his note to the transcription.

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

charter must have followed that date and Archibald may still have been a minor when the charter was granted. 'Umwhile' means 'the late' Dougall.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Battle of Flodden

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

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

All who owed Argyll allegiance would doubtless have been called to his service in the campaign. Being over sixteen and under sixty, apparently fit and able to bring his followers to the field, there is little likelihood that Archibald, third of Inverawe, would have avoided serving under his chief at the Battle of Flodden. Had he been born between 1494, he would appear to have been over 18 and possibly in his early twenties at the time.

Archibald was apparently one of the fortunate few who survived the battle but had the misfortune of bringing home to their families in Argyll the news of the fallen. That he survived is clear from the continued use of his name in documents as 'Archibald McCouyl McCondochie of Inveraw.'

Clan Connochie Campbells at Stirling

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

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

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

Inverawe and Achnacree

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Lerags Cross

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

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

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

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

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

Archibald, Third of Inverawe

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

On the 21st or 27th of January 1519-20, Archibald Campbell of Inverawe was almost directly across Loch Etive from Inverawe. He was at Ardchattan Priory, then already almost three hundred years old. The Prior

at the time was Duncan MacArthur who had been appointed by king James IV in 1508, following the death of Prior Dougall MacDougall, brother of the Alan Sorleson MacDougall, formerly at Lerags.

There at Ardchattan, Inverawe and Archibald Campbell of Skipness signed a Bond of Manrent given by ‘Swein McConcoche McQueyn, Ewen McCondoche McQueyn and John McAlister McCondoche (McQueyn?) for themselves and on behalf of their sons and heirs, to Sir John Campbell of Calder.’ These McQueens were, so far as is known, no immediate kin to Inverawe.²⁶

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

Archibald Campbell of Lerags also gave a Bond of Manrent to Sir John of Cawdor, allegiance to Argyll excepted, dated at the MacDougall place of Raray, down and across Loch Feochan from Lerags on the 29th of November 1522.²⁷ In May of the following year Lerags and his son Alan also received a charter from Colin third Earl of Argyll.²⁸ In the same month Alan was granted Sasine of Achaworranbeg and Ballimenach on Lismore, Lachlan Campbell of Achnacree being a bailie.²⁹

From time to time Archibald third of Inverawe is mentioned in ‘My Lordes Buk of Casualiteis’ at Inveraray, the account or fines book of Earl Colin. The first entry appears in 1526.³⁰

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Archibald Third of Inverawe & his Heir Archibald.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The last use of the elder Archibald of Inverawe's name as son of Dougall second of Inverawe; 'Ard mc dowil vcdonche of Inueraw,' appears in the 'Buk of Casualities' in 1535.

'Item x oauld to Ard mc dowil vcdonche of Inueraw for xxij3 viij0 to be pait to my Lord at Sanctaindross day a0 vcxxxv of my Lordis ferme meil of Lochaw ower of the crop a0 xxx qto - ij.'³⁷ Being before the Reformation, Saint Andrew's Day was still a significant festival in the Scots calendar.

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

Apparently Archibald Campbell of Inverawe had sold the 'borrowgang' or state of suretyship of Archibald Campbell of Skipness to Alan McDonald of Dunkeld. Alan in turn sold the borrowgang to Donald Balf McAne Vcneil for ten pounds Scots and his discharge is dated the 13th of June 1536.³⁸ Inverawe's action in the matter was unremarkable at the time, despite the modern misconception of eternal prejudice between Campbell and MacDonald.

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

Argyll and Archibald of Inverawe.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The extent of these original Clan Connachie lands upon the eastern shore of the north end of Lochawe was considerable. They reached the watershed between the loch and the Shira and almost to the mouth of Glenlochay in the east. They marched with the lands of the Glenorchy family and Kilchurn in the north at the Teatle Water, a small river flowing into Loch Awe.

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

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

Dougall, Son of Archibald Third of Inverawe.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dougall would first be mentioned as 'fiar of Inverawe,' or the heir male, in 1567⁴⁴ when his elder brother Archibald must have died childless and before their father Archibald, (3rd) of Inverawe, who would then have been aged between 73 and 78. Dougall first appears on record as 'of Inverawe' himself in 1575. His father Archibald therefore died between 1567 and 1575.

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

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

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

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

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

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

cate that either Dougall was born before 1518 or his brother Archibald was born later than 1508 and was not of age when his father resigned in his favour.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Another Precept was issued to Inverawe for the same purpose in the 29th of May and he gave Sasine to Argyll on the 16th of June 1556.⁴⁹ Giving Sasine then still involved a ceremony of handing the new owner a handful of earth or a turf from the ground in which he was being seised. This Inverawe must have done for the old earl or his representative.

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

This entry has Lachlan as 'brother of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe.' However in 1561 (vide infra) there is a Lachlan 'son to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe.' Either there were two Lachlans or one of the two entries has a clerical error in the mention of the relationship. Had the entries been reversed, with 'son of' in 1556 and 'brother of' in 1561, this might have been taken as evidence that Archibald third of Inverawe's son Archibald had succeeded him as fourth of Inverawe. However since Dougall, the younger Archibald's younger brother, eventually succeeded his father to Inverawe, this cannot be the case and in the way the records appear, the dates do not fit that scenario.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The 5th Earl of Argyll and Archibald of Inverawe

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This Lachlan MacConnochie appears to have been a younger brother of Dougall and a son of Archibald third of Inverawe and his first wife Margaret of the Dunstaffnage family. Since Inverawe's marriage to Margaret of the Ardkinglas family only seems to have taken place in the 1550s (vide supra), there is little likelihood that her second son could have been old enough to be a witness in 1561.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

That Dougall had named his son and heir Allan may indicate his fondness for his 'louit cousing' Allan Campbell of Ballimenach. Also, at the time of Allan's birth, Dougall could not expect to inherit Inverawe as his elder brother Archibald was still alive. If Archibald had a son, he and not Dougall would inherit Inverawe.

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

MacConnochie on Lismore

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

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

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

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

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

The lands in Lismore still being 'waste' in 1567, combined with Dougall's ejection from his lands there in 1548-9 indicates a period of conflict. Lismore was then on the frontier of Argyll's overlordship and, as an island, was particularly vulnerable to raiding by sea. However the land was more productive than much of the adjacent mainland, due to the island consisting extensively of limestone rock, and this made grants or leases of land there attractive. One is left to assume that Dougall's lands of Achaworranbeag [now Achouran] and Ballimenach in Lismore may well also have been laid waste in the same conflict.

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

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

'The Drowning of Clan Arthur'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Then in 1569 the settlement of the 'drowning of Clan Arthur' continued. There is record of 'Letters of slain or discharge for drowning Clanarthour' in the parish of Innishail. These include the names 'Johne Campbell

of Archibald and John Campbell his sons, Patrick M'Taylor, John Dow , and others; John Makfinla M'Arthur of Terowadych, William M'Vicar, James Campbell of Ardkinglas, &c., as principallis being next of kin.'⁶¹

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

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

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

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

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

According to the Editor of Highland Papers, the MacArthurs of Tirevadich or Innistrynich from thence held the hereditary office of Serjeantry or Mair of Fee of all the lands on the sides of Upper Lochow [Lochawe] which pertained to Clan Arthur. They were bound 'for ever' to uphold a Hall or Chamber and Kitchen in the Isle of Inistrynich with the help of their chief Argyll. They were also bound to come and ride with him and his heirs in forensic service; hunting, besieging of enemies both in hosts and with his enemies 'as the rest of the tenants do when armies chance to be.'⁶⁴ This house would be the one the earl had built earlier with Inverawe's agreement.

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

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

Archibald of Inverawe was to show that he was still in full command of his faculties. On the 5th of March 1569, he wrote to Colin Campbell of Glenorchy. The letter is here translated into modern spelling for ease of understanding and is quoted from page 145 of Jane A. E. Dawson's Campbell Letters 1559-1583, published by the Scottish History Society in 1997. His attitude to the Earl of Argyll and his signing himself

as ‘your own very assured to power, suggests that he was little cowed by his condemnation over recent events on Lochawe.

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

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

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

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

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

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

And [this] commits you to the protection of Almighty God. From Inverawe the fifth of March 1568.

Yours own very assured to power.

[Archibald MacConnochie Campbell]

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

Dougall – Fourth of Inverawe

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'The Dougall of Inverawe who lived about 1575 is said to have lived at Ardchonnell Castle, and to have made peace in his old age with Mac Dougall of Dunollie, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage as his second wife. She, hearing the sons of her husband by his first wife arranging to drown her, escapes over the hills to Lochawe. Mac Dougall looses his bloodhounds in pursuit, during which her cloak, with the brooch of Lorn in it, is left behind...'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On the 10th of November 1575 Dougall was at Ardchattan Priory. The Commendatory Prior was by then John Campbell, Bishop of the Isles, a son of Sir John Campbell of Cawdor. His position as Prior had been secularised following the Reformation of 1560. There, Colin Campbell of Barbreck, Donald Campbell of Achterachin [Ichrachan], John Campbell of Innerliver, John Campbell, 'Captain of Dounstaffinch' and Dougall Campbell of Inverawe gave their Bond as Cautioners for John Campbell of Calder to Prior John, Bishop of the Isles, that he and his tenants will pay certain dues owing by them. The Bond was dated at Ardchattan on the 10th of November 1575 and registered on the 27th of March 1576. The witnesses were; Archibald Campbell, apparent of Ottir, John Campbell, son of Donald Campbell of Achirachin [Ichrachan], and Duncan Campbell, Minister of Ardchattan.⁶⁹

Clan Connochie Burial Grounds

A far less reliable source than Gaelic oral memory or family tradition holds that the early members of Clan Connochie were buried upon the sacred isle of Innishail in Lochawe, not far from Fraoch Eilean. This claim may well be true for other reasons, none the less.

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

The shield, supported by two men at arms of the period, show no Campbell gyronny but the galley of the Lordship of Lorne. Again, like the galley upon the Lerags cross, one suspects that the depiction of the galley was symbolic of the Argyll dominance of the Lordship following its acquisition in 1470. One temptation is to suggest that the date may therefore be a decade or two earlier than 1500. The idea that the galley could depict a MacDougall or other influence seems highly unlikely on Innishail at that period of time. This is particularly so upon as important a stone as an altar frontal. However, what is intriguing is that the style of dress of the armed men, with their conical knob-topped and even feathered helmets and chain mail or

leather armour suggests what may well have been worn by Archibald and Dougall of Inverawe when on active service. What is unusual compared to normal grave slabs is that the armour or jerkins are relatively short below the belted waist, leaving long legs exposed, so leaving the warriors more agile.

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

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

At some point, perhaps when Inverawe rather than Fraoch Eilean became the principal residence of the Inverawe family, they began to use the ruins of the Priory of Ardchattan as a burial ground. This change may well have come with the Reformation, in which case Dougall MacConnochie Campbell, fourth of Inverawe, could have been the first to be buried at Ardchattan. So Archibald 3rd of Inverawe may well have been buried on Innishail, raising the possible image of a piobrochaidh sounding over the loch as a boat with a coffin and others with mourners were rowed out to the island.

Dougall Fourth of Inverawe and the Earl's Service

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

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

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

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

Apart from this reference there is no evidence whatsoever that Dougall was succeeded by a John of Inverawe, whereas there is ample evidence that John dubh would shortly be Tutor of Inverawe to Dougall's son Archibald. Given an approximate date for his parent's marriage in the mid 1550s, John dubh was likely in

his late teens or early twenties at the time of the 1577 invasion of Islay. John would soon create a reputation for himself as a successful leader among the Islemen against Elizabeth of England's forces in Ireland. Possibly it was in the service of Argyll during this attack on Mull that he met and became allied with Mac-Donell of Dunivaig. John dubh's career is discussed in a separate paper.⁷³

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dougall of Inverawe and his Heir Archibald

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

Dougall's second wife, Archibald's mother, was Christian, daughter of John Carswell of Carnassarie, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles. She appears on record as his widow in 1587 when she had returned to Carnas-

sarie to live in the castle of her brother Archibald Carswell.⁷⁶ She would later marry Neil Campbell, parson of Kilmartin and the builder of Kilmartin Castle.

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

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

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

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

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

There are two places named Achnacruive, or the field of the salmon trap. One lay up the Nant and the other, and mor elikely in this case, lay up river from Inverawe and was, this entry confirms, the only Inverawe property held directly from the crown. It had been granted to Dougall's father Archibald and to Margaret, his wife, by Mary of Guise in 1558. The young Archibald, fifth or sixth of Inverawe, would part with the lands of Achnacruive to Hugh MacCorquodale of Phantillands on the 6th of November 1617.⁸⁰ The other Achnacruive up the River Nant, lies adjacent to the MacCorquodale lands, so that it is not clear which of these was meant at the time.

Ian or John dubh, Tutor of Inverawe

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

John Dubh was already a well established figure as a leader of gallowglass or redshanks (mercenary) Islemen and others in Ireland who fought under the Earl of Tyrone against the English forces of queen Elizabeth.⁸¹ Exactly when he had first gone to Ireland has not yet been discovered, however one suspects that he was there between his involvement in the Earl's invasion of Islay in 1577 and his assumption of his duties as Tutor in 1583.

When John Dubh returned from Ireland is not clear. He was named Baillie in a charter by Lachlan Maclean of Duart to Colin Campbell of Lundy on the 17th of July 1583.⁸² He is called John Campbell, Tutor of Inverawe, the earliest surviving evidence that his brother Dougall was dead. John was a man who, from the record, seems larger than life.

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

The National Status of Inverawe in the Late 16th Century.

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

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

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

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

The prominence given to Lochnell was understandable as near kin to Argyll. That given to Inverawe as the second of the only two Campbell cadet families mentioned in Argyll, offers a measure of their standing at that time. Had the chieftains of clan Campbell not maintained such an extraordinary loyalty to their Chief up to the murder of Cawdor in 1592, and had each branch been listed as an independent clan, the standing of Clan Connochie and Inverawe would have ranked high among the more powerful independent clans below those led by great nobles like Huntly and Argyll. The strength of the Inverawe following was listed as 500. By the second quarter of the 18th century, while the lands had expanded by purchase and grant, the number that could be raised was only about 100. Either the late 16th century estimates were optimistic, or the raids of Alastair MacColla and Atholl in the 17th century had greatly reduced the population to a level the land was better able to bear. Even then, in some years to fend off starvation, grain had to be imported.

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

CONCLUSIONS

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

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

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

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

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

Archibald third of Inverawe's son Archibald Yr. of Inverawe must have died before 1561. In that year Archibald of Inverawe resigned his lands again for a regrant in favour of his second son Dougall who appears to have been born in or before 1518, the son of Archibald's first wife Margaret of the family who would be Captains of Dunstaffnage. The date of Dougall's birth is calculated by the granting of Sasine to him involving duties for which he must have been of age. He could not have been son of Archibald Yr. of Inverawe as the dates would not fit, so must have been his brother.

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

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

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

END NOTES

1. 'Origins of the Clan Connachie Campbells. An Analysis of the Sources and some Conjectural Conclusions,' Diarmid A.Campbell, April 1989. A draft of this previously unpublished paper is among the Inverawe papers in the Campbell archives of Alastair Campbell of Airds, Islay Herald.
2. Scot.Nat.Lib. M.S.(34:5:22)
3. For 1507 and Glenurchy appointing Inverawe as the place where rents are to be paid; Ardhattan article in Orig.Paroch.p.157. For the use of the term 'Dunan of Inverawe' for the same purpose in 1589; Wimberly's Proofs, Wimberly The Campbells of Kilmartin.
4. RCAHMS Lorne Inventory No.206 p.96 fig.83.
5. RCAHMS Lorne Inventory No.324 p.259 Note 5.
6. Notes and Queries of the Society for West Highland and Island Historical Research; 'A Traditional Tale Compared to Recorded Events.' This short paper analyses the tale "Uncle and Nephew" from Lord Archibald Campbells collection of oral tradition in Records of Argyll, 1885.
7. RCAHMS Lorne Inventory No.290 pp.212-217.
8. See Note 6 above.
9. Cartulary of Colquhoun p.420.
10. Ibid.
11. Achaworran writs in the Airds Charter Chest, transcribed by Dr.Lorne Campbell PhD, unpublished. (Hereafter Achaworran writs in Airds Charters).
12. From the doquet of a charter transcribed by Dunstaffnage for Campbell of Kilmartin, the original later burnt in the fire at Dunstaffnage House in the 1940s. A copy of the transcription is with the I Inverawe papers in the archive of Alastair Campbell of Airds, Islay Herald.
13. Ibid.
14. Achaworran writs in Airds Charters.
15. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.
16. S.R.O. GD 1/421/13.
17. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.
18. Achaworran writs in Airds Charters.
19. For 1519-20; Thanes of Cawdor pp.132-133; For 1535; My Lordes Buk of Casualiteis, Gregory.
20. Achaworran writs in Airds Charters.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Highland Papers, Scot. Hist. Soc. Vol. 4, p.100.
24. The Campbells of Kilmartin, Wimberly p.5: also Records of Argyll.
25. RCAHMS Lorne Inventory No.253. p.143.
26. Thanes of Cawdor pp.132-133.
27. Lords and Men in Scotland, Wormald (Bonds of Manrent) p.256 Ap.A.
28. Achaworran writs in Airds Charters.
29. Ibid.
30. My Lordes Buk of Casualiteis, Gregory.
31. Acts of the Lords of Council as quoted in Clan Campbell Vol.VIII p.3-4, Paton Ed.
32. My Lordes Buk of Casualiteis, Gregory.
33. Highland Papers Vol.IV p.195 Note 2: also RCAHMS Lorne Inventory No.296 p.242.
34. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.
35. Achaworran writs in Airds Charters.
36. Clan Cameron, Stewart of Ardvorlich p.10-29.
37. My Lordes Buk of Casualiteis, Gregory.
38. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.
39. Argyll Inventory II f.488.
40. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.
41. Reg.Mag.Sig.lib.XXXI No.420; Taymouth Register and Orig. Paroch. Evidence that Margaret was an Ardkinglass is secondary but is reinforced by the granting of ward and nonentry of her grandson Archibald to Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglass, Reg. of Privy Seal VIII, Donaldson Ed.1982. Among the Auchindarroch and Inverawe papers in possession of the family is a letter from Neill Campbell, Druim na Vuilin, which quotes Duke Neill having found a fragmentary Inverawe pedigree at Dunderave mentioning the Ardkinglas connection.
42. Achaworran writs in Airds Charters.
43. Ibid.
44. Highland Papers, vol. 4, p.54, Edinburgh 1934.
45. Acts and Decrees quoted in Clan Campbell, vol. 4, p.387, Paton Ed.
46. Achaworran writs in Airds Charters.
47. Reg.Mag.Sig. 1546-1580 No.1055.
48. Highland Papers, vol. 4, p.33, Edinburgh 1934.
49. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.
50. Ibid.
51. Reg.Mag.Sig. 1546-1580 No.1307.

52. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.
53. Stirling Protocol Books, D.Watson. SRO/NAS GDI/426/1.
54. Barr M.S.: Highland Papers I pp.159-175.
55. Reg.of Acts and Decrees Vol.24 Fol.54 & 278; Clan Campbell, vol.8, p.38, Paton Ed.
56. Ibid.
57. O.P.S., vol. 2, i.p.165.
58. Highland Papers, vol. 4, p.54.
59. 'Notes and Queries of the Society for West Highland and Island Historical Research, MacArthur Seals', an analysis of heraldic seals of the Tirevadich MacArthurs found in the Airds Charter Chest, by Alastair Campbell of Airds, Unicorn Pursuivant.
60. Highland Papers IV p.54, Edinburgh 1934.
61. Monzie Inventory; O.P.S.II ii p.827.
62. Ibid.
63. Scot.Nat.Lib. M.S.31.2.3. p.43.
64. Highland Papers, vol. 4,
65. Coll. de Rebus Alb. pp.8-9.
66. The Campbells of Kilmartin, Wimberly p.5.
67. RCAHMS Lorne Inventory No.290 pp.212-217.
68. Argyll Inventory, O.P.S. vol. 2, 1.92.94: Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray 1587: Royal Commission on Historical M.S.S. Fourth Report part I p.481.
69. Coll.de Rebus Alb. p.8-9: Clan Campbell, vol. 4, p.30.
70. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.
71. Reg.of Privy Council 1578: Lords and Men in Scotland:Bonds of Manrent 1442-1603 Wormald p.112.
72. 'John Dubh MacConnochie Campbell, Tutor of Inverawe', an unpublished biographical paper by Diarmid A.Campbell. A draft is with the Inverawe papers in the collection of Alastair Campbell of Airds, erstwhile Unicorn Pursuivant.
73. Ibid.
74. Reg.Privy Council, vol. 3, p.94.
75. Ibid.
76. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.
77. Dougall was alive in January 1579 (see note 75 above) and was dead by 17 July 1583 when John Dubh was Tutor (Inveraray Transcripts).
78. Reg. Privy Seal, vol. 8, Donaldson Ed 1982.
79. The Campbells of Kilmartin, Wimberly: Notes on the Campbells of Inverawe first ed. by Ian M. Campbell W.S. 1951-3, 2nd Ed. by Diarmid Campbell and Niall Campbell 1999.
80. Reg. of Deeds, vol. 277, 1555-1660.
81. 'John Dubh MacConnochie Campbell Tutor of Inverawe' (see note 72 supra.).
82. Argyll Transcripts by Duke Neill at Inveraray.
83. Acts of Scots Parliament 29 July 1587.
84. Calendar of Scottish Papers for 18 April 1596 pp.188-89. '...Tyrone and O'Donnell are entered again to offer obedience and submission to her Majesty (Elizabeth), yet they call for MacCondochy ('McKendoquhy') to come to them with his companies in readiness being above a thousand men.'
85. 'John Dubh MacConnochie Campbell Tutor of Inverawe' (see note 72 supra.).